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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY:

A

COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING

PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS,

AS WELL IN MANUSCRIPT AS IN PRINT.

VOL. IX.

BEING THE FIRST

SUPPLEMENTAL VOLUME

OF

MISCELLANEOUS PIECES,

NOT INCLUDED IN

THE

FORMER EDITION.

SELECTED AND PREPARED

BY

THOMAS PARK, F.S.A.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR WHITE AND COCHRANE, AND JOHN MURRAY, FLEET-STREET; AND JOHN HARDING, ST. JAMES'S-STREET.

1812.

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THE EDITOR TO THE READER.

In a prefatory Advertisement to the first volume of this publication, it was proposed—as the Editor's supplemental design—to reprint a selection from the residue of such pamphlets as were contained in Lord Oxford's library, and could be traced in Osborne's sale-catalogue of that collection. But as the work proceeded, and its future resources were more fully ascertained, an uniform adherence to his announced design was found unadvisable, inasmuch as it circumscribed the means of selection within too narrow limits, and left too scanty a choice of subjects to render the proposed Supplement sufficiently interesting. Several of the pieces, likewise, which were specified in the *Catalogue Raisonne* of Mr. Oldys as worthy of attention, had now become inaccessible or undiscoverable; and it seemed expedient, therefore, to take a wider range of research for the needful purpose of substituting others. This the Editor has endeavoured to do, without any less liberal bias than what has resulted from the conceived rarity, curiosity, diversity, ingenuity, or intrinsic value of the productions that are here drawn together. He has generally, indeed, been desirous to avoid including those tracts, which from the nature of their contents would appear with greater

propriety in collections of a more methodical cast:—such, for instance, as parliamentary speeches and state documents; or relations of voyages and travels. The former are mostly to be found in voluminous compilations like those of Rushworth, Husband, Nalson, &c. or may be met with in our larger annalists and historians, as Carte, Clarendon, and Whitelock. The latter are more exclusively appropriated to such works as those of Hackluyt or Harris: besides that there already have appeared four folio volumes of voyages and travels 'compiled from the library of the Earl of Oxford.' If, however, some few of these foster-children should evince a near alliance with such works, or prove to have been adopted by them, the Editor hopes it will appear, there was little reason to suspect such pre-adoption: and he trusts, at the same time, that the guiding rules for admission as above laid down, will serve to account for the exclusion of some pieces, which, from their notoriety or interest, the critical reader might have expected to find.

One deviation from his avowed intent of printing Manuscripts from the Harleian collection *only*, the kindness of Mr. Todd has here induced, by the amicable proffer of the use of his unique poetical manuscript. To that respected friend and to Sir Egerton Brydges, to Mr. Bindley and Mr. Gilchrist, the Editor begs to tender his public thanks, for the loan of various choice articles in this volume, and for others equally choice, which are preparing to succeed them.

It remains to be noticed, that the orthography has been retained throughout those tracts only, which were printed before the accession of our first James to the English throne; as our most fastidious antiquaries, it is presumed, will hardly wish for any later specimens of uncouth and obsolete spelling.

T. P.

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SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

" Rede me, and be nott wrothe;
For I saye no thynge but trothe."

" I will ascende, makynge my state so hye,
That my pompous honoure shall never dye."

" O caytyfe! when thou thynkest least of all,
With confusion thou shalt have a fall."

[Sine anno vel loco;[1] pp. 144.]

[1] [A second edition had this colophon: 'Prynted at Wesell, in the yeare of our Lorde 1546, in the last of 'June; by Henry Nycolson.' This, from its typography, I suspect to have been really printed in England; and the former, from the same reason, on the Continent. Palmer titles the book 'Invectives against Cardinal 'Woolsey,' but this he did from Maunsell's catalogue. Herbert has also wrongly titled it 'Burying of the Mass,' from Strype's Eccles. Memor. But these slight errors are rectified in Censura Literaria, v. 381.]

Mr. Ellis, in his admirable historic sketch of the progress of English poesy, has described and quoted with encomium the present tract. Its author, he observes, was William Roy,[2] *of whom nothing is known, but that Bale (de Script. Brit.* 1548, *p.* 254,*) declares that he flourished in* 1526.[3] *His work, which is now extremely rare, forms a small duodecimo*[4] *volume, elegantly printed in black letter, without date or publisher's name.*[5] *It has a prose address from and to some persons, of whose names the initials only are given; and a metrical prologue, consisting of a colloquy between the author and his treatise. Then follows a sort of satirical dirge or lamentation, on the death of the Mass: and then the treatise itself, which is called 'a brief Dialogue between two priest's servants.' It is in two parts, of which the first is a general satire on the monastic orders; though Cardinal Wolsey and his friends are occasionally introduced. Much of the second part forms a lampoon on the Cardinal's stateliness, and profligacy and pride.*[6] *The bitterness of Roy's invective must have made him not less formidable than Skelton, to Wolsey and the Romish priesthood. And hence, says Mr. Gilchrist,*[7] *(to whose kindness I owe the power of reprinting Roy's scarce book), it will readily be conceived by those who remember the rancour with which Skelton was persecuted for his 'Why come ye not to Court?' that Wolsey would not be backward to punish the author of the present more virulent attack. The writer, however, if he remained in England, successfully concealed himself, and procured his libel to be printed abroad by a friend, of no inferior zeal, who offered his assistance in future services of the like nature.*[8] *But the Cardinal spared neither pains nor expense to get all the copies in his own possession, having employed some emissary to buy them all up.*[9] *After his death, in Nov.* 1530, *the tract was altered, and the edge of its satire taken off, by transferring to the prelacy such charges as were designated only for Wolsey. Pope spoiled the force of his Dunciad in the same way, and rendered his first aim powerless, by striving to give a twofold wound with the same blow.*

From some minutes of the transactions of the Society of Antiquaries, in Mr. Gilchrist's possession, it appears that this tract has been twice exhibited at the meetings of that society, and as often attributed to Skelton: so it was by Anstis, in a letter to Dr. Fiddes, who speaks of it, in his apologetical life of Cardinal Wolsey, as 'a scandalous libel written by one Skel-'ton, poet laureat;' evidently confounding it with 'Why come ye not to Court?' yet Bale, his contemporary, asserts Roy to have been the author of it. Roy, says Mr. Gilchrist, appears to have been an ecclesiastic: he resided some time with Tindal, whom he assisted in his studies:[10] *he was one of the translators of the New Testament, printed at Hamburgh or Antwerp, in* 1526:[11] *he afterwards went to Strasburgh, where he wrote*

[2] [The following passage in Tindal's preface to the Parable of the Wycked Mammon, 1536, seems to point out a coadjutor. 'One Jerome, coming to Argentyne [*i. e.* Strasburgh], Wyllyam Roye gat him to hire, and set 'him a worke to make *rymes*, while he hymselfe translated a *dyaloge*, out of Latin into Englyshe. In whose '*Prologe* he promiseth more a great deale than I fere he will ever paye.']

[3] [Ritson thought his Satire was printed about 1525, that is, between the Duke of Buckingham's execution and the repudiation of Queen Catharine. See Bibl. Poet. p. 318. But in the second edition of 1546, it is said to have been printed 16 or 17 years before, and this places its first appearance about 1530.]

[4] [In size it is 12mo. but in signatures 8vo.]

[5] [See a minute entry of the contents, &c. in Herbert's Typogr. Antiquities, iii. 1539.]

[6] [The haughtiness of Wolsey is displayed in Stowe's Chronicle, and in Lodge's Illustr. of Brit Hist. i. 28.]

[7] [Vid. Censura Literaria, ii. 129.]

[8] [See the dedicatory address, p. 5.]

[9] [This appears from the prefatory dedicator in 1546, who affirms 'this boke was prynted in the Cardinal hys 'tyme, whiche when he had harde that it was done, caused a certayne man (whome I coulde name if I lusted) to 'bye them all uppe.']

[10] [Tindal's report is not very creditable to his colleague. 'One Willyam Roye, (says he) a man somewhat 'craftye, when he cometh unto new acquayntance, and before he be thorow knowen, and namely when all is 'spent, came unto me and offered his helpe. As longe as he had no money, somwhat I coulde rule hym; but 'as soone as he had gotten hym money, he became lyke hymselfe agayne.—He wente and got him new frendes; 'whiche thynge to doe he passeth all that ever I yet knewe.—His tunge is able not only to make fooles sterke 'mad, but also to deaceyve the wysest that is, at the firste acquaintaunce.' Preface, *ut supr.* Mr. Crutwell observes, that Roy wrote for Tindal, and helped him to compare the texts together. Pref. to Bp. Wilson's Bible.]

[11] [An injunction was issued by Henry the Eighth, forbidding any persons to keep in their possession any of the works of Tindal, *Roy*, Wickliffe and others. See Fox's Martyrology, and Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. A pre-

'Inter patrem Christianum et filium contumacem dialogum Christianum:' *and suffered at the stake, in Portugal, for heresy. Bishop Tanner surmises,*[12] *that he might be the same Roy whom Sir Thomas More remembered to have written an exposition on the 7th chapter of the Epistle to the Corinthians. A book made by friar Roy, against the seven sacraments, is among the names of prohibited books delivered to the curates, anno* 1542, '*to the intent that they shall present them with the names of the owners to their 'ordinary, if they find any such within their parishes.'*[13] *Mr. Gilchrist, an able judge, considers the intrinsic merit of Roy's satire sufficient to justify us in rejoicing that some few copies escaped the Cardinal's destructive inquisition; and Mr. Ellis, whose taste and knowledge carry with them the highest authority, says that 'Roy's versification is 'tolerably easy and flowing; and his language, though often coarse, is nervous and expres-'sive.' In this judgment most readers will coincide.*

The Descripcion of the Armes.

OF the prowde Cardinall this is the shelde,
Borne up betwene two angels off Sathan;
The sixe blouddy[14] axes in a bare felde,
Sheweth the cruelte of the red man,
[15]Whiche hathe devoured the beautifull Swan;[16]
Mortall enmy unto the whyte Lion;
Carter of Yorcke! the vyle butchers sonne.

The sixe bulles heddes, in a felde blacke,
Betokeneth hys stordy furiousnes;
Wherby, the godly lyght to put abacke,
He bryngeth in hys dyvlisshe darcknes:
The bandog,[17] in the middes, doth expresse
The mastif curre,[18] bred in Ypswitch[19] towne,
Gnawynge with his teth a kynges crowne.

latic prohibition was also put forth by Bishop Tunstall, in 1526, for calling in the translation of the New Testament into English. See Herbert, p. 1536.]

[12] [In Bibl. Brit. Hib. p. 645.]

[13] [Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. i. book 3. Collect. of Records.]

[14] [These axes, in the original title cut, were edged with red ink, thereby to represent what Macbeth calls 'gouts of blood.']

[15] [Thus altered in the later edition:

'Which hathe devoured all that he may or can,
Mortall enemy unto the worthy reade Lyon.']

[16] [Mr. W. Scott has applied this to the Duke of Buckingham, from his crest or cognizance. See notes to 'Lay 'of the Last Minstrel,' canto iv. We learn from the 'prologue of the translatour,' that the Knighte of the Swann, a French romance, was translated at the request of the Duke. The printer (Copland) adds, 'this present history 'compyled, named Helyas, the Knight of the Swanne, of whom lineally is descended my said lord.' The 'whyte 'lion,' in the next line is, from the same cause, applied to the Duke of Norfolk, who married the Duke of Buckingham's daughter.]

[17] [*Alias* band-dog or bound dog; *i. e. canis catenatus.* Hence, perhaps, the collar round his neck. In this country, Mr. Gifford is of opinion, the bandog was kept to bait bears. See his valuable edit. of Massinger, i. 44.]

[18] [So Skelton, in allusion to the Cardinal's descent, reviles him under the terms 'maystife cur,' and 'bouchers 'dog.' Why come ye not to Court?]

[19] [Ipswich was the birth-place of Wolsey.]

The cloubbe signifieth playne hys tiranny,
Covered over with a cardinal's hatt,
Wherin shalbe fulfilled the prophecy—
'Aryse up, Jacke, and put on thy salatt:[20]
'For the tyme is come of bagge and walatt:
'The temporall chevalry thus throwen downe;
'Wherefor, Prest, take hede, and beware thy croune.'[21]

To his singuler goode frende and brother in Christ, Master P. G., N. O. desyreth grace and peace from God the Father, thorowe the Lorde Jesus Christ.[22]

BY youre last letter, dere brother in Christ, I perceved that youre desyre was to have the lytle worke which ye sent, wele examened and diligently put into prynt. Which thynge, the bonde of charite where with not alonly[23] you and I, but we, with the whole nombre of Christis chosen flocke, remaynge amonge oure nacion of Englisshe men are knet together purly for the truthes sake pondered, I coulde do no lesse but fulfill and accomplysshe. For as moche as it is a thynge so necessary, where of no doute shall sprynge grett frute unto the fammisshed, and lyght unto theym which of longe season have bene sore blyndfolded; though the rammyshe resydue of gotes, so farre enured mannis blynde reason, (which repute grett felicite to make men beleve goode to be the naturall cause of evill, darknes to procede oute of light, and lyinge to be grownded in trouth; and to make of the worde of lyfe the glave[24] of death, contrary to all trueth) that Scripture calleth theym faulce teachers, and bryngers in prevely of dampnable sectes, even denyinge the Lorde that bought theym,[25] and brynge on their owne heddes swyfte dampnacion, for their leadynge of many into their dampnable waies; of whose boddies annd soules thus once blynded, and ledd out of the narowe waye of lyfe into the broade waye of perdicion, thorowe covetousnes they make their marchandyse. Wherby the waye of trueth, that is to saye, the glorious gospell of Christ, is evill spocken of. In so moche, that they, after this manner sealed with the marke of the grett beast of the erth, whose consciences S. Paul[26] descrybeth to be singed with the hott yeron of blasphemy, only geve hede to the spretes of erroure and dyvelysshe doctryne of theym which speake faulce through hipocrisy; forbyddynge to mary, and commaundynge to abstayne from meates and soche wother,[27] cannot but barke there att, forbid it, and with all violence persecute the reders there of. Yet, I neverthelesse with you, doinge after the apostles erudicion, as longe as I folowe not decevable fables, will not be negligent to put my brethren in remembraunce, thogh they partly knowe them their selves, and are stablysshed in the present trueth, of those thynges, wherby they maye the more evidently note the disceatfulnes of mortall

[20] [Helmet: by corruption from *cælata*, says Skinner; *quia galeæ cælatæ fuerunt.* Mr. Douce rather thinks it borrowed from the French *salade;* but the old Teutonic *schale* he deems the original word. Illustr. ii. 25.]

[21] [The following lines were here added in the edition of 1546.

An Exhortation to the Papistes.

O ye byshoppes and prestes, that yet be alyve,
Repent from your tyranny, after John's counsell,
Least ye be served as the folyshe virgynes fyve,
And utterly be condempned to the pytte of hell:
Therefor, put all your affiaunce in the pure gospell;
Dyspise the worlde and cast your selves downe,
Than shall ye receyve of God an immortall crowne.]

[22] [A Dedication to the later edition in 1546, was addressed 'To all them that love Goddes worde unfaynedly, 'L. R. wysheth grace and peace from God the father, through our Lorde Jesus Christ.' The latter portion of this address includes great part of the former, the writer of which is adumbrated under the initials S. P.]

[23] [Only.] [24] [Sword.] [25] 2 Pet. ii. 1. [26] 1 Tim. iv. 2. [27] [Used throughout for *other*.]

man, and the better come unto the knowledge of the immortall God. Seynge the tyme at honde, wherin God of his infinite mercy hath ordened before to make theym, thorowe Christ oure Lorde, parte takers also of his glorious will and porpos, even as in the Gospell oure Saveoure before to all his hadd promesed. I, therfore, consyderynge the worlde thus to be wrapped in mysery and blindnes, and now (in these latter dayes) becom an hole, or denne, of falce foxy hipocrites, and a mancion for all ravenynge wolves disgysed in lambes skynnes, which hate all love, and, with oute drede of God, wander but for theire praye, have judged it a thynge moste convenient to sett this smale treatous as a glas or myroure most cleare before all mens eyes. In the preface where of, manyfestly they shall perceave howe grett daunger nowe a dayes it is, the trueth other to describe with penne, or with tonge to declare. In the Lamentacion folowynge, made by a bely beast engendred amonge the gresy or anoynted heap, wother wyse called the papysticall secte, whom Christ calleth 'a croked, untawarde, and cruell generation of venemous vipers,' they may surly groape and fele where of oure spretuall lordes, masters, and rulars, (falcely so named) have proceded and are come; with what presomcion they disdayne the auncient and true noble bloud, and what preeminence and dignite they have obtayned through their faulce and crafti bryngynge uppe of the blasphemous masse, which principally is their holde, stede, and defence. Forthermore, in the Dialoge ensuynge, or brefe Interlude, is Mas descrybed, with his abhominable ministers; as, popes, cardinalls, bisshops, abbotes, monkes, fryres, and lyke wother; wherin also is declared, whatt trees they are with their frute, annd what they shall remayne their masse once disanulled and putt downe. Which all well consydered, I hoape that the reder, what ever he be, will nott take this worke as a thynge convicious,[28] or a principle of hatred and debate; nor yett despyse the ryches of the godnes and of the pacience of the longe soferance of God; but will remember, that his kyndnes only leadeth hym to repentaunce, and mekely with the sprete of quyetnes fyrst judge it, and then consydre hym silfe, and fautlesse he shall fynde it a grett occasion to love, and also to thancke God, his father most mercifull, which of his tender mercy hath not delyvered hym uppe unto a leawd mynde, with these vessels of wrathe and children of the devill, to do those thynges which are nott comly, ful of all unrightousnes, fornication, wickednes, covetousnes, maliciousnes, &c. and sofered hym nott to become lyke unto theym, a hater of God and of his godly worde; agaynst whose ungodlines and unrightousnes the wrath of the hevenly God apereth, because they with holde the true rightousnes of God, which commeth throwe the lyght of the Gospell of Christ, in the unrightousnes of mans lawes and tradicions. Ye, and as sayth S. Paul, though they knowe the rigthousnes of God, howe they which soche thynges committ are worthey of death, yett not only do the same, but also have pleasure in the doars of them: Wherfore, they are before God with oute excuse; seinge that knowinge God, they glorify hym nott as God, nor yett are thanckfull, but wexe full of vanities in their ymaginacions; countynge theym selves wyse, where as in dede they are foles: for, with their folysshe and blynde hert, they tourne the glory of the immortall God unto the similitude of the ymage of mortall man. He shall lykewyse clearly perceve, that we of duty colde do no lesse, but for the preservacion and tutell[29] of the innocent and simple, to declare the pestilent doblenes and decevable seduccion of the wicked, acordinge to the doctryne shewed unto us every where by Christ, oure master; which cam to save annd not to destroye. For one rotten apple, lytell and lytell, putrifieth an whole heape; a lytell sower leven the whole lompe of dowe; one rancklynge member, the whole boddy. Shortly, to conclude, here in I am well persuaded (lett the ungodly roare and bárcke never so lowde) that the fyre which Christ cam to kyndle on erth, cannott butt burne; that is to saye, his godly worde forevermore encreace and continue. Wherfore, dere brother, yf eny mo soche smale stickes come unto youre hondes, which ye shall judge apte unto the augmentacion of this fyre; sende them unto me, (yf in Englonde they may not be publisshed;) and by Goddis grace, with all my power and

[28] [*i. e.* Abusive, reproachful.]

[29] [*Tutela*, Lat. safety, protection.]

possibilite, I shall so endever my sylfe to kyndle theym, that as many as are of the sede of Abraham shall se their light, and therby glorysy their Father celestiall, which kepe you and youres continully, strengthynge you with his sprete of comforte to his glory for ever. Amen.

The Author of the Worke.

GO forthe, lytell Treatous, nothynge a fraide,
To the Cardinall of Yorcke dedicate;
And, though he threaten thè, be not dismayde
To pupplysshe his abhominable estate;
For though his power he doeth elevate,
Yett the season is nowe verily come—
Ut inveniatur iniquitas ejus ad odium.[30]

The Treatous.

O my Author! howe shall I be so bolde
Afore the Cardinall to shewe my face,
Seinge all the clargy with hym doth holde,
Also in faveour of the Kyngis grace:
With furious sentence they will me chace,
Forbiddynge eny persone to rede me;
Wherfore, my deare Author, it cannott be.

The Author.

Thou knowest very well whatt his lyfe is—
Unto all people greatly detestable;
He causeth many one to do amisse,
Thorow his example abhominable;
Wherfore, it is nothynge reprobable[31]
To declare his mischefe and whordom,
Ut inveniatur iniquitas ejus ad odium.

The Treatous.

Though his lyfe of all people is hated,
Yet in the Masse they putt moche confidence,
Which through out all the world is dilated
As a worke of singuler magnificence;
Prestes also they have in reverence,
With all wother persones of the spretualtè;
Wherfore, my deare Author, it cannot be.

The Author.

O deare Treatous, thou mayst nott consyder
Their blynde affeccion in ignorance,
Wherby all the worlde, both farre and near,
Hath bene combred with longe continuance:
Itt is Goddis will his trueth to avaunce,
And to putt Antichrist oute of his kyngdom,
Ut inveniatur iniquitas ejus ad odium.

[30] ['To open their iniquite in every kyngdome.' Second edit.]

[31] ['Reprovable.' Second edit.]

The Treatous.

Well, yett there is greate occasion of grudge,
Be cause I apeare to be convicious;
Withouten fayle, the clargy will me judge
To procede of a sprete presumtuous;
For to use soche wordes contumelious,
It becommeth nott christen charitè;
Wherfore, my deare Author, it cannot be.

The Author.

O my Treatous, it is Goddis judgement
So to recompence their madde blasphemy,
Seynge they burned his holy Testament,
Thorowe the prowde Cardinal's tyranny;
Agaynst whose harde obstynacy to crye,
The stones in the strete cannot be dom,[32]
Ut inveniatur iniquitas ejus ad odium.

The Treatous.

Yf I presume to make relacion
Of secret matters, that be uncertayne;
They will count it for diffamacion,
Or things contryved of a frowarde brayne;
To descrybe their faultes it is but vayne,
Except I were in some authoritè,
Wherfore, my deare Author, it cannot be.

The Author.

As touching that, thou nede not be dejecte;
The trueth shalbe thy conservacion,
Whyles thou presume no faultes to detecte;
But wheare thou hast hadde certificacion,
By their knowledge and informacion
Whiche have forsaken the whore of Rome,
Ut inveniatur iniquitas ejus ad odium.

The Treatous.

Alas! yett in their outragious furoure,
They shall coursse[33] and banne, with cruel sentence,
All those whiche have to me eny favoure,
Ether to my saynge geve credence;
In hell and heven they have preeminence
To do as they lyste, with free libertè;
Wherfore, my deare Author, it cannot be.

The Author.

O Treatous, lett Antichrist crye and roare,
Manassynge[34] with fulminacions,
His cruelte shalbe feared no moare,
Men knowynge his abhominacions:
Fye apon[35] his forged execracions,
Seynge his tyranny is overcome,
Ut inveniatur iniquitas ejus ad odium.

[32] [Dumb.] [33] [Curse.] [34] [Menacing.] [35] [Upon.]

Fye on his dyvlisshe interdiccions,
With his keyes, lockes, chaynes, and fetters;
Fye apon all his jurisdiccions,
And apon those whiche to hym are detters:
Fye apon his bulles, breves, and letters,
Wherin he is named *servus servorum;*
Ut inveniatur iniquitas ejus ad odium.

Fye on his golden thre-folded crowne,
Whiche he useth to weare apon his head;
Fye apon his majestè and renowne,
Clayminge on erthe to be in Christs stead;
Fye on his carkes,[36] bothe quycke and dead,
Ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum,
Ut inveniatur iniquitas ejus ad odium.

Blissed they be which are cursed of the Pope,
And coursed are they whom he doth blisse;
A-coursed are they all that have eny hope
Ether in his personne, or els in his:
For of Almyghty God a-coursed he is,
Per omnia secula seculorum,
Ut inveniatur iniquitas ejus ad odium.

Heare foloweth the Lamentacion.

Alas! alas! for woo and bitter payne;
Oppressed withe grefe and sorofull care,
Howe shall we from hevy wepynge refrayne,
Consyderynge the case that we in are:
We have now lost the pryce of our welfare,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

Wo worth the time that ever we were born
To se the chaunce of this dolorous daye;
For now ar we mocked and laughed to skorn,
Owre honour brought to extreme decaye:
We maye well synge, alas! and well awaye!
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

Aproche, proud patriarkes, with youre Pope;
Bisshops, arsbysshops, and cardinalls gaye,
With all other prelates which had your hope
To be mayntayned by the masse all waye;
Who shall finde oure belly and ryche araye?
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

[36] [Carcase.]

Drawe nere, ye prestes in youre longe gownes,
With all the fryres of the beggerly ordres;[37]
Com hither monkes, with brode shaven crounes,
And all soche as are shorne above the ears;
Helpe me to lament with dolourous teares;
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

The dolfull destruction of noble Troye
Was never to man haulfe so lamentable;
Nor yett the subversion of Rome, oure joye,
Under whom we were counted honorable:
O Fortune, Fortune, thou arte unfavorable,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

Departed is nowe the Masse, and clean gone,
The chefe upholder of oure libertè,
Wherby oure whores and harlotes everychone,[38]
Were mayntayned in ryche felicitè;
Full sore we shall repent this daye to se,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

Oure baudes and brothels have lost their finding,
Oure bastardes compelled to go astraye,
Oure wynninge mill hath lost her gryndinge,
Which we supposed never to decaye;
Alas! therfore, what shall we do or saye?
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

Oure gay velvet gownes furred with sables,
Which werre wont to kepe us from colde;
The paulfreys and hackeneis in oure stables,
Nowe to make chevesaunce[39] must be solde:
Adue, forked mitres and crosses of golde,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

Weshall nowe abate oure welthy tables,
With delicate deyntyes so delicious;
Oure mery jestes und plesaunt fables
Are now tourned to matters dolorous:
We must laye downe oure estate so pompous,
Seynge that gone is the Masse!
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

Oure fyngres shyninge with precyous stones,
Sett in golden rynges of ryche valoure;
Oure effeminate flesshe and tender bones

[37] [*i. e.* The friars mendicant.] [38] [Every one.]
[39] [A bargain or profit. See Mr. Todd's Spenser, i. 83, and the Glossary to Sir David Lyndsay, by Mr. G. Chalmers.]

Shalbe constrayned to faule unto laboure:
For why? decayed is all oure honoure,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

Where as we used apon mules to ryde,
Nowe must we nedes prycke a fote a lone;
Oure wantan daliaunce and bostinge pride
With wofull misery is over gone;
Oure glystringe gold is turned to a stone,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

We had oure servantes, in most courtly wyse,
In greate multitude folowinge oure tayle,
With garded[40] lyverey after the newe gyse,[41]
Whome we frely supported to jest and rayle;
How be it, nowe eache from wother shall fayle,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

Oure poure kynred we lytell understode,
And of whatt vilnes oure pompe did aryse,
We desdayned the estates of noble blode,
Nothynge afrayde oure betters to despyse;
Wherfor agaynst us they will nowe surmyse,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

We were called lordes and doctours reverente,
Royally raignynge in the spretualtè;
In every place wheare we were presente,
They vayled their bonetes and bowed a kne;
But it begynneth nowe wother wyse to be,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

We devowred the sustenaunce of the poore,
Wastynge the goodes of people temporall,
Wherwith we norysshed many a whore,
To satisfye oure pleasure beastiall:
And yett we were counted spretuall,
Under faveoure of the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

Oure greate lordshippes and dominacions,
With oure ryche juelles and somptous plate,
Oure places and large habitacions
Adorned with hangynges and beddes of state,
From oure hondes shall nowe be seperate;
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

[40] [*i. e.* Bordered.] [41] [Guise, fashion.]

Adue, oure ayde and supportacion,
Wherby Fortune so merely did smyle;
Farwele comforte and consolacion,
Thus soddenly chaunged with in a whyle;
Oure vayne confydence dyd us sore begyle,—
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

By the Masse we were exalted so hye,
That scantly eny man we wolde once knowe;
We thought for to ascende unto the skye,
Havynge oure seate above the rayne-bowe;
But we are come downe agayne full lowe,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

The Masse made us lordes and kynges over all,
Farre and nere every wheare havyng power;
With honorable tytles they dyd us call,
Dredynge to offende us at eny houre;
Then were we as fressh as the garden floure,
Under favoure of the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

Amonge all the people we went a fore,
By pretence of oure fayned holynes;
They reputed us for haulfe goddes and more,
Thorowe the Masses beneficialnes,
Whiche is nowe tourned to oure hevines,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

The Masse was only oure singuler suffrage
To delivre the people from their synne;
There was no prest in towne nor village
But by the Masse his lyvinge did wynne,
Whose superfluitè shalbe full thynne,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

O faythfull Masse, so constant and true,
In heven and erth continually;
We nowe, thy chyldren, shall morne[42] and rue
The chaunce of thy dekaye so sodenly;
Constrayned we are all to wepe and crye;
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

By the Masse we had hye authoritè,
In heven and erth takynge oure pleasure;
Kynges and prynces, for all their dignitè,

[42] [Mourn.]

To displease us feared oute of measure;
Alas! we have nowe lost our chefe treasure,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

The Masse made us so stronge and stordy,
That agaynst hell-gates we did prevayle,
Delyveringe soules oute of purgatory,
And sendynge theym to heven, with out fayle:
Who is he then that wolde nott bewayle,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

Of all maner thynges the comodytè [43]
By the Massis healpe only did depende;
From sycknes and pestilent mortalitè
The socoure of the Masse did us defende;
All prosperitè that oure Lorde did sende,
Was for favoure of the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

The Masse farre excedeth mannis reason,
Oft tymes of foule wether makynge fayre;
It causeth frute for to rype in season,
Puttynge awaye infeccions of the ayre;
Greate estates' frendshippe stably to repayre
Have confirmacion by the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

The Masse in due time procureth rayne,
Wherby floures and erbes freshly do sprynge;
And Masse maketh it for to seace agayne,
When it so aboundeth to their hyndrynge;
All maner matrymony and maryinge
Is solemnysed by the Masse;
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

To souldears [44] and men goynge a warre-fare
The Masse is ever a sure proteccion;
It preserveth people from wofull care,
Dryvynge awaye all affliccion:
Alas! who can shewe by descripcion
All the proffettes of the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

O wofull chaunce, most infortunate,
So sodenly makynge comutacion,
Never sence the worlde was fyrst create
Was there a thynge of soche reputacion:
For, in every londe [45] and nacion,
All goodnes cam by the Masse:
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

[43] [Advantage, gain.] [44] [Soldiers.] [45] [Lande.]

Whatt avayleth nowe to have a shaven hedde,
Or to be aparelled with a longe gowne;
Oure anoynted hondes [46] do us lytle stedde,
Wher as the Masse is thus plucked downe,
Unto oure dishonowre all doeth rebowne,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

The gooddes of the churche are taken awaye,
Geven to poure folkes soffrynge indigence;
The devyne servyce utterly doeth decaye,
With halowed oyle, salt, and frankynsence;
To holy water they have no reverence,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

All people, because the Masse is departed,
Seketh nowe ceremonies to confounde;
The aultres of the Lorde are subverted
With ymages which cost many a pounde;
The temples also are throwen to the grounde,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

Wherfore, nowe of my Lamentacion
To make an ende, with oute delaye,
Fare well, O holy consecracion!
With blyssed *sanctus* and *agnus Dei!*
No lenger nowe with you we can praye,
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

Adue, gentle *Dominus vobiscum*,
With comfortable *ite Missa est*;
Requiem eternam is nowe undon,
By whom we had many a fest,
Requiescat in pace, and goode rest;
Seynge that gone is the Masse,
Nowe deceased, alas! alas!

Here foloweth a brefe Dialoge betwene two prestes servauntes, named Watkyn and Jeffraye.

Watkyn. JEFFRAYE, hardest thou oure master,
Thus, with lamentable maner,
Most pitously complayne?
Jeffraye. Herde it, [47] catha? yee, be throode; [48]
I praye God turne it unto goode,
That it be nott to oure payne;

[46] [Hands.] [47] [*Quotha*, sayst thou?] [48] [*i. e.* By the rood, or cross.]

But is it of a very surety,
As it is spoken in the country,
That the holy Masse is deade?
Wat. Dead? yee, Jeffraye, by my hande!
And that thou myght well understande,
Hadde thou eny witt in thy heade;
For the soroufull constraynte
Of oure masters complaynte,
Allonely[49] for hys deceace was.
Wherfor, lett us oure counsell take,
What shyfte for us is best to make,
Seynge that deceaced is the Masse.
Jeff. Mary,[50] Watkyne, thou sayest very trothe;
We shall have but a colde brothe,
I feare me, shortely after this.
But I praye thè, tell me nowe playne,
Was he by eny myschaunce slayne,
Or was it for age that he deade is?
Wat. Naye, it was not surly[51] for age;
For he was of lusty courage,
Though he had very many yeres:
Also he had continued still,
Yf prestes myght have had their will,
With the helpe of monkes and fryres.
Butt he was assauted so sore,
That he coulde resist no more,
And was fayne to geve over:
Then cam his adversaries with myght,
And slewe hym out of honde quyght,
As though he had bene a faulce rover.
Jeff. With what wepen did they hym kyll,
Whether with polaxe or with bill?
A goode felowshippe lightly tell.[52]
Wat. Naye, with a sharpe two-edged sworde,
Which, as they saye, was Goddis worde,
Drawne oute of the holy Gospell.
Jeff. And is Goddis worde of soche myght,
That it slewe the Masse downe right,
Of so auncient continuance?
My thynketh, it shulde not be true,
Seynge that prestes wolde hym rescue,
With wordly ryches and substaunce:
Monkes, channons, all shaven crownes,
Wolde have brought their villages and tounes,
With their whole religious rable;
Which, under Antichristis raygne,
Are of sectes variable and vayne,
Forto be reckened in numerable.
Oure master also, I dare saye,
With many wother prestes gaye,
Whom I knowe very well;

[49] [Alone.] [50] [Marry.] [51] [Surely.] [52] [*i. e.* 'In good fellowship briefly tell.']

Wolde have spent all their goode,
Yee, verely, their owne hert bloude,
To helpe Masse agaynst the Gospell.
Wat. Tosshe,[53] man, they did all their best,
Not sparynge to opyn their chest,
Gevynge oute brybes liberally;
Wherby they had gret confidence
For to have done moche assistence,
In ayde of the Masse certaynly.
But it prevayled theim nothynge,
For Goddis worde hath soche workynge,
That none maye resist contrary:—
Jeff. Well, yet take it for no scorne,
I tell the wheare as I was borne,
They resist the Gospell openly;
And the principall doars[54] be suche
As nowe a dayes governe the churché,
No smale foles I promes[55] thè:
And namly, one that is the chefe,
Which is not fedd so ofte with rost befe
As with rawe motten: so God helpe me!
Whose mule yf it shulde be solde,
So gayly trapped with velvet and golde,
And geven to us for oure schare,
I durst ensure thè one thynge
As for a competent lyvynge
This seven yere we shulde not care.
Wat. Yf he be soche, what is his name,
Or of what regarde is his fame,
I beseche thè shortly expresse?
Jeff. Mary, some men call hym Carnall,[56]
And some saye he is the devill and all,
Patriarcke of all wickednes!
Wat. Well, to be brefe, withouten glose,
And not to swarve from oure purpose,
Take goode hede what I shall saye:—
The tyme will come or it be longe,
When thou shalt se their stately thronge
With miserable ruyne decaye.
Note wele the ensample of Rome,
To what misery it is come,
Which was their hedde principall:
Goddis worde, the grownde of vertue,
They went aboute for to subdue,
Werby they have gotten a faule.
Jeff. Beleve me, thou speakest reason,
I trowe we shall se a season
To the confusion of theym all:
But nowe to oure mater agayne;
I wolde heare mervelously fayne
In what place the Masse deceased?

[53] [Tush.] [54] [Doers.] [55] [Promise.]
[56] [This seems to be a quibbling contraction of the word *Cardinal;* Wolsey being here first obliquely introduced. In a few pages further his title appears at length.]

Wat. In Strasbrugh, that noble towne,
A cytè of most famous renowne,
Wheare the Gospell is frely preached.
Jeff. And what dost thou their names call
Which were counted, in especiall,
The adversaries of the Masse?
Wat. Truly, there were clarkes many one,
And gretly learned every chone,
Whose names my memory do passe:
Howe be it, Hedius, Butzer,[57] and Capito,[58]
Celarius, Symphorian, and wother mo,
In dede were reputed the chefe;
Whose lyvynge is so inculpable,
That their enemies, with oute fable,
In theym coulde fynd no repreſe.
Jeff. What did then the temporaltè,
Wolde they all there unto agrè
With outen eny dissencion?
Wat. As for the commens universally,
And a greate parte of the senatory,
Were of the same intencion;
Though a feawe were on the wother syde,
But they were lyghtly satisfyed
When they could nott Goddis worde denaye.
Jeff. I perceave then, manifestly,
The bisshoppe with his whole clargy
Were absent and a waye.
Wat. They were not absent, I thè ensure,
For with the Masse they dyd endure,
Whyls to speake they had eny breth:
In somoche, that for all this
The bisshoppe ceaseth not with his
To revenge the Masses death:
He spareth nott to course and banne,
Doynge all that ever he canne
To revoke Masse unto lyfe agayne.
He spendeth many a gulden,[59]
To hange, morther, and bren,
The Masses adversaries certayne.
Jeff. And getteth he any goode therby?
Wat. But littell yet, I thè certefy,
And, I trowe, lesse he shall have.
Nowe for all his hye magnificence
They counte hym (savynge reverence)
Not moche better than a knave.
Jeff. Peace, whorsone, beware of that;
I tell thè, hys skynne is consecrat,
Anoynted with holy oyntmente:

[57] [Martin Bucer, the well-known reformer.]
[58] [Capito, who was graduated at Basil, in medicine, theology, and law, embraced the opinions of Luther, formed an intimacy with Bucer and Oecolampadius, and united with them in the establishment of protestantism.]
[59] [Golden: probably *gold coin;* which is here implied to have been used for the purpose of procuring the protestant reformers to be hanged, murdered, and burned.]

Wat. Yee; so many a knave's skinne
Is gresyd with out and with in,
And yett they are not excellente.
Jeff. Cockes[60] bones! this is rancke heresy;
Yf it were knwone, by and by
Thou shuldest a faggote beare;[61]
To speake so of soche a prelate,
Whiles they are all of the same rate,
For the more parte every wheare.
But to the purpose that we beganne,
What did monkes and fryeres thanne,
When Masse went thus to wracke?
Wat. So uttered was their abusione,
That with great confusione
They were fayne to stande abacke.
Jeff. Och! I knowe a fryer in a place,
Whom they call father Matthias;
Yf he had bene at this brayde,
He wolde have made soche a noyse
With his horrible shrill voyce,
Able to have made theym afrayde.
Wat. Tosshe, there were fryres two or thre,
In fayth, as grett panched as he,
With bellies more then a barell;
Which, for all their learned strengthe,
Were so confounded there, at lengthe,
That they gave over their quarell.
Jeff. What made Jhon Faber[62] and Emser,
With their ayders, Eckyus[63] and Morner,
Did they unto Masse no socoure?
Wat. Yes, truly, with wordes of greate boste
They spared nott to sende their oste,
Threatnynge with fearfull terroure:
Howe be it, they had soche impediment,
That they coulde nott be there present,
As thou shalt the case understonde.
Emser, somtyme a reguler chanon,
To defende the Massis cannon
Longe before had taken in honde;
Which craftely to upholde with lyes,
So grevously troubled his eyes,
And also encombred his brayne,
That there was no remedy,
But he was fayne, certenly,
At home a fole to remayne.
Flatterynge Faber, full of disdayne,
Was newe admitted to be chaplayne
Unto Duke Ferdinand by othe;

[60] [An exclamation much employed by Chaucer and Sir David Lyndsay. See the valuable Glossaries of Tyrwhitt and Chalmers.]

[61] [One of the laws passed in Henry the Eighth's reign enacted, 'That if any spiritual person preach, teach, 'or maintain any thing contrary to the King's instructions or determinations in religious matters, he shall for his 'first offence, recant; for his second, abjure and *bear a faggot*; for his third, shall be adjudged a heretic and 'be burned.']

[62] [John Faber, Bishop of Vienna, nicknamed 'the Hammer of Hereticks,' from the title to one of his works.]

[63] [Eccius, a German divine who wrote against Luther. Vide Collier's Eccl. Hist. ii. 8.]

Wherfore, he had ynough of busynes
To disswade the Duke's noblenes
From favourynge the godly trothe.
As for Morner, the blynde lawear,
And Eckius, the frowarde sophistrar,
They have afore-castynge wisdome,
That in soche honorable audience,
Wheare as wyse clarckes are in presence,
They will nott very gladly come.
Jeff. Medled nott Erasmus in this matter,
Which so craftely can flatter
With cloked dissimulacion?
Wat. He was busy to make will fre: [64]
A thynge nott possible to be,
After wyse clarckis estimacion;
Wherfore, he intermitted lytle
As concernynge the Massis tytle,
With eny maner assercion.
He feareth greatly, some men saye,
Yf Masse shulde utterly decaye,
Least he shulde lose his pension: [65]
Notwithstondynge, he hath in his hedde
Soche an opinion of the God of bredde,
That he wolde lever [66] dye a marter
Then ever he wolde be of this consent,
That Christ is not theare corporally present,
In bredde, wyne, and water.
Also, he hath geven soche a laudacion
Unto the ydols of abhominacion,
In his glosynge pistles [67] before-tyme;
That yf he shulde wother wyse reclame,
Men wolde impute unto his blame
Of unstable inconstancy the cryme.
Jeff. Howe did they then with Lovayne, [68]
And with the universite of Colayne; [69]
Made they right noght for Massis parte?
Wat. Yes, surly, with terrible vociferacion
They made wonderfull exclamacion,
The worde of God to subverte.
They sent thether Thomas and Scote,
With wother questionistes, God wote,
Full of crakynge wordes inopinable; [70]
But when it cam to the effecte,
They were so abasshed and dejecte,
That once to hisse they were nott able.

[64] [Allusive to his 'Diatribe de libero arbitrio,' published in 1525 against Luther.]

[65] [Erasmus, in 1518, received a considerable present from Henry VIII. with an offer of a handsome maintenance for life; but the latter he neither accepted nor refused.]

[66] [*i. e.* Rather.]

[67] ['Epistolæ ab anno 1489 ad 1536: subjuncta appendice epistolarum, quarum de tempore non constat.' Some of these epistles were printed so early as 1519.]

[68] [Louvain: the most considerable university in the Netherlands.]

[69] [Cologne: the university is Roman Catholic, and has long been in a declining state.]

[70] [*i. e.* Full of pompous or boastful words that were unlooked for.]

Jeff. It was a thynge playnly acorst,
That Masse went thus by the worst,
Havynge so many on his wynge:
Wat. Goddis worde is so efficacious,
And of strengthe so mervelous,
That agaynst it is no resistynge.
Jeff. Neverthelesse, amonge this araye
Was nott theare one called Coclaye[72]
A littell, pratye, foolysshe poade?[73]
But, all though his stature be small,
Yett men saye, he lacketh no gall;
More venemous than any toade.
Wat. No; for he hadde a nother occupacyon,
Wrytinge to the Englysshe nacyon,
Invencyones of flatterye.
Jeff. To Englonde! in goode tyme,
I trowe the urchyn will clyme
To some promocion hastely.
Wat. Or els, truly, it shal cost hym a fall,
For he is in favoure with theym all,
Which have the Gospell in hate:
Continually he doth wryte,
Ever laborynge, daye and nyght,
To upholde Antichriste's estate.
Of papistes he is the defender,
And of Luther the condemner,
The Gospell utterly despysynge:
To forge lyes he hath no shame,
So that they somewhat frame
With the processe of his writynge.
He wrote of late to Herman[74] Ryncke,
Wastynge in vayne paper and yncke,
Pomeranes[75] epystle to corrupt;
Which by christen men requyred,
Accordynge as he was desyred,
Dyd his parte theym to instructe.
No thynge ther in was reprobable,
But all to[76] gedder true and veritable,
With out heresy or eny faulte.
Howe be it, this wretch unshamfast,
Thorowe malicie was nott a-gast,
The trueth with lyes to assaulte.
Jeff. Yf he be as thou sayst he is,
I warant he shall not mis
Of a benefice, and that shortly;

[72] [Johannes Coclæus, a high German, opposer of the reformation, and a good scholar.]
[73] [Or *podde*: probably for a *frog*. See Dr. Jamieson's Etym. Dict. in voc.]
[74] [Archbishop of Cologne, and Prince Elector: he published several treatises on Christian reformation, the administration of the sacraments, the cure of souls, the right institution of baptism, of matrimony, and burial of the dead.
[75] [A compendious letter sent by John Pomerane, curate of the congregation of Wittenburg, to the faithful Christian congregation in England, is recorded in Herbert's General History of Printing, anno 1536.]
[76] [Together.]

For, I ensure thè, oure Cardinall
With wother bisshops in generall,
Love soche a felowe entierly.
But lett this nowe passe and go to,
What is best for oure proffit to do,
Seyng Masse hath made his ende?
Wat. Surely, as farre as I can gesse,
We are lyke to be masterlesse,
Yerre[77] it be longe, so God me mende!
For as sone as the Masse is buried,
Oure master shalbe beggered
Of all his ryche possession:
Jeff. Then, mate, I put thè oute of doute,
It is goode that we loke aboute
Least we solfe a newe lesson.
Howe be it, howe longe will it be
Or ever that we shall se
Of this dedde Masse the buriall?
Wat. As touchynge that, in very dede
They are nott yett fully agrede;
But I suppose shortly they shall.
Some wolde have hym caried to Rome,
For be cause of all Christendome
It is the principal ce:[78]
And some wolde have hym to Fraunce,
Because of the noble mayntenaunce
That he had of Parys universitè:
Some also perswade, in goode ernest,
That in Englonde it were best
His dedde coors rychly to begrave.
Jeff. Nowe after my folysshe conjecture,
They coulde nott for his sepulture
Devyse a better place to have:
Also theare is Sayncte Thomas' schryne,[79]
Of precious stones and golde fyne,
Wherin the Masse they maye laye:
Wherof the ryches incomprehensible,
(As it is spoken by persones credible)
Myght an emperour's raunsome paye.
Morover, theare is the Cardinall,
Of whose pompe to make rehearceall
It passeth my capacitè,
With stately bissoppes a greate sorte,
Which kepe a mervelous porte[80]
Concernynge worldely royaltè.

[77] [Ere.] [78] [See, *i. e.* bishoprick.]

[79] [That is, the shrine of Becket, at Canterbury. Erasmus, who visited it, tells us, 'a coffin of wood which 'covered a coffin of gold was drawn up by ropes and pullies, and then an invaluable treasure was discovered; 'gold was the meanest thing to be seen there: all shined and glittered with the rarest and most precious jewels, of 'an extraordinary bigness; some were larger than the egg of a goose.' See also Stowe's account of the riches this shrine afforded; he says, that the spoils filled two great chests, one of which six or eight strong men could 'do no more than convey out of the church.]

[80] [*Port*, Fr. gait, carriage.]

Prestes also that are seculer,
With monkes, and chanons reguler,
Abownde so in possession;
That both in welfare and wede,
With oute doute they farre excede
The nobles of the region.
Wat. Yf it be thus, as thou dost declare,
It is best that masse be buried theare,
With due honorable reverence.
Jeff. Ye; but they have a frowarde witt,
And, par case, they will nott admitt
But utterly make resistence.
Wat. Holde thy peace, and be content,
The gospell by a commaundment
To do it, will strayghtly theym compell.
Jeff. They sett nott by the Gospell a flye;
Diddest thou not heare whatt villany
They did unto the Gospell?
Wat. Why, did they agaynst hym conspyre?
Jeff. By my trothe, they sett hym a fyre
Openly in London citè:
Wat. Who caused it so to be done?
Jeff. In sothe, the Bisshoppe of London,[81]
With the Cardinalle's authoritè,
Which at Paulis-crosse ernestly
Denounced it to be heresy,
That the Gospell shuld come to lyght:
Callynge theym heretikes execrable,
Whiche caused the Gospell venerable
To come unto laye-men's syght.
He declared there,[82] in his furiousnes,
That he fownde erroures, more and les,
Above thre thousande in the translacion.
Howe be it, when all cam to pas,
I dare say unable he was
Of one erroure to make probacion.
"Alas! he sayde, masters and frendes,
Consyder well nowe in youre myndes
These heretikes diligently;
They saye, that commen women
Shall assone come unto heven
As those that lyve perfectly."
Wat. And was that their very sayinge?
Jeff. After this wyse, with oute faynynge,
In a certayne prologe they wryte—
That a whoare, or an open synner,
By meanes of Christ, oure Redemer,
Whome God to repent doth incyte,

[81] [Cuthbert Tonstall.]

[82] [This declaration was made in a sermon: and in 1530 a royal proclamation was issued, by advice of the clergy and universities, for totally suppressing the translation of the Scripture, *corrupted* by William Tindal. Yet after the papal power was abolished in England, Cranmer procured a complete translation of the Bible to be produced, grounded on that of Tindal, which was printed with the royal licence, and distributed to every English parish-church.]

Shall soner come to salvacion
By merites of Christis passion,
Than an ouwtwarde holy lyver.
Wat. They did there none wother thinge shewe,
Then is rehearced in Mathewe,
In the one and twenty chapter.
Jeff. For all that, he sayde in his sermone,
Rather then the Gospell shulde be comone,
Bryngynge people into erroure;
He wolde gladly soffre marterdome,
To upholde the devyl's fredome,
Of whom he is a confessoure.
Wat. Why, makest thou hym a saynt?
Jeff. Even soche a one as paynters do paynt
On walles and bordes artificially,
Which with myters, crosses, and copes,
Apere lyke gaye bisshops and popes,
In strawnge fassion outwardly.
But they are ydols in effecte,
Mamettes[83] of Antichristis secte,
To blynde folke deceatfully;—
Wat. I perceave well now, that *honores*
(As it is spoken) *mutant mores*,
With soche men most commenly.
But thynkest thou in thy mynde,
That he coulde in his herte fynde
In soche a case death to souffer?
Jeff. Naye, yt was a worde of office;
I warante he is nott so folisshe
To putt his boddy so in daunger.
Neverthelesse, with tongue and porsse
All though he shulde fare the worsse,
Gladly he will do his 'dever[84]
To plucke the worde of God downe,
And to exalte the thre folde crowne
Of Antichrist hys bever.
Also there is a charge under payne,
That no man eny thynge retayne
Of the Gospel newly translate:
For yf they presume the contrary,
They lose their goodes with oute mercy,
And their boddies to be incarcerate.[85]
Morover, that no clarcke be so bolde,
Prevy or pearte with hym to holde,
Preachynge ought in his favoure;
But contrary their braynes to sett
Bothe in scoles and in the pulpett,
Hym and all his to dishonoure.
Wherfore, it boteth the Gospell nothynge,
As concernynge the Massis buryinge,
To sende eny precepte thether;

[83] [*i. e.* Puppets, images.] [84] [For endeavour.] [85] [Put into confinement.]

For they had lever, by this daye,
Go unto the devill strayght waye,
Then to obeye hym in eny maner.
Wat. This passeth of all that ever I hearde;
I wonder they were nott a-fearde
Of so notable blasphemy;
Nott-with-stondynge, their interrupcion
Shall tourne to their destruccion,
At longe runnynge, fynally.
For though they caused to be brent
The outwarde shaddowe or garment
Of Goddis worde, so hye of pryce;
Yett the grownde of his majesty
Printed in christen hertes secretly,
They are nott able to prejudyce,
Therefore, whyther they will or nill,
Yf it be the holy Gospel's will,
Masse in Englonde to bury;
Lett theym crake[86] untill they burst,
Doyng their best and their wurst,
Itt avayleth nott a chery.
They are worldly and carnall,
And the Gospell is spretuall,
Assisted with angels' presence:
Jeff. Yf it come unto that reckenynge,
They will mo angels with theym brynge,
Then shalbe in the Gospel's assistence.
Wat. Have they of angels eny garryson?
Jeff. Ye, God knoweth many a legion,
Att all tymes theym to socoure:
Wat. Howe do they these angels gett?
Jeff. By my fayth, of poure men's swett,
Which for theym sore do laboure.
Wat. Aha! I wott well what thou meane:
Soche angels[87] are nott worthe a beane,
Yf it come to the poynt once.
But nowe wolde I heare the expresse
The maner of their holynesse,
Brefly declared at tonce.
Jeff. Mary, that is done forthe with all,
For they have no holynes attall,
As farre as I sawe yett ever:
Howe be it, shortly to discousse
Their proude estate so glorious,
I shall here my selfe endever.
Fyrst, as I sayde, there is a Cardinall,
Which is the ruler principall
Through the realme in every parte;
Wat. Have they not in Englonde a Kynge?
Jeff. Alas! manne, speake not of that thynge,
For it goeth to my verye harte;

[86] [Bluster, or use high-swelling words.]
[87] [*Angels*, being formerly a gold coin current in England, the equivoque of Jeffray here becomes apparent to his colleague.]

And I shall shewe thè a cause whye,
There is no prynce under the skye
That to compare with hym is able;
A goodly persone he is of stature,
Endued with all gyftes of nature,
And of genttylnes incomparable.[88]
In sondrye sciences he is sene;
Havynge a ladye to his Qwene[89]
Example of womanlye behaveoure,
Notwithstandynge, for all this,
By the Cardinall ruled he is,
To the distayninge of his honoure.
Wat. Doeth he folowe the Cardinales intente?
Jeff. Yee, and that the commones repente
With many a wepynge teare.
Wat. The Cardinall vexeth theym than?
Jeff. Alas! sens[90] Englande fyrst began
Was never soche a tyrante theare.
By his pryde and faulce treachery,
Whoardom and baudy leachery,
He hath bene so intollerable,
That poure commens,[91] with their wyves,
In maner are weary of their lyves,
To se the londe so miserable.
Through all the londe he caused perjury,
And afterwarde toke awaye their money,
Procedynge most tyrannously:
The poure people nedy and bare,
His cruell herte wolde nott spare,
Leavynge theym in greate misery;
Insomoche, that for lacke of fode,
Creatures bought with Christis blode
Were fayne to dye in petous[92] cas.
Also, a ryght noble prince of fame,
Henry[93] the Ducke of Buckyngame,
He caused to deye, alas! alas!
The goodes that he thus gaddered,[94]
Wretchedly he hath scattered,
In causes nothynge expedient,
To make wyndowes, walles, and dores,
And to mayntayne baudes and whores,
A grett parte therof is spent.

[88] [To compliment the gentleness of Henry the Eighth, must to modern readers appear solemn mockery: yet his consort, Catherine Parr, in an introduction to her book of prayers, speaks of her 'moste favourable lord and husband' as of another Moses. See Royal Authors, i. 52. last edit.]

[89] [Catharine of Arragon; from whom the king separated himself in July, 1531.]

[90] [Since.] [91] [Commoners; put perhaps for the laity.] [92] [Piteous case.]

[93] [Not Henry, but *Edward*, Duke of Buckingham, according to Lord Herbert and others, was impeached and brought to the block by Wolsey's means, in 1521; the people loudly murmuring at his fate, and sharply remarking—"it was not strange, that the son of a butcher should delight in shedding blood."]

[94] [Gathered. In Harl. MS. 599, may be seen an inventory of Cardinal Wolsey's rich "householde stuffe:" a computus, it would seem, kept by his own officers. Of his "plate" a gorgeous account is given in Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, ii. 283. See also Stowe's Chronicle, 1631, p. 546. Lord Herbert has given a general intimation of his "brave furniture" at York-place. Hist. of Hen. VIII. p. 290. Shakspeare makes Wolsey deliver a schedule of his own private wealth to the king by mistake, and contrary to history.]

Wat. Lett all this pas, I praye thè hertely,
And shewe me somwhat seriously
Of his spretuall magnificence.
Jeff. Fyrst, he hath a tytle of S. Cecile,[95]
And is Legate of latere,
A dignitè of hye premynence;
He hath bisshopryckes[96] two or thre,
With the Pope's full authoritè
In cases of dispensacion.
Wat. He maye then with the Masse dispence,
Yf he be faulen in the sentence
Of the grett excommunication.
Jeff. That he maye, in all maner cases,
Howe be it, he geveth nothynge grates,[97]
But selleth all for reddy mony;
Excepte courses and blessynges,
With syght of his golden rynges,
All this he geveth frely.
Wat. Hath he so large facultè
Of the Popis benygnitè,
As it is spoken abroade?
Jeff. He stondeth in the Popes roume,
Havynge of his bulles a grett some,
I trowe, an whoale carte loade;
Wherwith mens porses to descharge,
He extendeth his power more large
Then the power of Almyghty God.
For whether it be goode or ill,
His pervers mynde he will fulfill,
Supplantynge the trueth by falshod;
To gett hym a synguler name,
The londe he bryngeth oute of frame
Agaynst all Goddis forbod.
He tourneth all thynge topsy tervy,
Nott sparynge for eny symony
To sell spretuall gyftes:
In grauntes of consanguinitè
To mary with in neare degrè
He getteth awaye mens thryftes.
Of seculer folke he can make reguler,
And agayne of reguler seculer,
Makynge, as he lyste, blacke of whyte:
Open whordom and advoutry
He aloweth to be matrimony,

[95] [By the united interest of the kings of France and England, Wolsey was made Cardinal of St. Cecilia in 1515; and in the following year obtained a commission from the pope to be Legate *à latere;* being far the most considerable of the three degrees of legates. It was on a charge of having obtained this dignity contrary to the Stat. of Provisors, 16 Ric. II. that he was indicted by the Attorney General on the first day of term Oct., 9, 1529.]

[96] [Beside the high posts obtained from the see of Rome, the king bestowed on his avaricious favourite the rich abbey of St. Alban's *in commendam*, the bishoprics of Lincoln, Durham, and afterwards of Winchester: and with these he held in farm the bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, enjoyed by foreigners who were allowed non-residence, and compounded for such indulgence by admitting Wolsey to share the revenues. See Mr. Chalmer's Hist. of Oxford, ii. 291.]

[97] [Gratis.]

Though it be never so unryght.[99]
Laufull wedlocke to divorce,
He geveth very lytle force,
Knowynge no cause wherfore:
He playeth the devill and his dame,
All people reportynge the same,
Coursse the tyme that ever he was bore!

Wat. It cannot syncke in my mynde,
That the Cardinall is so blynde
To make eny soche divorcement.

Jeff. Though it be nott in thy belefe,
I tell thè, to putt it in prefe,[100]
He doth all that he can invent.

Wat. Bitwixte whom dost thou wene?

Jeff. Bitwixte the Kynge and the Quene
Which have bene longe of one assent.

Wat. Some cause then he hath espyed,
Which asonder theym to devyde
Is necessary and urgent.

Jeff. Nothynge, but the butcher[101] doth fayne
That the goode ladye is barayne,
Lyke to be past chylde bearynge.

Wat. Had the Kyng never chylde by her?

Jeff. No man sawe ever goodlyer
Then those which she forth did brynge.

Wat. Is there eny of them a-lyve?

Jeff. Ye; a Princes[102] whom to descryve
It were herde for an oratoure.
She is but a chylde of age,[103]
And yett is she bothe wyse and sage,
Of very beautifull faveoure:[104]
Perfectly she doth represent
The singuler graces excellent
Bothe of father and mother.
Howe be it, all this nott regardynge,
The carter of Yorcke[105] is meddelynge
Forto divorce theym a-sonder

Wat. Are nott the nobles here with offended?

Jeff. Yes; but it can not be amended,
As longe as he is the ruler.

Wat. I thynke the Quene is nott faulty,
But hathe done ynough of her party,
Yf it had pleased Goddis benificence.

Jeff. None is faulty but the butcher
Whom Almyghty God doth suffer
To scourge the people's offence:

[99] [The lines which follow, to the extent of forty-five, were omitted in the second impression of this work, as being then a little out of place: the king having married Catharine Parr, and Wolsey being defunct.]

[100] [Qu. in proof?]

[101] [Polydore Virgil said of Cardinal Wolsey—*Parentum habuit virum probum at* CANIUM.]

[102] [Princess Mary, born Feb. 11, 1516.]

[103] [*i. e.* Her age is but that of a child: *circa* 14.]

[104] [See John Heywood's metrical description of this Princess in the Royal Authors, vol. i. p. 80.]

[105] [In Nov. 1514, Wolsey was translated from the bishopric of Lincoln to the primacy of York.]

Unto God he is so odious,
That nothynge can be prosperous
Where as he hath governaunce.
Sens that he cam fyrst forwarde,
All thynges have gone backwarde,
With moche myschefe and mischaunce.
No yerly purpose he doeth intende,
That ever commeth to a goode ende,
But damage and tribulacion.
Wat. In these parties it is verifyed,
That he hath a college edified,[106]
Of mervelous foundacion.
Jeff. Of prevy houses of baudry
He hath made a stues openly,
Endued with large exibicion.
Wat. Lycknest thou to whoarmongers
A colage of clarkes and scolears.
Ensuynge learned erudicion?
Jeff. Thou mayst perceave, by reason,
That vertue shalbe very geason,[107]
Amonge a sorte of ydle losels,[108]
Which have ryches infinite,
In welth and wordly delyte
Geven to pleasure and nothynge eles.
Wat. They rede there both Greke and Ebrue:[109]
Jeff. I will not saye but it is true,
That there be men of grett science;
Howe be it, where pryde is the begynnynge,
The devill is commenly the endynge,
As we se by experience.
And, yf thou consyder well,
Even as the towre of Babell
Began of a presompcion;
So this colledge, I dare undertake,
Which the Cardinall doth make,
Shall confunde the region.
What is it to se dogges and cattes,
Gargell[110] heddes, and Cardinall hattes,

[106] [He built the south, east, and part of the west side of Christ-Church College, Oxford, but lived not to complete his munificent design. The following distich was left upon the walls of the Cardinal's College, whilst it was building:

Non stabat ista domus, multis fundata rapinis,
Aut cadet, aut alius raptor habebit eam.
These walls which rapine rais'd, what ills await,
By the just judgment of unerring fate;
Soon, or to ruin they shall fall a prey,
Or own a new usurper's lawless sway.

Seward's Anecdotes.

Mr. Chalmers in his ornate Hist. of Oxford gives the Latin distich a different reading. In 1532 the society was refounded under the title of King Henry the Eighth's College in Oxford. The constitution of this college was afterwards changed, by translating the episcopal see from Oseney, and then became the cathedral church of Christ in Oxford, of King Henry the Eighth's foundation. See Chalmers' Hist. vol. ii. p. 305.]

[107] [Rare, uncommon. So in Spenser's Visions of the World's Vanitie, l. 5:
—'all good is *geason*.']

[108] [Worthless fellows. See Spenser's description of one, in the Faerie Queene, B. II. C. iii. St. 4.]

[109] [Hebrew.]

[110] [*Gargouille*, Fr. These heads probably were ornaments for water-spouts.]

Paynted on walles with moche cost;
Which ought of dutè to be spent
Apon poure people indigent,
For lacke of fode utterly lost.
Wat. Hath he for soche folke no providence?
Jeff. No: savynge only to rid them hence.
A proper waye he ymageneth.
Wat. After what maner porviaunce?[111]
Jeff. Truely, least they shulde be combraunce,
A warfare he theym sendeth.
Wat. Many of theym then are slayne?
Jeff. They never come home haulfe agayne,
I may tell thè, in goode plyght:
For some be taken presoners,
And some are dedde of the fevers,
Many of theym losynge their sight.
Of twenty thousande fyghtynge men
Scant returneth home agayne ten,
In goode state and perfect lykynge:
For the more part made beggers,
And so become robbers and stelers,
Wherby they have a shroade[112] endynge.
Wat. He fareth nott the better for warre:—
Jeff. Yes, mary, it doth hym prefarre
To more gaynes then I can rehearce:
For fyrst, or the warre do begynne,
They laboure his favoure to wynne,
Gevynge gyftes many and dyvers.
And yf it cannot be so pacifyed,
They brybe hym on the wother syde,
At the least for to be favoured:
And, fynally, warre for to ceace,
With rewardes they must hym greace[113]
Or els peace cannot be performed.
Wat. Dothe he practyse soche conveyaunce?
Jeff. Ye; and for that cause in Fraunce
This warre-tyme he was beloved.
Wat. Thou makest hym then a trayter.
Jeff. I recken hym a faulce fayterer;[114]
Yf the very trueth were proved.
Wat. Well, lett this pas, howe dothe he
In gevynge grauntes of libertè,
And cases that be dispensable?
Jeff. He foloweth the commen practyse
Of marchantes in their marchandyse,
To gett worldly goodes movable;

[111] [Purveyance: *i. e.* after what manner does he make provision for them? So in the old mystery intitled Candlemas-Day; see Hawkins' Origin of the Eng. Drama, i. 20:

With me to go, I pray you make *purviaunce*.]

[112] [Shrewd, *i. e.* bad, wicked, as used by Chaucer.]

[113] [To grease, was sometimes used in a reproachful sense, for to bribe, to corrupt by secret presents. See Dr. Johnson's example from Dryden's Persius.]

[114] [*Faitard*, Fr. a bad doer, or idle liver; according to Minsheu and Cotgrave. The old Glossarist to Spenser's Shepherds Calendar explains it by the term vagabond.]

Savynge, they take grett laboures,
And he doth all by his factoures,
Restynge in quyet felicitè.
He hath falce farises[115] and scrybes,
Gapynge for nothynge but for brybes,
Full of fraudes and perversitè,
Wat. They are named yett wother wyse:
Jeff. Trothe, but they folowe their gyse[116]
In wicked operacions.
Wat. I put a case nowe,—they be leawde,
As I thyncke they are all be shrewde,
In their administracions:
Shall they to hell for the Cardinal,
Or els thynkest thou that he shall
Go thether in his owne persone?
Jeff. Though he have here soche prerogative
In all poyntes that be dispensative,
To performe it by commyssion:
Yett in this point sekerly,[117]
He must performe it personally,
Withoute any exempcion.
Wat. Yf he be as thou hast here sayde,
I wene the devils will be afrayde
To have hym as a companion.
For what with his execracions,
And with his terrible fulminacions,
He wolde handle theym so;
That for very drede and feare,
All the devils that be theare,
Wilbe glad to let hym go.
Jeff. As for that, thou mayst be assured
The devils with coursses are inured,
As authours there of with out fayle:
Wat. What yf he the devils blisse?
Jeff. They regarde it no more be[118] Gisse!
Then waggynge of hys mules tayle.
Wat. Doth he use then on mules to ryde?
Jeff. Ye; and that with so shamfull pryde
That to tell it is not possible:
More lyke a god celestiall
Then eny creature mortall,
With worldly pompe incredible.
Before him rydeth two prestes stronge[119]
And they beare two crosses ryght longe,

[115] [Pharisees.] [116] [*Guise*, Fr. Fancy, humour.] [117] [Surely, certainly.]

[118] [*i. e.* By Gisse; as in Shakspeare's Hamlet, &c. an adjuration contracted from the name of the Saviour.]

[119] [Anstis, the herald, makes the following remarks upon the above passage of Roy's Satire, which, considering their curiosity, and the obscurity of the book where they were inserted, the reader may not be displeased to find transferred to the present work.

"Here is a long catalogue, and yet possibly not one particular is singular to the Cardinal. For the same honours, according to the custom of Rome, were to be paid to every Legate *de latere*, as to the sovereign pontiff himself (Du Fresn. Gloss. in voce.) Nay, he might of right use all papal ensigns and ornaments; for which Parisius produces the vouchers. (De Resignat. l. 7. c. 13. n. 6 & 7.) I know not what was the figure of

Gapynge in every mans face:
After theym folowe two laye-men secular,
And eache of theym holdynge a pillar
In their hondes, steade of a mace.
Then foloweth my lorde on his mule,[120]
Trapped with golde under her cule,[121]
In every poynt most curiously;
On each syde a pollaxe is borne,
Which in none wother use are worne,
Pretendynge some hid mistery.
Then hath he servauntes fyve or six score,
Some behynde and some before,
A marvelous great company:
Of which are lordes and gentlemen,
With many gromes and yemen,
And also knaves amonge.
Thus dayly he procedeth forthe,
And men must take it at worthe
Whether he do right or wronge:
A grett carle he is and a fatt,
Wearynge on his hed a red hatt,

the *Pillars* here mentioned, but it was not an unusual ensign, because Chaucer in the Plowman's Tale, setting forth the duty of clergymen, v. 2044:

And usin none yerthly honours,
Ne croune, ne curious covertours,
Ne *pillar*, ne other proude pall, &c.

According to the present customs in this country, no one will charge the Cardinal's riding on a mule to be a mark of his insolence or haughtiness; neither, on the other side, was it any testimony of his humility; but according to the usage of his age, and in correspondence to the antient practice of clergymen, who esteemed it unbecoming them to ride on an horse, when our Saviour rode on the fole of an ass. Thus St. Basil, on Psalm xxxii. *Exclusus est ab usu sanctorum equus;* and here I cannot forbear from diverting you with the odd simplicity of the style, wherein Peraldus expresses himself on this occasion: *Christus nunquam equitavit, tantum semel asinavit, atque adeo neque mulavit, neque palafrenavit, neque dromedariavit.* (Tom. 2. Summæ de Superbia.) His sentiment was like that of some other rigid disciplinarians, that the clergy should travel on foot. But it is well known, that our Judges, till the first year of Queen Mary, rode always to Westminster on mules. (Dugd. Orig. Jurid. p. 38.) Hence, Christopher Urswyke, who had been Dean of Windsor, in his will, made 10th Oct. 1521, devises 'to Mr. Cuthbert Tunstall, Maister of the Rolles, his gowne of black furred with martron, his typpet of sarcenet furred with sables, and his little *mule* with sadyle and bridle and all his harnes:' (*Lib. Mainwaryng, in Cur. Prærog.*;) and upon the motive of an affected humility it doubtless was, that *John de Beverle* in his will dated in 1380, *Volo quod corpus meum sit ductum ab hospitio meo per duos asinos, si possint inveniri*, &c. (*Registr. Bekingham Episc. Linc.*) and hence the sumptuary law for apparel, (24 H. 8. c. 13.) prohibits all persons to wear upon their horse, *mule*, or other beast, any silk of purpure, &c. Of the custom of our clergy formerly, see Bede, (Eccl. Hist. l. iii. c. 14. l. iv. c. 3.) and that they first began to ride on mares; (*ibid.* l. 2. c. 13.) unless there be some error in the print. And as to Cardinals, David Chambre, in his History of the Popes abridged, acquaints us that Innocent IV. gave them liberty to ride on horseback, but that Pope Clement V. ordained they should ride upon asses, according to the example of our Saviour. But these rich trappings and housings of the Cardinal's mule may give offence; herein he could justify himself by an especial privilege to those of his degree, *Equitare mulas phaleratas et clavam argenteam ante se deferre.* Here then is a pole-axe or mace also; and the same author (p. 30.) acquaints us, that in the Roman court, the Cardinal's *Dum equitant mulas, præ mittunt apparitores cum argenteis clavis et bulgis ab acupictoribus gentilitiis insignibus, auro et argento redimitis, necnon famulos duos pedisseguos (parafrænarios vocant) buculis duobus innixos.* The Chancellor had, and still hath, a serjeant of arms who bears a mace before him; and in like manner the Chancellor of France." Anstris' Letter to Fiddes, *in Append. to* Fiddes' Life of Wolsey, No. 58. Lond. 1726. fol.

Wolsey had *two* great crosses of silver borne before him as legate and archbishop. "Not contented, says Lord Herbert, with the cross of York, he added another of his legacy, which two of the tallest priests that could be found carried on great horses before him: insomuch (as Polydore Virgil saith) it grew to a jest; as if *one* cross did not suffice for the expiation of his sins." Hist. of Hen. VIII. p. 80.]

[120] [In a representation of *Le Champ de drap d'or*, published by the Society of Antiquaries, the Cardinal is mounted on a mule very richly caparisoned.]

[121] [*Cul.* Fr. Tail.]

Procured with angels' subsidy.[122]
And, as they say, in time of rayne,
Fower of his gentelmen are fayne
To holde over it a cannopy:
Besyde this, to tell thè more newes,
He hath a payre of costly shewes,
Which sildom touche eny grownde,
They are so goodly and curious,
All of golde and stones precious,
Costynge many a thousande pownde.
Wat. And who did for thes shewes paye?
Jeff. Truly many a ryche abbáye,
To be easied of hys visitacion.
Wat. Doth he in his owne persone visit?
Jeff. No, another for hym doth it,
That can skyll of the occupacion:
A felowe nether wyse nor sadde,
But he was never yett full madde,
Though he be [123]frantyke and more:
Doctor Alyn [124] he is named,
One that to lye is not ashamed,
Yf he spye avauntage therfore.
Wat. Are soche with hym in eny pryce?
Jeff. Ye; for they do all his advyce,
Whether it be wronge or right.
Wat. Hath the Cardinall eny gay mansion?
Jeff. Grett palaces,[125] with out compareson,
Most glorious of outwarde sight:
And with in decked poynt-device,[126]
More lyke unto a paradice
Then an erthely habitacion.
Wat. He commeth then of some noble stocke?
Jeff. His father coulde snatche a bullock,
A butcher by his occupacion.

[122] [i. e. Purchased at the court of Rome, says Mr. Ellis, Hist. Sketch, prefixed to Specimens of Eng. Poets, ii. 13.]

[123] ['Halfe frantyke.' 2d edit.]

[124] [Chaplain to the Cardinal, (by whom he was presented to a living unfairly,) and a commissary in his legatine court. Vide Ld. Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII. p. 192. Wood's Athenæ, i. 35. Rapin's Hist. i. 764, and Harl. Misc. II. 543.]

[125] [Hampton Court palace was one of the Cardinal's stately edifices; the grand hall of which now remains a solitary void. His scheme for supplying various fountains and reservoirs from the little Longford river is attended with most beneficial effects in all that district to the present hour. Skelton, in Why come ye not to Court? thus intimates the more than divided attention which Wolsey attracted from the king.

The Kynges court
Should have the excellence,
But Hampton Court
Hath the preeminence,
And Yorkes-place
With my Lordes grace,
To whose magnificence
Is all the confluence,
Sutes and supplications,
Embassades of all nacions.

York-place, first named White-hall, was sold by Wolsey in 1530 to Henry VIII. See Antiq. Reports, vol. i.]

[126] [Finically exact. See a novel and curious derivation of the term *point-devise* in Mr. Douce's erudite illustrations of Shakspeare, i. 93.]

Wat. Howe cam he unto this glory?
Jeff. Playnly, by the devil's policy,
As it is every wheare sayde.
Wat. Are the states here with all content?
Jeff. Yf they speake aught, they are shent;[127]
Wherfore, I tell thè they are a frayde.
Wat. Whatt abstinence useth he to take?
Jeff. In Lent all fysshe he doth forsake,
Fedde with partriges and plovers.
Wat. He leadeth then a Lutheran's lyfe?
Jeff. O naye, for he hath no wyfe,
But whoares that be his lovers.
Wat. Yf he use whoares to occupy,
It is grett marvell, certaynly,
That he escapeth the Frenche pockes.
Jeff. He had the pockes, with out fayle,
Wherfore, people on hym did rayle
With many obprobrious mockes.[128]
Wat. He was then abhorred of his prince?
Jeff. By my troth, man, not an ynche;[129]
Still in favoure continually.
Wat. By the devill then he worketh?
Jeff. Truly, so every man judgeth:
But, alas! what remedy?
Wat. Hath he children by his whoares also?
Jeff. Ye, and that full prowdly they go;
Namly, one whom I do knowe,
Which hath of the churches goodes clerly,
More then two thousand pownde yerly,
And yett is not content, I trowe.
His name is Master Winter,[130]
For whom my lorde, his father,
Hathe gotten of the French kynge's grace,
That when the Bisshop of Rone[131]
Out of this lyfe dedde and gone,
He shall succede hym in his place.
Wat. And is his father as redy
To promoute the noble progeny,
As he is towardes his bastardes?
Jeff. He favoureth lytell noble lynage,
Takynge a waye their heritage,
Rather then to sett theym forwardes.
He breaketh men's testamentes,
And, contrary to their intentes,

[127] [Roughly treated, sharply reproved.]
[128] [This degrading imputation actually made a part of the sixth article in his impeachment; wherein he is charged with 'rowning in the King's ear, and blowing upon him with his perilous and infective breath, to the 'marvellous danger of his highness.']
[129] [Inch.]
[130] [In the 38th article of the Cardinal's impeachment he is charged with having two children by one Lark's daughter; and in the 28th, mention is made of his son *Winter;* whom even his vindicator, Fiddes, readily grants was generally suspected to have been the Cardinal's natural child; and that there are indeed some strong presumptions that he was really so. This Winter had successively enjoyed a deanery, five prebends, an archdeaconry, a chancellorship, a provostship, and two rectories.]
[131] [Roan, or Rouen, in Normandy.]

At his owne mynde and pleasure,
He wilbe nedes their exsecutours,
Sayinge with the Devill, " all is oures,"
Rychely to encreace his treasour.
Many a goode ladys joynter [132]
He engroseth up into his cofer;
Of the which some here to name,
I recken the Countes of Darby,[133]
With the Countes of Salsbury,[134]
Also the Duches of Buckyngame.[135]

Wat. Is the devil soche an whorsone?

Jeff. Och! there is nether Duke ne Barone,
Be they never of so grett power;
But they are constrayned to croutche
Before this butcherly sloutche,
As it were unto an Emproure.

Wat. Nowe, surly then, after my mynde,
They cannot soche another fynde
The dedde Massis office to solempnize.

Jeff. Yf it be his pleasure he maye;
Howe be it, he useth lytell to praye,
For it is late or he do aryse.
Also as farre as I canne muse,
To do this office he will refuse,
Dredynge his pompe therby to lose.

Wat. As for that, it shall nothynge skyll
Playnly yf it be the Gospel's will,
Do it he must and cannot chose.

Jeff. Yett it wilbe a parelous busines:
For bisshops and prestes, doutles,
To ayde hym will nott be slacke;
Though they love hym as the devill,
Yett to do the Gospell some evill,
No diligence in theym shall lacke.

Wat. Have the bisshops so grett ryches?

Jeff. It is nott possible to expres
The treasure of the spretualtè.

Wat. What are the bisshops divines?

Jeff. Ye, they can wele skyll of wynes,
Better then of devinitè:
Lawears they are of experience,
And in cases agaynst conscience
They are parfet [136] by practyse:

[132] [Jointure.]

[133] [Anne, daughter of Lord Hastings, who became a widow in 1521. Her eldest son being then only in the eleventh year of his age, Wolsey got a grant of several of his manors in Lincolnshire, which came into the king's hands on account of the Earl's minority. See Collins, art. E. of Derby.]

[134] [Margaret Plantagenet, the daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, and wife of Sir Richard Pole, was created Countess of Salisbury in 1513, and attainted and beheaded in 1541. See Bolton's Ext. Peerage, and Beatson's Polit. Index.]

[135] [The widow of Edward, Duke of Buckingham, who fell a sacrifice to Wolsey's machination and personal enmity. Vid. supra, p. 24. The duchess was daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. See Lord Herbert's Hist. p. 98.]

[136] [*Parfait*, Fr. perfect.]

To forge excommunicacions,
For tythes and decimacions,
  Is their continuall exercyse.
As for preachynge they take no care,
They wolde se a course at an hare
  Rather then to make a sermon:
To folowe the chace of wylde dere,
Passynge the tyme with joly chere,
  Amonge theym all is common.
To playe at the cardes and dyce
Some of theym are nothynge nyce,
  Both at hasard and momchaunce:[137]
They dryncke, in gaye golden bolles,[138]
The bloudde of poure simple soules,
  Perisshynge for lacke of sustenaunce.
Their hongery cures they never teache,
Nor will soffre none wother to preache
  But soche as can lye and flatter.
Biddynge the beades after this rate—
" Ye shall praye for the goode estate
  Of my lorde my master:"
And so, redynge a ragge mans roule,[139]
He exhorteth to praye for the soule
  Of this persone and of that,
Which gave boke, bell, or challes,[140]
To the fortheraunce of Goddis servès,
  Babblynge he wotteth neare what.
Soche preachers be commended,
And the wother are reprehended,
  Which preache the Gospell purly;
So they sitt apon coussheńs softe,
Their royaltè exalted alofte,
  They regarde nott Goddis worde, surly.
They are so geven to avaryce,
That they ponder no prejudyce
  Happenynge to the comen-weall:
They norysshe servauntes in ydelnes,
Which, when they are masterles,
  Are constrayned to begge or steale.
To tell all the abhominacion
Of their wretched conversacion,

[137] [Mum-chance is a game of hazard with dice, says Mr. Warton, Hist. Eng. Poet. iii. 155; where a splendid banquet given by Wolsey at his palace of Whitehall, is detailed from Holinshed's Chronicle, and this game introduced, anno 1530. A great golden cup, filled with many hundred crowns, is also particularized.]

[138] [Bowls.]

[139] [In Rees's Cyclopædia *Ragman's Roll* is also called *Ragimund's Roll*, 'from one Ragimund, a papal legate in Scotland, who calling before him all the beneficed clergy in that kingdom, caused them upon oath to give in the value of their benefices; according to which they were afterwards taxed by the court of Rome.' This derivation, however, is disproved by Dr. Jamieson, in his Etymol. Dict. who affirms that '*Ragman's Roll* is a collection of those deeds by which the nobility and gentry of Scotland were tyrannically constrained to subscribe allegiance to Edw. I. of England, and which were more particularly recorded in four large rolls of parchment, kept in the Tower of London.' The term *ragman's roll* seems, however, to be applied in our record offices, as it is by Roy, to stigmatize certain deeds of small importance and great length. The word *ragman*, in its legal application, is remarked by Justice Barrington to have had no very precise meaning annexed to it. Obs. on the Statutes, p. 190.]

[140] [Chalice.]

It were bothe longe and tedious.
Wat. If the bisshops do so abownde,
Howe are seculer prestes fownde
With persons which be religious?
Jeff. Thynkest that with theym it is scant:
Naye, naye, man; I thè warant
They fele no indigent rearage: [141]
For they have goodes innumerable,
And fare moche better at their table,
Then lordes of worthy parage.[142]
Fortune, with prestes, runneth on wheles,
So that some have after their heles
A scoare of yemen, taule and stoute;
Whom forto mayntayne ydely,
They have benefyces very many
In the country there aboute:
Wherby, they are so proude and vayne,
That the noble men they disdayne
With scornfull indignacion;
Though, peraventure, their fathers
Were other sowters [143] or cobblers,
Of no maner reputacion.
As for religious folke, to be brefe,
In all Englonde they have the chefe
And most plesaunt commodites;
The goodly soyles, the goodly londes,
Wrongfully they holde in their hondes,
Endued with many knyghtes fees.
By coloure of their faulce prayres,
Defrauded are the ryght heyres
From their true inheritaunce:
They are the cause of mysery,
Of whordom, theft, and beggery,
To the commen-welles hynderaunce.[144]
No frutfull worke they use,
All honest laboure they refuse,
Geven wholy to sluggesshnes:
They are nether gostly nor divine,
But lyke to brut beastes and swyne,
Waltrynge in synfull wretchednes.
I speake of the possessioners,[145]
All though the mendicant orders
Are nothynge lesse abhominable;
Whose lyvynge is with oute laude,
Norisshed in rapyne and fraude,
Grounded on lesynges [146] detestable.
They are the Devil's messengers,
And of Antichrist [147] the members,

[141] [Qu. old age?] [142] [Probably for *parentage*.] [143] [Shoemakers.]
[144] [Commonweal's hindrance.] [145] [Qu. Possessors of monastic benefices?]
[146] [Lies. So Psalm 4, 5, &c. See also Spenser's Faery Queene, Book I. Cant. vi. St. 48.]
[147] [The proposition that the pope was antichrist, was the great support of the reformation. Wickliffe, Jewell, Grostead, Whitaker, Hooker, Mede, and others, the best and ablest divines, adhered to this principle: nor were the laity less firmly convinced of the truth of the prediction, thus personally applied by themselves from the prophetic Scriptures. See Zouch's Memoirs of Sir P. Sidney, p. 247.]

Example of all perversitè:
They are ydols of flattery,
And apostels of hypocrysy,
Replenisshed with enormitè.
Lo! here I have thus reported
Howe their lyfe is partly ordred,
And under what condicion.

Wat. That thou hast, I make God a vowe!
Insomoche, that I marvayle howe
Thou knowest their disposicion.
But, I praye thè, dost thou judge
That they well murmer and grudge
At the dedde Massis buryinge?

Jeff. Ye, syr; I wis, man, I am sure
They will laboure with busy cure,[148]
His sepulture forbiddynge;
For why; their superfluitè
By the Massis liberalitè,
Only hath supportacion.

Wat. What supposest thou of men temporall?

Jeff. I thynke they wolde holde here with all,
Yf they had due informacion:
Neverthelesse, at the begynnynge
Dede Masse amonge theym to brynge,
There wilbe some difficultè,
Be cause of longe continuance:
They have had trust and affiance
Thorowe the Masse saved to be.
For these prestes and fryres perswade,
That by the Masse they shall evade,
Eternall payne and punnysshment;
Whose suffrage doeth theym gret stedde,
Proffitable bothe to quicke and dedde,
After their mynde and judgement.

Wat. Ye; to prestes and fryers miserable,
Doutles, the Masse is proffitable,
And is the mill of their welfare:
But to the people, without faynynge,
It is playne a fraudfull deceavynge,
To make their porsse[149] empty and bare.

Jeff. Nowe, truly, I trowe as thou dost saye
Even there goeth the hare quyte awaye,
And all their babellynge[150] is but lyes;
All though there be wother obstacles,
Be cause of the grett myracles
Dayly practysed before oure eyes.

Wat. Thou never sawest myracle wrought?

Jeff. I? no, be Hym that me bought,
But as the prestes make rehearceall!

Wat. Canst thou rehears me nowe one?

Jeff. No, I cannot; but oure syr Jhon[151]
Can in his Enghlisshe festivall.

[148] [*Cura*, Lat. care.] [149] [Purse.] [150] [Babbling.]
[151] [Sir John was a general appellation for a priest at that time, so that Jeffraye may mean his own master.

Wat. Geve they to soche fables credence?
Jeff. They have them in more reverence
Then the Gospell, a thousand folde:
Also, ther is nether whoare nor thefe,
Nor eny of so wicked mischefe,
But by the Masse is made bolde.
For yf they heare once a prestis masse,
They trust, surly, that daye to passe
Without all parell[152] or daungeoure:
Crafty sorcerers, and falce dyce-players,
Pickeporses, and prevy conveyers,
By the Masse, hope to have socoure;
Marchantes, passynge viages[153] on farre,
And soudiars, goynge forthe to warre,
By the Masse are ofte preserved.
Masse bryngeth synners to grace,
And fendes[154] awaye it doeth chace,
Above all thynges preferred;
Masse solemniseth mariage,
And kepeth people from domage;[155]
Causynge also wedder to be fayer.
Masse maketh tame thynges of wylde,
And helpeth wemen to be with chylde,
Thorowe assistence of the sayer;
Masse avayleth agaynst sycknes,
A proved remedy for all distres,
And for thynges that be gone.
Thus to conclude, with brevitè,
Of the whole churches felicitè
The Masse is mayntener alone.
Wat. The nobles that be wyse and sage,
I suppose with soche blynde dotage
They cannot so folisshly begyle.
Jeff. Troth it is, some of theym begynne
To have lytell confidence there in,
And lesse woll with in a whyle:
Which of the bisshops is perceaved,
Wherfore they have nowe restrayned
Under the payne of courssynge,
That no laye man do rede or loke
In eny frutfull Englisshe boke,
Wholy scripture concernynge.
Their frantyke foly is so pevisshe,
That they contempne in Englisshe
To have the Newe Testament:
But as for tales of Robyn Hode,
With wother jestes nether honest nor goode,
They have none impediment.
Their madde unsavery teachynges,
And theyr fantasticall preachynges,
Amonge simple folke to promote,

But it is not impossible that the English *Liber Festivalis* might be the object of allusion, a book borrowed partly from the *Legenda Aurea*, and attributed severally to *John* Mirk, *John* Miræns, and *John* Lilleshull. See Herbert's Ames, i. 44.]

[152] [Peril.] [153] [Voyages.] [154] [Fiends.] [155] [*Dommage*, Fr. damage.]

For no cost they spare, nor stynte,
Openly to put theym in prynte,
Treadynge Scripture under their fote.
Also their decrees and decretalles,[156]
With folysshe dreames papisticalles,
They compell people to rede;
Howe be it, the confutacion
Of their abhominacion,
They will not soffre to procede.
Wat. Kepe thou silence, and be whyst,[157]
Though with grett[158] crakes they resist
For a lytell season present;
Yett, I warrant, within shortt space
Masse will have there his beryinge place,
Accordynge as it is convenient.
Jeff. So moche the worse for oure thryfte:
For then there is none wother shyfte;
A newe master we must us gett.
Wat. All though Masse be dedde and rotten,
A master maye lyghtly[159] be gotten,
Yf we oure mynde to laboure sett.
Jeff. Ye; but prestes service is gaye,
For we maye with theim all waye
In ydlenes have grett respyt;
Wat. That for a christen man is nott best,
Borne unto laboure and not unto rest,
As the foule is unto flyght.
But nowe, all this matter to spare,
Lett us oure masters dyner prepare,
For it is hye tyme, verely.
Jeff. A-felyship[160] lett us go a pace,
For he will beshrowe oure face,
Yf he fynde not all thynge redy.
Wat. Hawe? I praye thè, yett abyde;
Sett thy busynes a whyle a syde,
And lett us have fyrst a songe.
Jeff. What woldest thou that I shulde synge?
Wat. Surly, some propper conveyed thynge,
Not over tedious, nor longe.
Jeff. I trowe, thou arte a syngynge man?
Wat. The devil of the whit that I can:
But I love specially soche geare.
Jeff. Wyll thou have it mery or sadde?
Wat. I foarce not, be it goode or badde,
So that I maye some what heare.
Jeff. If thou will thy mynde satisfy,
Gett thè into some monastery,
And be a monge theym in the queare.[161]
Wat. Do they use soche joly syngynge?
Jeff. It is the crafte of their lyvynge;

[156] [The decretals were canonical epistles, written either by the pope himself, or by the pope and cardinals, for the determination of some matter in controversy; and had the authority of canon law in themselves.]
[157] [Be hushed.] [158] [Great outcry.] [159] [Easily.] [160] [In fellowship.]
[161] [Quire, or choir.]

Wherby they make lusty cheare.
Wat. But I understonde nott what they saye:—
Jeff. By my sothe, no more do they,
I may shewe thè in counsell.
Wat. Shall I axe thè nowe a question?
Jeff. Ye, hardely a Goddis beneson,
And I will not spare thè to tell.
Wat. Ware thou never in religion?
Jeff. Yes, so God helpe me, and halydom,[162]
A dosen yeres continually.
Wat. Then thou knowest moche unhappines?
Jeff. A greatt deale more then goodnes,
I promes thè faythfully.
Wat. Well, lett us differ[163] this till soune,
When oure master's diner is done,
We will a gayne come hydder.[164]
Jeff. I am content even so to do:
Wat. Fyrst synge a balett,—go to,
And then will we to diner.
Jeff. Alas! I am marvelously drye.
Wat. Thou shalt dryncke man, by an by,
What nedeth thè so to lynger?
Jeff. Have at it, in the best manner.

In the joyfull moneth of joly June,
Walkynge all alone, my care to solas,
I herde a voyce, with dolorous tune,
Full pitiously cryinge—alas! alas!
The worlde is worsse then evyr it was:
Never so depe in miserable decaye,
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Fyrst to begynne at the spretualtè,
Whose lyvynge shulde be example of grace,
Indued with parfett workes of charitè,
Sekynge Goddis honoure in every cace;
The worlde with his vanites they enbrace,
Renyinge[165] God, all though they saye naye;—
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Of this worlde they have the chefe dominion,
With stately preeminence temporall,
They preasume to be hadde in opinion
Of the people, as lordes emperiall;
Worsshipfull seniours we must theym call;
Requyrynge that we shulde to theym obeye;—
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

The ryches and gooddes of the commen weall
Hath sett theym in their honoure full hye;
They are occasion that theves do steall,
And cause of all mischefe and misery:
The worldly treasure they consume ydely,

[162] [Holy dame, *i. e.* the Virgin Mary.] [163] [Defer.] [164] [Hither.]
[165] ['Denyenge,' 2d. edit.]

Nothynge regardynge but pastance[166] and playe;—
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

The laboure of the poure people they devower,
And of nobles they waste the patrimony,
They teache and exhorte men God to honoure
With their temporall substaunce and mony:
They clayme tythes to supporte their foly,
Inventynge many a faulce offerynge daye;—
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

They ought of duty to preache the Gospell,
The wordes of lyfe so dulcet and swete,
Howe be it, there agaynst chefly they rebell,
Christis doctryne troaden under their fete.
They beare us in honde, that it is nott mete
The Gospell to be knowen of people laye;—
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

They shulde be meke, and they ar full of pryde;
Voyde of true pacience, replete with yre;
Envy they holde, charitè sett a syde;
Retaynyge, for chastitè, carnall desyre;
Slouthe and glottony, in their hole empyre,
Hath made temperance and labour to straye;—
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Emprours and kynges they trappe in their lure,
Deceavynge theym bey falce adulacion,
So that of promocions they be sure,
Full lytell they ponder their damnacion;
They geve theym no true informacion,
And that evidently parceave they maye;—
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

The workes of mercy apon them are spent,
Poure people defraudynge with injury;
They dryncke the bloud of soules innocent,
Simple folke begylynge outrageously;
Their foule fylthy carkes[167] to magnyfy,
They wrappe in robes and costly araye;—
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Goddis commaundmentes they transgresse openly,
To his godly love no respecte havynge;
They take his name in vayne with blasfemy,
Holy-dayes after their own mynde faynynge;
To honour their parentes they are disdaynynge,
More covetous then kytes waytynge a praye;—
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Letcherous luste leawdly they enbrace,
Forbiddynge wedloke agaynst Goddis will;
Their subjectes they oppresse in wretched cace,
Prone unto morther, christen men to spill,[168]
Sacrilege and simony is their corne-mill,

[166] [*Passe-temps*, Fr. pastimes.] [167] [Carcase.] [168] [*i. e.* To kill.]

Usynge falce witnes the trueth to delaye;—
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

The sacrementes of Christis ordinaunce,
Institute oure feble fayth to sustayne,
They have perverted unto oure hyndraunce,
Enforcynge us to trust in tryfles vayne;
Wother newe sacrementes falcely they fayne,
Obscuringe God's worde as moch as they may;—
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Christis fredom they have brought in bondage,
Of hevenly rightes makynge marchandyse,
In gostly workes they covett avauntage,
To fede their insaciate covetyse;
Of the damnable Masse they make a sacryfyse,
Compellynge men dearly for it to paye;
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Of hell and heven they make chevesance,[169]
Faynynge, as they lyst, a purgatory;
Hypocrisy is leader of their daunce,
With wronge extorcion and usery:
Of Christis worde they make heresy,
Redy and prompte christen men to betraye;—
But it cannot thus endure all waye.

Wherfore, brefly to fynnysshe my balade,
O hevenly Father, apon thè I call!
Have pytè on man, whom thou hast made,
To serve thè in fredom spretuall:
Rid us from Antichristis bondes so thrall,
Wherwith we are fast bound nyght and daye;
That thy name be not blasphemed all waye.

Lo! nowe I have done my best
To satisfy the request,
Accordynge as thou desyredst.
Wat. I will hold thè then no lenger,
But loke that thou remember
To fulfill that thou promysedst.

Here foloweth the Secunde Parte.

Jeff. O LORDE GOD! what goode dayes
Thes monkes have, in abbeyes,
And do nether swett nor swyncke;[170]
Thei live in welthynes and ease,
Havynge what soever they please,
With delicate meate and dryncke;

[169] [Unlawful gain or usury, worldly advantage.]

[170] [*i. e.* Labour. So Spenser and Milton.]

Wher with they farce[171] their bellies so full,
That to all goodnes they are dull,
Makynge mery with Gill and Joan.
They sitt slepynge in a corner,
Or momblynge their *Pater Noster.*
Their mynde nothynge ther apon;
Be they never so stronge or starcke,
They will exercyse no maner warcke,
Nor laboure boddily.

Wat. Arte thou here, Jeffray, mate?

Jeff. Ye; why commest thou so late?
I am fayne for thè to tary.

Wat. I was troubled with the estates.
I beshrowe all their folisshe pates
For commynge here this daye.

Jeff. So mot I thè, I thought the same:—
Howe be it, the stuarde was to blame,
That he did no better porvaye.

Wat. By thy fayth, had thou better fare
In the cloyster where as thou ware,
Under the rule of the manastery?

Jeff. Fare, cotha? they eate their bellies full,
Every man as moche as he wull,
And none sayth—blacke is his eye![172]

Wat. What do they for it, eny thynge?

Jeff. Truly, nothynge but rede and synge,
Passynge the tyme with sporte and playe.

Wat. That is a lyfe in dede for *the nones*;[173]
Thou ware a fole, by thyse ten bones,
Whan thou camest fro theym awaye.

Jeff. O, I thyncke my silfe moche fortunate
That fro their lyfe I am seperate,
Seynge it is so abhominable.

Wat. What abhominacion is there in?

Jeff. Alas! mate, all to geder is synne,
And wretchednes most miserable.

Wat. What? a man of religion
Is reputed a dedde person
To worldly conversacion:

Jeff. It is of a trueth, they are dedde,
For they are in no use nor stedde,
To Christen men's consolacion.
And as a dedde stynkynge carkace
Unproffitably cloyeth a space,
Yf it be kepte above grownde;
So in their lyfe supersticious,
Of wicked crymes enormious,
No maner proffitablenes is fownde.

[171] [Stuff, or fill.]

[172] [A cant phrase of the time. 'Then having estraunged themselves thus for a small space, they return again, 'not to their prestine cursed life, (I dare say,) but to their country, and then no man say *black is their eye*, but 'all is well, and they are as good Christians, as those that suffer them unpunished.' Stubbes's Anatomy of Abuses, 1595, p. 65, as cited by Mr. Gilchrist in Cens. Lit. ii. 133.]

[173] [Nonce; purpose, occasion.]

Wat. Yett, their order is very strayte:
Jeff. Ye; but they use soche a consayte,[174]
That they make it easy ynowe:
More easy, by the twenty parte,
Then to laboure in some arte,
Or to go with the carte or plowe.
Wat. They have, man, the worlde forsaken,
And a spretuall lyfe taken,
Consistynge in gostly busyness:
Jeff. What call ye the worlde, I praye?
Wat. Welthy ryches, and pleasurs gaye,
And occasions of synfulnes.
Jeff. Then are they in the worlde still,
For they have all that they will,
With ryches and possessions:
And as touchynge the realme of vice,
Pryde, wrath, envy, and avarice,
With wother synfull transgressions:
In this worlde that we do name,
There is none so farre oute of frame,
And lyve in soche outragiousnes.
Wat. Yett, Jeffrye, thou errest, (so God me save!)
For the fryers no possessions have,
But lyve only by pure almes.
Jeff. Fryers! nowe they are worst of all,
Ruffian wretches, and rascall,
Lodesmen[175] of all knavisshnes.
Though they be no possessioners,
Yett are they intollerabill beggers,
Lyvynge on rapyn and disceyte;
Worshipfull matrons to begyle,
Honorable virgins to defyle,
Continually they do wayte.
Of honesty they have no regarde,
To displease God they are not afearde,
For the valoure of a pynne;
Of whordom they are the very baudes,
Fraudulent inventers of fraudes,
Provocacion unto synne.
They are slaunder of vertousnes,
Occasion unto viciousnes,
Chickens of the Devil's broode;
To the trueth they are adversaries,
Diligent imageners of lyes,
Depravers of those that be goode.
They are Antichristis godsones,
Promowters of his pardones,
And proctours of simony;
They are brokers, heven to sell;
Fre coppy-holders of hell,
And fe-fermers of purgatory.

[174] [Qu. conceit, contrivance.]

[175] [Pilots or steersmen; but here used for conductors or ringleaders.]

Of Sathan they are the soudiers,
And Antichristis owne mariners,
His shippe forwardes to convey;
And to conclude, seriously,
They are the hell howndes, veryly,
Enmies agaynst Goddis worde allwaye.
Wat. Nowe thou arte gretly oversene;
For in places there as I have bene,
They do goode I thè certefy:
For yf it wer not for the fryers,
There wolde not be in seven yeres
A sermon in the poure contry.
And as for their lyvynge, truly,
They begge people's almes purly,
Takynge soche thynges as they geve;
They have no wast superfluitè,
But even their bare necessitè
Scant ynough wherby to leve.
Jeff. I mean not that they are all bad;
For I wolde the Devill theym had,
Then, with a fayre deliverance.
But of the gretter parte I thought,
Which I saye are worsse then nought,
Replete with mischevous vengeance.
Their preachynge is not scripture,
But fables of their conjecture,
And men's ymaginacions:
They brynge in old wyves tales,
Both of Englonde, Fraunce, and Wales,
Which they call holy narracions.
And to theym Scripture they apply,
Pervertynge it most shamfully,
After their owne opinions:
Wherwith the people beynge fedde,
In to manyfolde errours are ledde,
And wretched supersticions.
Of Christ, oure mercifull Saveoure,
They make a judge full of terroure,
Only threatninge oure d[a]mnacion;
Whose faveoure as they falsly fayne,
We cannot be able to obteyne
With oute saynte's mediacion;
They saye, that holy men's suffrages,
Pardons, masses, and pilgremages,
For synnes make satisfaccion.
They bid us in our workes to trust,
Wherby they saye, that we must
Deserve oure salvacion;
Fayth, litell or nothynge they repute,
Wherof we beynge destitute,
Are brought into desperacion:
And as for their lyfe, doutles,
It is the well of ongraciousnes,

Of iniquitè the myroure:
The almes that poure folke shulde have,
Wretchedly awaye they do crave,
To lyve ydely withoute laboure.
Dissaytes continually they do muse,
And crafty falshod dayly they use,
With simple folke gretly dissemblynge;
They feare lytell whom they offende,
Acustumed to rappe and rende
All that commeth in their fingrynge.
Their miserable disposicion
Causeth stryfe and sedicion
In all places, where as they dwell;
There is none unhappines done
In eny Christen regione,
But a fryer is of the counsell.
Though they saye that their order
Is to have no thynge in proper,
But to use all thynges in commone;
Yett ther is no commenaltè,
Which hath so gret parcialitè
As their miserable religione.
For where as, the heddes principall
Whom master-docters they call,
Lyve in welthy aboundaunce;
The wother are poure and nedy,
Leadynge their lyves in penury,
Scant havynge their sustenance.
Of their brothers vexacion.
They have no compassion,
Despysynge those that be in sicknes:
Agaynst all order of charitè,
They desdayne for to have petè
Apon theym that are in destres.
To shewe all their unhappines,
So abhominable and shamles,
It wer over tedious and longe:

Wat. Thou hast sayde ynough all redy,
They cannot be moche wors lyghtly,[176]
Yf the divell be not theym amonge.

Jeff. As for that thou nedest not feare,
The devyll with theym is familiare
All waye, bothe at bed and at borde.

Wat. The Observauntes[177] are not so disposed;

Jeff. Wilt thou have their lyfe disclosed?
Brefly rehearsed at a worde?

Wat. Nowe, mate, I praye thè hartely.

Jeff. So God helpe me, from all hypocrysy;
They are the very foundacion.

[176] [*i. e.* Readily, easily.]

[177] [The Observants or Observantines were not combined together in any cloister or convent, but only bound themselves to *observe* the rites of their order, more strictly than the conventuals did, from whom they separated; living in certain places and companies of their own choosing.]

Wat. Peace, man, what speakest thou?
I perceave well thou errest nowe,
With wordes of diffamacion.
Jeff. Why thynkest thou, that I do erre?
Wat. Be cause the worlde doth theym preferre
For their wholy conversacion:
Jeff. Ye; so were the scrybes and pharisays,
Through their falce hypocrisy ways,
Amonge the Jues[178] in reputacion,
Neverthelesse, in inwarde maners
They were worse then open synners
Whom oure Lorde also did coursse.
Wat. Makest of theym soche compareson?
Jeff. Ye; savynge after my opinion,
The Observantes are farre worse.
Wat. It is not possible to be so:
For they shewe, ther as they go,
Of simplenes gret aperaunce.
Jeff. Ye; so dothe the foxe wother whyle,
(All though he canne many a wyle)
Pretende a simple countenaunce.
Wat. Thou doest wrongfully surmyse:—
Jeff. Naye, I tell thè it is their gyse[179]
To have two faces in a hoode.
Wat. What dost thou meane therby?
Jeff. That they are dissemblers universally,
And feawe or none of theym be goode.
Wat. They use no whordom nor robbery,
Nor take men's goodes wrongfully,
As farre as I can heare or se.
Jeff. Open advoutrers they are none;
Yet are they not virgens every chone,
All though they professe chastitè:
They have pollucions detestable,
And in warde brennynges intollerable,
Of the flesshly concupiscence.
Ye; and wother whyles advoutry.
With wother meanes of letchery,
Cloaked under a fayned pretence;
Wich to overcome, certaynly,
They use not the right remedy
Of oure Lordis institucion:
Gevynge hede to spretes of errours,
And doctryne of divlysshe doctours.
Which do make prohibicion,
And as touchynge theft, to be playne,
They are the gretest theves that raygne
In all the worlde, nowe adayes:
For all wother theves, commenly,
Of theym which have aboundantly,
And of ryche folke take their prayes[180].
But the Observauntes no people do spare,
Makynge their quest every wheare

[178] [Jews.] [179] [Guise, manner.] [180] [Preys.]

With most importunate cravynge:
To begge of the pouer and nedy
They are as dogges most gredy,
And wolves incessantly ragynge.
Wat. Yet, they never handell money.
Jeff. No; for that is a subtill policy
To upholde their madde disgysynge:
For when Antichrist, Sathan's soune,[181]
To stablysshe his realme had begoune,
Temporall honoure despysynge:
To have all in his dominion
He made many a religion
With outwarde holynes aperynge,
Which into sectes innumerable
Wer divided, with oute fable,
The worlde in care forto brynge.
By their coloured devocion,
To the people they gave a mocion,
Their favoure craftly purchasynge:
And so by their contrivynge cast,
They gott clene a waye, at the last,
Their chefe possessions temporally.
Wherby laye-people opressed sore,
Scant coulde they geve eny more
Concernynge londes and patrimony,
Then cam the fower orders of fryers,
Which are the substanciall pillers
Of Antichristis mayntenaunce;
So holy theym selves they did make,
That all possessions they did forsake,
Wilfull poverty to inhaunce.
To live by almes they did pretende,
And receaved all that God did sende,
Sheawynge tokens of perfection:
Wherfore, the people did theym honoure
With gretter love and faveoure,
Then those that had possession.
Except livelod and londes only,
They receaved all that cam freely,
Whether it wer money or ware:
Howe be it, they did multiply
In all provinces so innumerably
Through the worlde in every quartear;
That the people wexed wery,
Seynge, they coulde not kepe a peny,
But the fryers wolde begge it awaye.
At the last, cam the Observauntes,
Of Antichrist the trusty servauntes,
To brynge the worlde in more dekaye[182].
And least they shulde seme chargeable,
They fownde a newe way deceavable,

[181] [Son.]

[182] [Decay.]

To begylde bothe yonge and olde:
They were of soche supersticione,
That in proper or in commone
They wolde nothynge kepe nor holde,
Of their nedes havynge the use,
To handle money they dyd refuse,
Faynynge austeritè of pennaunce:
Wherby, with desyrous affecte
The people had a grett respecte
Unto their paynted observaunce.
In somoche, that though their londes
Was geven clene oute of their hondes,
By meanes of the Possessioners;
And also most grevously opprest
With the dayly cravynge, and quest
Of the unsaciate fryer [183] beggers.
Yett the Observauntes semed so parfyt,
That to healpe theym they judged yt
With oute charge a thynge charitable:
Wherfore all the wother sectes,
In maner reputed abjectes,
The observauntes were honorable.
Apon whom the workes of mercy
Were bestowed continually,
With superfluous abundaunce:
And so under a leawde coloure,
In ydelnes they did devoure
The poure peoplis sustenaunce,
They have increased so their nomber
That all the worlde they do encomber
With intollerable oppression:
They are more noyous [184] a gret deale,
In hyndraunce of the commen wealle
Above eny wother faccion.
For, where as, the people afore
Wer halfe beggered and more,
By the wother orders, afore sayde;
They robbed the worlde uterly,
Causynge it, with extreme beggery,
In grett ruyne to be dekayde.

Wat. Thou speakest agaynst conscience;
For we perceave, by experience,
What a godly lyfe they leade;
They flye diligently all excesse,
Livynge in povertè and scasnes,
With smale dryncke and browne breade.

Jeff. Thynkest thou they live in penury?

Wat. Or els they are hipocrites, verily,
Of shamfull dissimulacion:

Jeff. Saye that hardly once agayne,
For they leade a lyfe, to be playne,
Full of worldly delectation,

[183] [Mendicants.]

[184] [Noisome, or noxious.]

Fyrst, they have befe and mutten
Of the chefe that maye be gotten;
With bred and dryncke of the best;
And that, morover, so largely,
That to farce and stuffe their belly,
They take more then they can dejest.
They have sauces with every disshe,
Whither that it be flesshe or fysshe,
Or els they wilnot be content:
To eate bred that is browne or stale,
Ether to dryncke thynne[185] byere or ale,
They count it not convenient.
And many tymes they have daynties
Sent from dyvers lordes and ladyes,
Their wholy suffrages to procure:

Wat. Yet, they nether bake nor brewe:
Jeff. No: for all laboure they echewe;
I, thè faythfully ensure.
Wat. Howe have they their meate rost or bake?
Jeff. Wother men for theym the payne take,
Whom spretuall fathers they call.
Wat. And have they no spretuall mothers?
Jeff. Yes; with many sisters and brothers,
And also doughters spretuall.
Wat. Howe come they to kynred so nye?
Jeff. Because they canne flatter and lye;
Makynge beleve, the cowe is wode.[186]
Wat. They cannot lye, though they wolde;
For they will nether silver nor golde,
Nor covet eny man's goode.
Jeff. Trowest thou, they covyt nothynge?
Where as they come a beggyng
To the housse of a poure man;
Which hath both wyfe and children,
And is not able to fynde[187] them,
Doynge the best that ever he can.
Yet he must unto the fryers geve
All though, he shulde his housholde greve,
Havynge nought theym selves to eate.
Wat. O, they have then the gretter mede.
Jeff. Ye; God geve theym evill to spede,
That do pouer creaturs so entreate.
For they shulde their livynge gett
With boddely laboure and swett,
Wherby they myght healpe wother.
Wat. So they do healpe them spretually.
Jeff. Soche spretualnes I defye,
When pouer people dye for honger.
Wat. Men saye, they are goode to the pouer,
And geve every daye, at their doer,
Grett almes and refresshynge.

[185] [*i. e.* Small beer.]
[186] [*i. e.* Mad. Probably a proverbial saying.]
[187] [Used here in the sense of supply, or support.]

Jeff. They geve almes, but howe?
When they have eaten ynowe,
Their gredy paunches replenisshynge,
Then gadder they up their levettes,[188]
Not the best morsels, but gobbettes,[189]
Which unto pouer people they deale.
Wat. Then are they lyke, with oute doute,
Unto certayne theves devoute,
Which though they use to steale,
Yet they are liberall and fre,
Yf eny pouer creature they se,
To geve hym parte of their stolen geare.
Jeff. Nowe, truly, their disposicion
Is not unlyke of condicion,
Savynge in this poynte they differ,
That where as, theves liberally
Geve their goodes, gotten wrongfully,
To the pouer with true affection;
They geve no thynge, in very trothe,
But scrappes which they wolde be lothe
To use agayne in their refeccion.
Wat. Pouer folke yet commende theym gretly.
Jeff. But yf they knewe as moche as I,
They wolde rather on theym complayne.
Wat. Howe do they pouer people offende?
Jeff. By cause, in ydelnes they spende
Which unto theym shulde pertayne.
Wat. They are not ydell, I dare saye,
Whyles they rede, synge, and praye,
Continually every houre.
Jeff. I call it ydelness unproffetable,
Which in no case is confortable
To the necessitè of oure neghboure.
Wat. Well, yett the apostle[190] doth wryte—
'A just man's prayer doth proffyte,
'And is very efficacious.'
Jeff. Are they just in thy reputacion?
Wat. After their owne affirmacion,
Truly they are just and rightous.
Jeff. Then it is an evident token
That they are of whom it is spoken—
Ve vobis qui justificatis vos ipsos.
Wat. What dost thou by these wordes note?
Jeff. That under neath a fryer's cote
Moche hipocrisy they glose.
Wat. Reputest thou it hipocrisy,
That they use to go so holyly
In cutt shues with out eny hose?
Jeff. Be it hipocrysy, or no;
To mangill[191] their goode shues so,

[188] [Probably leavings, or remains. See *levyt*, in Jamieson's Etymol. Dict.]
[189] [Gobbets seem here to mean the refuse, or orts.]
[190] [St. James, Ep. V. 16. 'The effectual prayer of a righteous man availeth much.']
[191] [Mangle.]

Me thynketh it but folisshnes.
Wat. They cutt but the upper ledder [192].
Jeff. No; for it is moche easier
Then to cut the soles doutles.
Wat. They do it for pennaunce-sake.
Jeff. For all that, gret shifte they make
To avoyde all corporall sofferaunce.
Wat. They shewe signes of penaunce outwardly.
Jeff. Ye; but they fynde soche a remedy,
That they fele lytell grevaunce.
For in coventes, where as they are,
Thycke mantels of fryse they weare,
With sockes to kepe their fete warme:
Then have they fyre at their pleasure,
And to sit therby at their leaysure,
No man sayinge theym eny harme:
And when they walke their stacions,
They seke gentilmen's habitacions,
Where as they fare deliciously.
For be there never so grett prease, [193]
They are set up at the hy dease, [194]
Taken lyke lordes honorably.
They have also, to wasshe their fete,
Water made hott with erbes swete,
And a goode fyer in their chamber:
Then have they bred, ale, and wyne,
With a ryche bed of downe fyne.
Decked after the best maner.
And, paraventure, the goode father
Hath in his sleve a bladder
Full of gynger, nutmegges, or graynes:
Which, to make the drincke myghtye,
He putteth therein a quantitè,
To comforte and warme his veynes.
Wat. They fynd not this, whersoever they come.
Jeff. Syr, I wis it is their custome
In gentilmen's places commenly.
Wat. Yet, when they go on farre jorneys,
They cannot espye oute all ways
Gentilmen's houses so redely.
Jeff. Mary, before their departynge
They have by mouthe or wrytynge,
The names of places where they dwell.
Wat. Some tyme they fayle, yet I judge.
Jeff. Then do they mormor and grudge,
Lyke yonge devils of hell.
Wat. They want soche thynges in their cloyster.
Jeff. Concernynge the fare of their froyter [195]
I did tell thè a-fore partly:
But then they have gest-chambers
Which are ordened for strangers,
And for fathers to make mery.

[192] [Leather.] [193] [Press, Crowd.] [194] [The high, or upper table.]
[195] [*Frayter* in the second edition, which may possibly be put for *frater*.]

There have they ale, wyne and byre,
And, in winter tyme, a goode fyre,
With gaye conceytes many wother.
Wat. What is their communicacion?
Jeff. By my sothe, murmuracion:
One backbytynge another.
Wat. They have nothynge to murmur fore.
Jeff. I tell thè, they murmur more
Then eny persons that I knowe;
Full of envious suspicion,
Overwhelmed with ambicion,
Though their vocacion be lowe.
With all diligence they laboure
To obtayne noble men's favoure,
And to be lady's confessours:
In soche matters dayly they boste,
Who with grett estates maye do moste,
Reckenynge theym selves wyse seniours.
Wat. Do they desyre to be conversant
In courtes, of vertue so scant,
Intangled with all ungraciousnes?
Jeff. They are content to be partners
With all ungracious lyvers,
Yf so be they geve theym almes.
Wat. I put case, they geve nothynge?
Jeff. Then, whether he be lorde or kynge,
They will his maners deprave.
Howe be it, though they be advoutrers,
Extorsioners, or whormongers,
Yf so be their frendes they witsave.
Then with grett commendacion,
In their flatterynge predicacion,[196]
They will their actes magnify:
Wherfore, whoares, theves, and bawdes,
And all soche as live by frawdes,
To their order have a fantesy.
Wat. Howe do they, which are true preachers?
Jeff. They are charged in their chapters,
Under their prelatis strayte precepte,
That agaynst their goode fownders,
Benefacters, and frendly doers,
No enormites they detecte.
Wat. Yf they sett men thus to scole,
I trowe they make many a fole
Of ladys and gentill wemen.
Jeff. Shall I shewe thè howe they do?
Wat. Nowe for oure Lordis sake, go to,
To tell the cast of this wholy men.
Jeff. Fyrst, it is their custome ever
To go two and two to gether,
Excepte a grett impediment;
And so to my lady's chamber
Formost pricketh in the elder,
Which of theym is most auncient.

[196] [A preaching, or crying up.]

As sone as my lady he dothe se,
With a countenaunce of gravitè
He saluteth her noblenes:
My lady then, of his commynge
Affectously rejoysynge,
Welcometh hym with gladnes.
The father then, with his glosynge style,
After that he hath preached a whyle
With babblynge adulacion:
My lady, with many a goode morowe,
Begynneth her tale to folowe,
Speakynge after this fassion:—
" O father! ye do grett penaunce,
To wynne eternall inheritaunce
Throw prayer, fast, and watchynge:
Ye use forto sweare no othes,
Lyinge evermore in youre clothes,
Nether shetes nor shurtes wearynge.
Ambicion ye sett a-syde,
Flyinge worldly pompe and pryde,
Whiche with us is daily in ure: [197]
Happy are ye, and fortunate,
To live in so parfet a state,
Where to be saved ye are sure.
Yf it were not for youre wholines,
This worlde, full of viciousnes,
Had bene destroyed longe or [198] this:
Howe be it, ye do pacify
The rigoure of God Almighty
Towardes us, that live a-mis."
The father then, with wordes of comforte,
Begynneth my ladye to exhorte,
Saynge thus: " O goode madame!
Youre ladyshippe nedeth not to care,
For we praye dayly for youre welfare.
Or els we were gretly to blame:
Wholy S. Fraunces! do you mede, [199]
Many a pouer fryer ye do fede
Of youre bounteous charitè:
Wherfore ye were made sister,
In the last generall chapter,
Of oure whole confraternitè:
By meanes wherof, ye are partetaker
Of oure watchynge, fast, and prayer,
Remembrynge you in oure *memento:*
There is no daye that commeth to passe,
But ye have parte of many a masse,
Preservynge you from carfull wo.
Wholy S. Fraunces, also, hym selve,
Which is above the apostles twelve,

[197] [Use.] [198] [Ere.] [199] [*i. e.* Give you recompense.]

Nexte unto Christ in authoritè;
Shalbe youre perpetuall defence
Agaynst sycknes and pestilence,
Souckerynge [200] you in adversitè."
And, for a sure approbacion,
He bryngeth forth a narracion.
De libro conformitatum,
Howe S. Fraunces, their advoury, [201]
Once in the yere entreth purgatory,
When that his fest-daye doth come.
And from thens he taketh oute
Those which to hym were devoute,
Or to his order charitable.
Thus, my lady, not very wyse,
Is brought in to foles' paradyse,
Thorowe their wordes disceavable.
Wat. Hath Christ amonge theym no place?
Jeff. Christ, catha? in no maner cace;
He is rather to their damage,
Be cause, thorowe his passion,
For us he made satisfaccion,
Withoute eny man's suffrage:
Whose doctryne yf they did observe,
Playnly for honger they shulde sterve,
Excepte they wolde to laboure fall.
Wat. Howe conclude they then at the ende?
Jeff. My lady must to their covent [202] sende
Her blessynge, with a trentall. [203]
Wat. What is the trentall, in paper?
Jeff. Or els in goode golde, or silver.
To make theym a recreacion.
Wat. They will not, for all Englonde,
Handill money with their bare honde,
As I have had informacion,
Jeff. Yett, in golden cuppes to dryncke,
And to touche wemen, I thyncke,
No grett parell they do adverte;
And though some of theym never dare
Touche eny coyne with hondes bare,
Yett they touch it with their hertt.
They have also, withouten lesynge,
Money in wother men's kepynge,
Redy at their commaundment,
Which, by the wryttynge of a bill [204],
In whatt soever uses they will,
Dayly is bestowed and spent.
In eny covent where they be,
Very feawe of theym thou shalt se,

[200] [Succouring.] [201] [*Avoué*. Fr. Benefactor, or patron.] [202] [Convent.]
[203] [*Trental* is a service for those who die in the Roman Catholic persuasion, consisting of thirty masses: but quære, whether the word in this place is a misprint for *rental*.]
[204] [Quære, an order, or draft.]

But have a frende temporally;
To whom for every tryfill vayne
That commeth once into their brayne.
Yf by wrytynge they signify;
Though it cost a noble or twayne,
By and by, they shall it attayne,
Not foarsynge[205] what is layde oute:
Which, truly, yf they shulde purchace
With laboure and swett of their face,
They wolde wotherwyse[206] loke aboute.
Wat. Yf it be as thou dost expresse,
Playnly their rule they do transgresse,
Retaynynge in commen or in proper.
Jeff. They have the Popis declaracion,
Makynge therof a mitigacion
In most favorable maner.
Under whose divlysshe proteccion
They have put theym in subjeccion
As children of iniquitè,
Wherfore he taketh to his person
The name of their dominion,
To use it, gevynge libertè.
They have scant as moche as a lousse,
Nether clothes, churche, nor housse,
But the Pope there of is awner.
Wat. Why ascrybe they it to the Pope?
Jeff. Bycause, with soche craft they hope
To begylde people seculer.
For, where as, they live welthyly,
And have all thynges abundantly,
Acordynge to their apetyte;
Yet, under soche falce pretence
They fayne to soffre indigence,
Contempnynge all worldly delyte.
The Pope also, for this intent,
Because to his errours they consent,
Alowynge his abhominacions,
Graunteth, to their avauntages,
Many bulles, and previleges,
With wretched confirmacions,
Whose favoure to recompence
Agaynst all goode conscience,
They preache as moche as they maye:
That the people, with reverence,
Continue still in obedience
Of the Popis rule, nyght and daye.
Though his workes be contrary,
They saye that he is Goddis vicary,

[205] [*Not forcing*, seems here used in the sense of *not caring*. So, in Ywané and Gawin, 'mak thou na force' means 'take thou no care.' See Ritson's Metrical Romances, i. 33.]
[206] [Otherwise.]

And of Christ the leftenaunte;
Makynge of a fende and [208] angell,
Christ of Antichrist rebell,
A saynt of the divel's servaunte.
Wat. I supposed, with out dissemblynge,
That they used in their preachynge
All ways to sheawe the veritè:
Seynge, amonge the states royall,
They were reputed substanciall,
With oute eny parcialitè.
They used to go in pouer [209] wede,
Exhortynge both in worde and dede
Unto the joye celestiall;
As though they had no erthely love
But only to the lyfe above.
Despysynge the joyes of this lyfe mortall.
Jeff. The wholynes that they did sheawe,
Principally did over throwe
The fayth of all Christendome;
For they were confederate
With Antichrist, so inveterate,
Called the Pope of Rome.
Whose lawes to sett in renowne,
Christis doctryne they plucked downe,
Pervertynge all wholy scripture:
And yett, so perfett they did apere,
That grett men's confessions to here
In every place they had the cure.
They pretended soche parfetnes,
That simple people, more and les,
Unto their wordes gave credence:
Whatsoever fables they did tell,
They were taken as the Gospell,
Approved with commen sentence.
Wherfore, by their seduccion
They have bene the destruccion
Of all true christen libertè;
They make cruelnes of mercy,
Perfeccion of hipocrisy,
And of fredome captivitè.
Of counterfeyted simlacion
They ymagen mortificacion,
Turnynge fayth to infidelitè;
Ydelnes they name Contemplacion,
Faynynge zele of murmuracion,
Enmies to charitable amité.
Wat. I marvayle moche, and wonder.
That they shulde have eny anger
On eny envious debate;
Seynge, from worldly royaltè
And promocions of dignitè,
They are willingly private.

[208] [An.]

[209] [*i. e.* In the garb of poverty.]

Jeff. Though they have no worldly honours,
Yet nether kynges, ne emperours,
Nor wother states of the temperaltè,
Have soche stryfe in their provision,
As Observauntes in their religion,
With dedly hatred and enmytè
To be made confessors and preachers,
Wardens, discretes, and ministers,
And wother offices of prelacy,
With grevous malice and rancour,
One agaynst a nother dothe murmour,
Full of craft and inconstancy.
They have nether drede nor shame,
Their faultles brethren to defame,
Havynge none occasion why:
Yonge men agaynst their superiours,
And prelates agaynst their inferiours,
One at another hath envy.
In chapters and visitacions
They use wronge accusations;
With many slanderous injuryes;
They execute sharpe correccions,
To ponysshe the transgressions
Of their fantastycke ceremonyes.
God and his lawes they omitt,
Aplyinge their malicious witt
To kepe man's invencions;
They are patrons of ydolatry,
Promouters unto herisy,
And bryngers up of dissencions.
Wat. Nowe, by the fayth of my body,
The Observauntes are not so holy
As they do outwardly seme.
Jeff. Yf thou knewe manyfestly,
What a lyfe they occupy,
Thou woldest marvayle, I deme.
Wat. I have hearde ynough, and to moche;
Yf theyr conversacion be soche,
It is pité that they are souffered:
But nowe touchynge the maners
Of these religious possessioners,
I wolde heare somwhat more uttered.
Jeff. I tolde thè in the begynnynge,
Howe their wicked lyvynge
Is gretly abhominable:
Marcke their lyfe intentifely,
And thou shale not therin espy
Eny thynge that is commendable.
Wat. What sayst thou then of their vowes,
Wherby theym selves they spowse
To God, by a certayne promes:
Jeff. Surly in it Christ they forsake,
And them selves wholy they betake
To live in the devil's serves.[209]

[209] [Service.]

Wat. Why they professe chastitè,
Obedience, and wilfull povertè,
Which Allmygthy God doth approbate.
Jeff. Ye; for all that I promes thè,
They kepe none of all the thrè
With mundane affections intricate.
Wat. All worldlynes they do renownce.
Jeff. Though with wordes they so pronownce,
Their hertes do not consent.
Wat. They observe truly obedience.
Jeff. Ye; but savynge reverence,
Nothynge after Christis intent:
For after Goddis commandementes,
They shulde obey their parentes,
Honorynge theym as is their duty:
Not with standynge, they are so mad,
Their fathers and mothers are glad
To honoure theym reverently.
And, where as, holy Scripture wolde,[211]
That unto all powers we shulde
Obey as to Goddis ordenaunce:
They are under no power at all,
Nether spretuall nor temporall,
To the commen weallis fortheraunce.
Wat. They obey unto their prelate,
At all seasons, yerly and late,
His precept accomplisshynge,
Jeff. I will not denye, they do obey
Unto the ruler of their abbey,
A carle of their owne chosynge.
Yet is it in supersticiousnes,
With outen eny profitablenes
Of their neghbours comforte;
They serve theym selves and no mo,
Carynge litell howe the worlde go,
So that they have pleasure and sporte.
And, contrary, the seculers[212]
Are under temporall rulers,
With their children and wyves:
At all seasons prest[213] and redy
To put theym selves in jeopardy,
Aventurynge bothe goodes and lyves.
To serve the kynge in warre and peace,
They putt theym selves alwaye in preace[214]
The defence of the realme assistynge:
Wher as, the religious sectes
Unto no lawes are subjectes,
Obeyinge nether God nor Kynge.
Yf the kynge will their service use,
Forthwith they laye for an excuse,
That they must do Goddis busines;

[211] [See Romans, xiii. 1.]
[212] [Laymen.]
[213] [*Prêt*, Fr. prepared.]
[214] [Press, military service.]

And yf in it they be fownde negligent,
They saye the Kynge is impediment,
Because they must do hym serves.
And yf the Kynge shall theym compell,
Then obstynatly they do rebell,
Fleinge to the Popis mayntenaunce,
Of whom they obtayne exempcions
From all the jurisdiccions
Of temporall governaunce.

Wat. Of the Pope, with out grett expens,
They can obtayne no soche defens:
As men saye, which do it knowe:

Jeff. Yet are they so farre oute of tune,
That they do their goodes so consume,
Rather then in goode uses to bestowe.

Wat. I perceave by this, with out fayle,
Their obedience doth not provayle,
But what sayst thou to their povertè?

Jeff. What nede I therof to speake,
Consideringe they do it breake,
Endued with ryche felicitè.

Wat. Do they soche lyvelod possesse?

Jeff. They have in maner the ryches
Of every londe and nacion:
Namly, in Englonde region
They excede in possession
And lordly dominacion.
The blacke order [215] hath more alone
Then all the nobles every chone,
As touchynge their patrimony.
Thou woldest surly marvell,
To se their fare and aparell
In all poyntes superfluusly.
There be monkes of soche statlynes
That scant will soffer at their messe
A lorde of bludde with theym to sitt;
Whose prowde service to beholde
In plate of silver and golde,
It passeth a man's witt.
Knyghtes and squyres honorable,
Are fayne to serve at their table,
As unto Dukes excellent:
Divers of theym have the degre
Of worthy Erles in dignitè,
And are lordes of the parlement.

Wat. They descende of famous progeny?

Jeff. Ye; beggers' sonnes most commenly,
Their fathers scant worth a groate;
Commynge fyrst to the abby gate
A beggynge, with a scalled pate,
Havynge nether goode shurt, nor coate.

[215] [The Benedictines?]

Which, as sone as he is ones clad,
For a gentilman he is had,
Though he be but a starcke knave.
Wat. Soche povertè is plentè,
For by it avoydynge scarcitè
All welthynes they have.
Jeff. It is truly their fisshynge nett,
Pouer men's goodes awaye to gett,
To satisfy their gluttenny:
It is the goulfe of devoracion,
And fountayne of desolacion,
To all people generally.
Wherof in wholy Scripture
Is written a notable figure,
Shewed in the boke of Daniell;
Howe the prestes of Babilone,
With falshod acordynge in one,
Had an ydole called Bell,[216]
Outwardly made all of bras,
And inwardly of erth it was,
Havynge a resceyte so devised,
That the ydole seemed to devowere
An C. shepe, with wyne and flower,
Dayly unto it sacryfised:
Which the prestes with their whores,
Thorowe crafty contrived dores,
Entreinge in the nyght secretly;
And there makyng recreacion,
They consumed the oblacion,
Oppressynge the people grevously.
Which semed so straunge a thynge,
That bothe the people and the kynge
Reputed it a grett miracle:
Untill Daniel, at the last,
Perceavynge their disceavable cast,
Agaynst it made an obstacle.
He uttered, to their confusion,
The execrable illusion
Wherwith the folke they sore noyed;
Causynge by his policy,
That this ydole utterly
Was broken and destroyed.
Wat. Wherto dost thou this compare?
Jeff. Of religious persons to declare
The intollerable enormitè.
For, as the prestes with their ydoll
The pouer people did pill and poll,
By their dissaytfull sutteltè;
So the children of perdicion,
Named men of religion,

[216] [See the Apocryphal History of Bell and the Dragon, which was formerly the 14th chapter of Daniel.]

With their wilfull povertè :
The wyde worlde forto begger
Daye and nyght they indever,
Blyndynge the people's simplicitè.
Wat. I marvayle men make no restraynt,
Their dissaytfulnes to attaynt,
Whyls it is open and aperte.
Jeff. Daniel is not yett come,
Which shall obtayne the roume
Their fraudfull wayes to subverte.
Wat. When shalbe then his comynge?
Jeff. I ensure thè or longe runnynge,
For he begynneth to drawe nere.
Wat. Well then, this matter to remitt,
I wolde very fayne a lytell fitt[217]
Of their chastitè to heare.
Jeff. To tell thè of their chastitè,
It lyeth not in my capacitè,
The shamfullness therof to compryse.
Wat. Men saye they live blissedly,
With oute acte of matrimony,
Ensuynge verteous exercyse.
Jeff. Their cloysters are the devil's m[e]wes,
Farre worse then eny st[e]wes,
Or commen places of whordom ;
They are the dens of baudines,
And fornaces of all letcherousnes,
Lyke unto Gomer[218] and Sodom.
Yonge laddes and babes innocent,
They brynge in by their intysment
To their leawde congregacion :
Whom they receave to profession,
Before that they have discrecion,
To their eternall damnacion.
For when they fele, by experience,
The brynnynge of the concupiscence,
Pryckynge their hertes with love :
Consyderynge, also, their bondage,
Howe they can use no mariage,
As a christen man doth behove.
Then to quenche their apetytes,
They are fayne to be sodomytes,
Abusynge theym selves unnaturally :
And so, from hope of salvacion,
They fall into desperacion,
Ordrynge their lyves most shamfully.
Wat. I will not say the contrary,
But amonge a grett company
One or two soche thou mayst fynde ;
Jeff. Make the company grett or small,
Amonge a thousand fynde thou shall
Scant one chaste of boddy and mynde.

[217] [Part, portion.] [218] [Gomorrah.]

Wat. They saye yett with bolde audacitè,
That it resteth in man's facultè
If he will, to live chastly.
Jeff. Then make they Christ a lyer,
Callynge it a gyfte singuler,
Not geven to every boddy.
Paul also, in his Epistle
Unto Timothe, his disciple;
Writynge by sprete of prophecy,
Nameth it a dyvlisshe doctryne,
Which agaynst Scripture divine
Forbiddeth folke to mary.
Morover the storys, not faynynge,
The lives of olde fathers conteynynge,
Geve reccorde to the same;
Which endued with godly science
Exercysynge continuall abstinence,
The lustes of the flesshe to tame,
Yet feawe or none had the grace,
With all their laboure to purchace
The singuler gyfte of chastitè:
Howe shuld they then live chaste,
That of gostlynes [218] have no taste,
Geven holy to carnalitè?
Which as wolves and bely beastes, [219]
Eatynge and drynkynge in their feastes,
The bloudde of the pouer commenaltè:
They hate soche as are studious,
Abhorrynge those that are verteous,
As a toade or poysonde serpente.
With oute knowledge, as asses brute,
Of all goode manners destitute,
Braynles and insipient. [220]
Wat. I se then, he werre a very chylde,
Which wolde eny mo abbeys bylde,
If the goodes shuld be so yll spent.
Jeff. It werre fare better, I suppose,
To plucke downe a grett sorte of those
Which are all redy of costly bildynge.
Wat. Oure Lorde forbid! that werre petè, [221]
For they kepe hospitalitè,
Waye-farynge people harborynge:
Husbande-men, and labourers,
With all commen artificers,
They cause to have grett ernynge.
Their townes and villages,
With out exaccions or pillages,
Under theym have moche wynnynge:
They kepe also many servauntes,
Retaynynge fermers and tennauntes,
Which by theym have their lyvynge.

[218] [Ghostliness, spirituality.]
[219] [Belly-beast seems an apt name for a glutton and bibber.]
[220] [*i. e.* Foolish, senseless.]
[221] [Pity.]

Jeff. Hospitall-abbeyes thou fyndest but feawe,
All though some of theym, for a sheawe,[222]
To blyndfelde the people's syght,
Paraventure, will not denaye,
Yf a gentle man come that waye,
To geve hym lodgynge for a nyght.
But yf pouer men thyther resorte,
They shall have full lytell comforte,
Nether meate, dryncke, ne lodgynge.
Savynge wother whyles, perhapes,
They gett a feawe broken scrapes
Of these cormorantes levynge.
Wat. Well; yet their fare consyderynge,
It is, I wis, no smale thynge
That they leave dayly at their borde.
Jeff. Ye; but thorowe falce[223] lorchers,
And unthryfty abbey-lobbers,[224]
To poure folcke lytell they a-forde.
For the best meate awaye they carve,
Which for their harlottes must serve,
With wother frendes of their kynne;
Then proll the servynge officers,
With the yemen that be wayters,
So that their levettes are but thynne:
And where as, thou makest relacion,
That men of sondry occupacion,
By theym are sett unto laboure;
It is aboute soche folysshnes,
Concernynge no proffytablenes,
Unto their neghbours soccoure.
In byldynge of chambers curious,
Churches and houses superfluous,
To no purpose expedient;
So that they may satisfy
Their inordinate fantasy,
They care for no detryment.
Set dyce and carde-players a-syde,
And thorowe-oute the worlde so wyde,
They waste their goode most in vayne:
Their pryde maketh many a begger,
Feawe or none farynge the better,
Except an ydell javel[225] or twayne.
Their townes, somtyme of renowne,
Leawdly they cause to faule downe,
The honoure of the londe to marre;
They sue their subjettes at the lawe,
Whom they make nott worth a strawe,
Raynynge[226] them giltles at the barre.
And that I me nowe reporte
To their lordships a grett sorte,

[222] [Show.] [223] [False lurchers, pilfering gluttons.] [224] [Lubbers, drones.]
[225] [A contemptuous term employed by Spenser in Mother Hubbard's Tale, and by several Scotish poets, as may be seen in Jamieson's Etymol. Dict.]
[226] [For arraigning.]

With whom they had controversys;
Namly, Saynt Edmondis-bery,[227]
With dyvers wother a grett many,
Under the holde of monasterys.
Furthermore, theare as I did wone,[228]
All husbande-men they have undone,
Destroyinge the londe miserably:
Wat. To prove that, it wer very harde.
Jeff. Take hede how farmers go backwarde,
And thou shalt se it with thyne ey.
For the londes welth pryncipally,
Stondeth in exercyse of husbandry,
By encreace of catell and tillynge;
Which as longe as it doth prosper,
The realme goeth backwarde never,
In stabill felicitè perseverynge.
The abbeys then, full of covetyse,
Whom possessions could not suffyse,
Ever more and more encroachynge:
After they had spoyled gentill men,
They undermyned husbande men,
In this manner theym robbynge:—
Wheare a farme for XX *li.* was sett,[229]
Under XXX they wolde not it lett,
Raysynge it up on so hye a some;[230]
That many a goode husholder
Constrayned to geve his farme over,
To extreme beggary did come.[231]
Wat. I have hearde saye of myne elders,
That in Englonde many fermers,
Kept gaye housholdes in tymes passed.
Jeff. Ye; that they did with liberalitè,
Sheawynge to poure people charitè;
But nowe, all together is dasshed.
Of ryche farme, places, and halles,
Thou seist nothynge but bare walles,
The rofes fallen to the grownde;
To tourne fayre houses into pasture,
They do their diligent cure,
The commen well to confownde.
Wat. Howe have the abbeys their payment?
Jeff. A newe waye they do invent,
Lettynge a dosen farmes under one;

[227] [The controversies between the bishops and the abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, concerning an exemption of the latter from all episcopal jurisdiction or connexion, were carried on for a length of time with great violence, and renewed at intervals from the reign of William I. to that of Henry VI. The monarchs in general favoured the cause of the monastery, which was ultimately triumphant. See Yates's Hist. of St. Edmund's Bury, chap. iv.]

[228] [*i. e.* Dwell.] [229] [*i. e.* Leased out.] [230] [Sum.]

[231] [In the 14th article of impeachment preferred against Wolsey, it is stated—'Before the suppression of such 'houses as he hath suppressed, the Lord Cardinal said, that the possessions of them should be set to farm among 'your lay-subjects, after such reasonable yearly rent as they should well thereupon live, and keep good hospi-'tality: and now the demain possessions of the said houses, since the suppression of them, hath been surveyed, 'mete, and measured by the acre, and be now *set* above the value of the old rent; and also such as were farmers 'by covent-seal, and copy-holders, be put out and amoved of their farms, or else compelled to pay new fines, 'contrary to all equity and conscience.']

Which one or two ryche francklynges,[232]
Occupyinge a dosen men's lyvynges,
Take all in their owne hondes a lone.
Wat. The wother in paiynge their rent,
Be lycklyhod, were negligent;
And wolde not do their duty.
Jeff. They payde their duty and more,
But their farmes are heythed[233] so sore,
That they are brought unto beggery.
Wat. Have the francklynges therby no gayne?
Jeff. Yes; but fyrst they have moche payne,
Yer they can gett it substancially:
Payinge more for the entrynge in,
Then they shalbe able to wynne,
A goode whyle after, certaynly.
For to gett the abbottes consent,
Under the seale of the covent,
It is a thynge very costly;
Where of the charges to recover,
Lest they shulde theym selves enpover,[234]
And be brought into decaye:
Pouer cilly shepperdes they gett,
Whome into their farmes they sett,
Lyvynge on mylke, whyg,[235] and whey.
Wat. Mercyfull Lorde! who hearde ever tell
Religious folke to be so cruell,
Supplantynge the temporaltè.
Jeff. Thou knowest nott, Watkyn felowe,
Howe they have brought to sorowe
In lykwyse the spretualtè.
Wat. By what manner cavillacion?
Jeff. Surly, through improperacion[236]
Of inumerable benefices.
Wat. Do they benefices improperate?
Jeff. Ye; and that many a curate
Dayly coursse their cruell bellies.
Wat. They eate nether churche ne steple.
Jeff. No, but they robbe the pouer people,
Devowrynge their substaunce.
Wat. Yf they do spretually sowe,
They maye well temporally mowe,
After the apostle's ordenaunce.
Jeff. Toshe, they have it better cheape;
For they temporall goodes reape,
And sowe nothynge spretually.
Their parisshons[237] they sheare and clippe,
But they never open their lippe
To geve theym eny fode gostly.[238]
Wat. Happely, they do it in prevetè.
Jeff. So, God healpe me! it maye well be,

[232] [Country gentlemen.] [233] [*i. e.* Advanced; says Mr. Ellis. Qu. heightened, raised?]
[234] [Impoverish.] [235] [*Whig* is a Scotish term for what we call *whey*.]
[236] [Impropriation: or more properly *ap*propriation.] [237] [Parishioners.]
[238] [Spiritually.]

Under some secret clausure:
For it is, surly, so invisible,
That, I trowe, it is not possible
To be sene of eny creature.
Wat. What requyre they of benefices?
Jeff. No thynge, but to have the fleces,
And avauntages carnally.
Wat. I perceave not well thy meanynge.
Jeff. They are redyer to take up tythynge,
Then to preache to theym frutfully.
Wat. Is there eny grett differynge
Bitwene theft and tythe-gaderynge,
After the practyse that we se?
Jeff. Very litell, all thynges reckened,
Savynge that theves are corrected,
And tythe-gaderers go scott-fre.[239]
Wat. Have they no circumspeccion,
With diligent affeccion
For their paresshes to provyde?
Jeff. They sett in folysshe dotardes,
More mete forto be bearwardes[240]
Then Christen men's soules to gyde.
And even as they do by farmage,
Brynge the londe into a-rearage,[241]
Contempnynge the state temporall;
In lyke maner, by their rapyne,
They have brought into ruyne,
The order ecclesiasticall.
Wat. It apereth they are past grace.
Jeff. They are the divel's fornace,
Oven infernall, unsaciable.
Wat. If these monkes are so noyous,
Bothe fraudulent and covetous,
To what uses are they proffitable?
Jeff. Nowe, by the death that I shall deye,
Of all people under neth the skye,
The worlde maye theym best spare;
Nether to the godly Deité,
Nor yett to man's utilité,
In eny cace proffitable they are.
And not only unnecessary,
But, moroever, clene contrary;
Defraudynge that to theym is due:
For though their lyfe so vicious,
To Goddis lawes is injurious,
Confowndynge the waye of vertue.
Yet are they more presompteous,
Sayinge their workes meritorious,
Healpe synners to be Goddis heyres;
Wherby, Christis bloud they despyse,
As though it coulde not suffyse,
With out their damnable prayres.

[239] [Free from punishment, or after-reckoning.]
[240] [Keepers of bears. See Shaksp. Hen. VI. Part 2.]
[241] [Arrears.]

And, wheare as, they shulde be prest,[242]
At all seasons doynge their best,
The commen-well to mayntayne:
Their bellies are so full of greace,
That nether in warre nor peace
They cane do eny healpe certayne.
Yet their fyndynges they expende,
Which shulde the londe defende,
Devowrynge many a knyghtes fe;
They are nether gostly ner worldly,
Rather divylysshe then godly,
With out eny goode properté.
Wat. Yf they be soche ydell raveners,
They are lyke to the grett coursers,
Which noble men in stables kepe;
For they are cheresed all waye,
With fresshe litter, and goode haye,
Doynge right noght, but eate and slepe.
Jeff. There is in theym grett diversité,
For yf it come to extremité,
They save their masters from yvill;[243]
Where as these miserable brybers
Brynge their fownders and healpers,
The strayght waye to the devill.
Wat. Are they lyke to wolves ravenous?
Jeff. A grett deale more outragious,
Farre excedynge their rapacité;
For though they be cruell of kynde,
Yett they leave their skynnes be hynde,
As a mendes for their cruelté.
But this mischevous mounckry,[244]
Though they robbe every country,
Whyls they be here a-lyve;
Yet can they not so be pleased,
But after that they be deceaced,
Least eny by theym shuld thryve.
They cary into their sepulture
Their dayly clothynge and vesture,
Buried in their churlysshe habyte:
Wat. Have they on their botes also?
Jeff. Ye, by my trothe, even redy to go
To the devill withouten respyte.
Wat. There is some mistery pondered,
That they use so to be buried,
In their habyte and clothynge.
Jeff. No dout, it is a mistery,
By conjectours, manifestly,
Their wretched lye betokenynge.
For as in this lyfe they denayde
Their Christen neghbours to ayde,
Lyvynge here uncheritably:

[242] [*i. e.* Ready.] [243] [Evil.] [244] [Monkery.]

So by their death and latter ende,
In their buriall they pretende
Not to be of Christis company.
Wat. To whom then do they pertayne?
Jeff. To the devill, their soverayne,
Which hath theym all in his bonde.
Wat. Beware thou be not to bolde,
For thy lyfe were bought and solde,
Yf thou spake this in Englonde.
Jeff. They maye well bothe ban and cours,
But they cannot do moche wors
Then they dyd to Hun the marchaunt.[246]
Wat. Did they eny grevaunce to hym?
Jeff. Out of this lyfe they did hym trymme,
Because he was Goddis servaunte.
Wat. He did some faulte gretly notory?[247]
Jeff. No thynge but for a mortuary,
The prestes agaynst hym did aryse:
No maner faulte in hym was fownde,
Yet was he hanged, brent,[248] and drownde,
His goodes takyn up for a pryse.
As an herityke they hym toke,
Becauše he had many a boke,
In Englysshe, of holy scripture;
Also, he worshipped no ymages,
And wolde not go on pilgremages,
Usynge none othes to perjure.
Wat. Are the prelates so man frantycke,
To judge soche a man an heritycke,
Shewynge tokens of fydelité?
Jeff. They regarde their worldly proffett,
Wynnynge therby many a forfett,
Whiche moveth theym to crudelité.
Men's goodes wrongfully to cease,[249]
They make heritykes whom they please,
By faulce relacion of someners.[250]
Wat. Have they none wother intelleccion?
Jeff. Yes, also by their confession,
Which they tell in prestes eares.
Wat. Dare they confessions to bewraye?
Jeff. Confessions, catha? ye, by my faye,
They kepe no secretnes att all.
Though noble men have doctours
To be their private confessours,
Yet they have one that is generall.
Wat. Besyde those which are perticuler?
Jeff. Ye, and that hath brought some to care,
Of whom I coulde make rehearceall.

[246] [See Andrews's 4to. Hist. vol. ii. p. 224, where the deplorable end of Richard Hunne, in 1514, is narrated from Fox and Burnet. See also Collier's Eccl. Hist. ii. 4, edit. 1714, and Mr. W. Scott's note in the Somers' Tracts, vol. i. p. 45, and Harl. Miscell. ii. 541.]

[247] [Notorious.] [248] [Burnt.] [249] [Seize.]

[250] [Summoners, now called apparitors; their office is to cite delinquents to appear in ecclesiastical courts. See Chaucer's character of one, in his Canterbury Tales.]

Wat. His name wolde I very fayne here.
Jeff. It is the Englisshe Lucifer,
Wotherwyse called—the Cardinall!
In all the londe there is no wyght,
Nether lorde, baron, nor knyght,
To whom he hath eny hatred;
But ether by sower speche, or swete,
Of their confessours he will wete,[251]
Howe they have theym selves behaved.
What they saye, it is accepted,
In no poynte to be objected,
Though they be as falce as Judas.
Wat. What authoritè do they allege?
Jeff. It is their churches previlege,
Falcely to fayne that never was.
Wat. Soche confessours are unjust.
Jeff. Yett nedes do it they must,
Yf they will to honoure ascende.
Wat. Promocions are of the Kyngis gyft?
Jeff. For all that, he maketh soche shyft,
That in his pleasure they depende.[252]
Though they have the Kyngis patent,
Except they have also his assent,
It tourneth to none avauntage;
His power he doth so extende,
That the Kyngis letters to rende
He will not forbeare in his rage.
Wat. This is a grett presumpcion,
For a villayne bocher's sonne,
His authoritè so to avaunce;
But it is more to be marveyled,
That noble-men wilbe confessed
To these kaytives[253] of miscreaunce.
Jeff. O the grett whore of Babilon,
With her deadly cuppe of poyson,
Hath brought them to dronkenship;
That paynted bordes and ded stockes,
Carved ydols, in stones and blockes,
Above Allmyghty God they worship.
Wat. Hath Englond soche stations
Of devoute peregrinacions
As are in Fraunce and Italy?
Jeff. Seke oute londes every-chone,
And thou shalt fynde none so prone
As Englonde to this ydolatry.
Of wholy roodes there is soche a sight,
That bitweene this and mydnyght
I coulde not make explicacion:

[251] [Know.]
[252] [Wolsey was charged with having given away, by his legatine authority, the benefices of divers persons, both temporal and spiritual, contrary to the dignity of the crown and laws of the kingdom. See art. vii. of his impeachment.]
[253] [Caitiffs; wretches, miscreants.]

Then have they ladies as many,
Some of grace, and some of mercy,
With divers of lamentacion.
Morover, paynted stockes and stones,
With shrynes full of rotten bones,
To the whiche they make oblacion.
Wat. What are they after thy supposynge?
Jeff. Stronge theves, with-outen glosynge,
And authours of prevaricacion.
Wat. Take hede thou do not blaspheme.
Jeff. After their workes I theym esteme,
Both to man, and God, oure Creatoure.
Where as, is no God but one,
We ought to worship hym alone,
And no falce goddes to adoure.
Whyche of his honoure is defrauded
By these ydoles, faulcely lauded
With sacrifice and adoracion;
Man, in lyke maner, they robbe;
Causynge poure folke to sygh and sobbe,
Takynge awaye their sustenacion.
Wat. The goodes that to theym are offered,
Are they not to pouer people proffered,
Their necessites to relefe?
Jeff. It is wasted, in ryetous revell,
Amonge many an ydell javell,
To norysshe morther and mischefe.
Wat. I heare saye, that besydes[254] London,
There is oure lady of Wilsdon,
Which doth grett myracles dayly.
Jeff. As for whordom and letcherousnes,
She is the chefe lady mastres,
Commen paramoure of baudry.
Many men, as it is knowen,
Kepe mo chyldren then their owne,
By her myracles promocion;
Wyves, to deceave their husbandes,
Make to her many errandes,
Under coloure of devocion.
Wat. Dost thou oure ladye so backbyte?
Jeff. No, but I have the stocks in despyte,
Wherby they dishonoure her:
In scripture it is written,
And of oure Lorde forbidden,
To be a falce ydolatrer.
Wat. Whyls thou dost so farre procede,
Howe is it then in thy crede
Of Saynt Thomas[255] of Cantourbury?

[254] [*i. e.* Near to London: and would seem, therefore, to be Willesdon in Middlesex. No notice, however, is taken by Mr. Lysons, or his topographical precursors, of any saintly shrine at that place. Yet in an old English poem, the title of which I cannot recal, the following couplet occurs—

'On pylgrymage then must they go
'To *Wylesdon*, Barkyng, or some Halowe.']

[255] [Thomas Becket. Vid. supra, p. 20.]

Jeff. I beleve, and also I trust,
Yf that he were in this lyfe just,
And of oure Lordes vocacion,
That his soule hath fruicion
Perpetually, without intermission,
Of eternall consolacion.
Wat. Ye, but I mean of his body
Shryned in the monastery,
With golde and stones precious;
Also, the grett myracles wrought,
And howe of people he is sought,
With offerynges and gyftes somptious.[256]
Jeff. As for that, yf we geve credence
To oure Saveoure Christis sentence,
The Evangelistes[257] bearynge recorde;
Many shall do thynges straunge,
Wherby they will boldly chalange
To worcke in the name of oure Lorde.
And yet Christ in theym hath no parte,
But worcke theym by the devil's arte,
Usurpynge an angel's lykenes;
Which doth hym silfe so transpose,
Fraudulently to begyle those
That contempne Goddis rightousnes.
Wat. Neverthelesse, as clarckes defyne,
Workynge of myracles is a signe
That unto God they are acceptable.
Jeff. Shall we to men credence geve,
Or ought we the Gospell to beleve,
Whose veritè is impermutable?[258]
I dare saye, and abyde therby,
That Saynct Thomas of Caunterbury,
With wothers Saynctes canonysed,
Yf their paynted efficacitè[259]
Is but as it semeth to be,
Of God they are despysed.
For though they heale lame and blynde,
With men (as they saye) out of mynde,
Healpynge diseases corporall;
Yet destroye they out of hande,
For every one of theym a thowsande
Concernynge their soules spretuall.
And where as, Christ doth requyre
That of God we shulde desyre
Att oure necessitè and nede;
To theym we make peticion
Agaynst Goddis prohibicion,
To wicked doctours gevynge hede.
Wat. Well, yet I ensure thè, Jeffraye,
The Gospell for theym they laye,
Growndynge on it their argument.

[256] [Sumptuous.]
[257] [See Mark xiii. 6, Luke xxi. 8.]
[258] [Unchangeable.]
[259] [Fr. efficacy.]

Jeff. Naye, Watkyn, that is a starcke lye.
Wat. Howe shall we then the troth trye,
By some probacion evident?
Jeff. Mary, take Goddis wholy wrytynge,
Nether addynge nor diminysshynge,
But even playnly after the letter.
Wat. They saye Scripture is so diffuse,
That laye-people on it to muse
Shulde be never the better.
It is no medlynge for foles,
But for soche as have bene at scoles,
As doctours that be graduate.
Jeff. Wenest thou, that Peter the fissher
Understode not Scripture clearlyer,
Then the Pharisaies obstinate?
Who did so wilfully resist
Agaynst the receavynge of Christ,
As they which were learned?
Wat. No wonder, for they knew hym not.
Jeff. No more do oure doctours, God wot,
In eny poynte to be discerned.
Wat. Of Christ yett they make mencion.
Jeff. Ye; for be cause their pension
With benefices maye be endued;
But in their lyfe and behaveoure
They despyse Christ, oure Saveoure,
Labourynge his worde to exclude.
Wat. Canst thou prove this in dede?
Jeff. Whosoever will the Gospell rede,
To prove it shall nede no testes.[260]
Wat. Peraventure, they wolde have it hid,
Wherfore to rede it they forbid,
Lest men shulde knowe their wickednes.
Jeff. Had thou studied an whoale yere,
Thou couldest not have gone no[261] nere
To hit their crafty suttelnes.
For yf the Gospell were soffered
Of laye-people frely to be red
In their owne moder's[262] langage;
They shulde se at their fyngers endes
The abhominacions of these fendes,
With the abusion of pilgremage.
Also, to perceave every whitt
What it is Sayntes forto visitt.
With nobles, brouches, and rynges.
Wat. Dost thou this custume reprehende?
Jeff. I thyncke no goode man will commende
Soche supersticious offerynges?
Wherof, thre poyntes I will move,
By the whyche I shall playnly prove,
That it is a thynge ungodly;—

[260] [Witnesses.] [261] [Qu. mo, for more?] [262] [Mother's.]

Fyrst, a poure man of farre dwellynge,
For his wyfe and chyldren labourynge,
To kepe and fynde theym honestly:
Paraventure, for some sickenes,
Or for a vowe of folisshnes,
To accomplysshe Satan's institute;
Taketh on hym a farre viage
To some Sayncte's shryne or ymage,
Leavynge his houshoulde destitute:
Which often tymes do mis-cary
The meane while that he doth tary,
Bestowynge his laboure in vayne:
And so Goddis commaundment neglecte
For small tryfles of none effecte;
They put theym selves unto payne.
Secondaryly, what pevisshnes[263]
Is it to honoure, with ryches,
Of deade saynctes the bodies;
Seynge, that whyls they here lyved,
From ryches they were deprived,
As we rede in their storyes.
Thirdly, it is no Christen touche
To se many a golden ouche,[264]
With rynges and stones preciously;
To make deade saynctes forto shyne,
Where pouer folke for honger pyne,
Dyinge with oute healpe petiously.[265]
And yf, with all possibilitè,
Oure Christen neghbours povertè
Duly to ayde we are bownde;
Why do Saynctes it then transgresse,
In whom charitable perfetnes,
In especiall, shulde redownde?
Saynct John to Christ so amiable,
Sayth,—'Excepte we be charitable,
'Lovynge eache wother fraternally,
'It boteth not Christ to professe;
'For why, we wander in darcknes
'With out light, erroniously;
'For howe can he have charitè,
'That seith his neghbour's necessitè,
'And refuseth hym to socourè?'

Wat. I marvayle not, by Hym that me made!
Yf they be with golde and stones so lade,
That they cannot their neghbours se;
But nowe, to speake ernestly,
Have their soules celestially
In soche offerynges eny delyte?

Jeff. It is to theym grett despleasure,
Abhorrynge it out of measure,
As a thynge done in their despyte.

[263] [Perverseness?]
[264] [Owche, a collar or carcanet to hang about a gentlewoman's neck. Barret's Dict. 1580.]
[265] [Piteously.]

Wat. What were best then to be done?
Jeff. To breake theym in peces a none,[267]
Amonge poure folke to be destributed.
Wat. Haw! to do that dede who durst;
Seynge that he shulde be a courst,
And as an heretyke reputed?
Jeff. Let theym with furiousnes swell,
Coursynge with boke, bell, and candell,[268]
Whyls they have breath for to speake:
Yet had we the Kynges licence,
We wolde, with-outen diffydence,
Their golden shrynes in peces breake.
Wat. What shulde we do with their ryches?
Jeff. Geve it to pouer men in almes,
To whom of duté it doth longe.[269]
Wat. The Saynctes then wolde be angry,
Yf that we shulde be so hardy,
Unlaufully to do theym wronge.
For some men have it assayde,
Whom saynctes have shreawedly arayde,
In revengynge their injury;
So that, by an whole nyghtes space,
They were fayne to kepe one place,
The dores stondynge open apertly.[270]
Jeff. And what was their fynall chaunce?
Wat. By my sothe, in an hangynge daunce
Their neckes in a corde to preve.[271]
Jeff. Use the Saynctes eny men to kyll?
Wat. No, but they make theym stonde still,
Untill they be taken of the Schereve.[272]
Jeff. Then are th[e]y lyke and semblable
Unto oure bisshops venerable,
Which saye, 'we will not morther:'
But they put men in soche savegarde,
That with in a whyle afterwarde
They be sure to go no forther.
Wat. Are not soche saynctes reprehensible?
Jeff. Ye; for they shulde be invincible,
Of charitable dileccion;
For if they will eny man noye[273],
Ether eny body to destroye,
They are not of Christis eleccion.
Whiche after Luke's evangelion,
Sayde to thapostels James and Jhon,—
'*Nescitis cujus spiritus estis:*
'The Sonne of man hidder[274] cam,
'Not forto destroye eny man,
'But to save that perisshed is.'

[267] [Anon.]
[268] [To curse with bell, book, and candle, was the ceremonial of excommunication in the Romish church. Dryden, in his Character of a good Parson, particularises among his merits, that he never sued for tithes, nor "curs'd with bell and book."]
[269] [Belong.] [270] [*Apertè*, Lat. plainly, manifestly.] [271] [*Preuve*, Fr. prove.]
[272] [Sheriff.] [273] [Annoy.] [274] [Hither came.]

Wherfore, let theym do wonders,
By the divels, their founders,
To leade men in blynde cecité :[275]
Yett, never thelesse, thou and I
Wolde putt oure selves in jeopardy,
Agaynst all their malignité.
To take awaye their ouches,
Golden rynges, and brouches,
Gevynge it unto the poore.
Wat. Thou excepst S. Chutbert of Duram,[276]
With oure Lady of Walsyngam,[277]
Also oure Lady of the Moore.
Jeff. God beynge oure direccion,
We wolde make none excepcion
Agaynst the devil's enchauntmentes :
To do their best let theym not spare,
For we wolde make theym full bare
Of their precious ornamentes.
Wat. Oure honesté then destayned,[278]
Suerly we shulde be proclaymed
For outragious heretykes.
Jeff. Why more we, then the Cardinall?
Wat. He attempteth nothynge at all,
Soche maters, in his bisshopryckes.
Jeff. I am sure thou hast hearde spoken
What monasteries he hath broken,
With out their fownders consentes :
He subverteth churches and chappells,
Takynge a waye bokes and bells,
With chalesces and vestmentes.
He plucketh downe the costly leades,
That it maye rayne on saynctes heades,
Not sparynge God, nor oure Ladye :
Where as, they red servyce divyne,
There is grountynge of pigges and swyne,
With lowynge of oxen and kye.[279]
The aultres of their celebracions
Are made pearches for henns and capons,
De foylynge theym with their durt;
And, though it be never so prophane,
He is counted a goode Christiane,
No man doynge hym eny hurtt.
Wat. A conscience, yf it be sothe,
That the Cardinall so dothe,
I wonder that he is not apeached.

[275] [Fr. Blindness.]

[276] [St. Cuthbert of Durham has had the honour of being introduced into the Marmion of Mr. Walter Scott, both text and notes ; and as the poems of that true minstrel are in the hands of every reader, it would be a task of utter supererogation to introduce any extract from them here.]

[277] [Walsingham in Norfolk (says Camden) was famous through England for pilgrimages to the Virgin Mary : for in the last age, whoever had not made a visit, and a present, to the blessed Virgin of that place, was looked upon as impious and irreligious. Erasmus, who was an eye-witness of the veneration paid to the Lady of Walsingham, has described her shrine and its decorative splendours. The Lady of the Moore has not been traced.]

[278] [Qu. distained? sullied with stain.]

[279] [Kine.]

Jeff. O churche-men are wyly foxes,
More crafty then juggelers boxes,
To play *ligier du mayne*[279] teached.
Yt is not for nought they fayne,
That the two sweardes to theym pertayne,
Both spretuall and temporall;
Wherwith they playe, on both hondes,
Most tyrannously in their bondes,
Holdynge the worlde universall.
Agaynst God they are so stobbourne,
That Scripture they tosse and tourne
After their owne ymaginacion:
Yf they saye, the mone is belewe;[280]
We must beleve that it is true,
Admittynge their interpretacion.
Wat. Art thou not a-frayde to presume
Agaynst the Cardinall's fume;
Seynge they wilbe all on his syde?
Jeff. No: I do rather gretly rejoyce,
That of a lytell worme's voyce,
Goddis judgement maye be veryfyed;
Agaynst soche a wicked brothell,
Which sayth, under his girthell[281]
He holdeth Kynges and Princes,
To whom for a salutacion
I will rehearce a brefe oracion,
Dedicate unto his statlynes.
Wat. Nowe, gentell mate, I thè praye.
Jeff. Have at it then, with out delaye,
Contempnynge his maliciousnes.

O miserable monster, most malicious,
Father of perversité, patrone of hell,
O terrible tyrant, to God and man odious,
Advocate of Antichrist, to Christ rebell:
To thè I speake, O caytiffe Cardinall! so cruell;
Causles chargynge, by thy coursed commandment,
To brenne[282] Goddis worde, the wholy testament.[283]

Goddes worde, grownd of all vertue and grace,
The fructeous fode of oure faythfull trust,
Thou hast condempned in most carfull cace,
Throwe furious foly, falce and unjust,
O fearce Pharao! folower of flesshly lust,—
What moved thy mynde by malyce to consent
To brenne Godds worde, the wholy-testament?

The tenoure of thy tyranny, passeth my brayne,
In every poynt evidently to endyght,
Nero nor Herod wer never so noyus, certayne,

[279] [*Légéreté du main*, slight of hand.] [280] [Blue.] [281] [Girdle.] [282] [Burn.]
[283] [Tindal's English translation of the New Testament, in which he was assisted by Roy, was printed at Antwerp in 1526; but not being warranted by the authority of the king of England, was publicly burned at London in May 1530, when a new and better translation was promised to be set forth, and allowed to the people.]

All though of Goddes lawes they had lytel lyght.
Shame it is to speake, howe agaynst ryght
Thy hatfull[284] hert hath caused to be brent
Goddis true worde, the wholy-testament.

O perverse preste, patriarke of pryde,
Mortherer with out mercy, most execrable,
O beastly brothell, of baudry the bryde,
Darlynge of the devill, gretly detestable;
Alas! what wretch wolde be so vengeable
At eny tyme to attempte soche impediment,
To brenne Goddes worde, the wholy-testament.

God of his goodeness grudged not to dye,
Man to delyver from deadly dampnacion,
Whose will is, that we shulde knowe perfetly
What he here hath done for oure salvacion.
O cruell Kayface[285], full of crafty conspiracion,
Howe durst thou geve then falce judgement,
To brenne Godds worde, the wholy-testament.

Thy leawedness of lyvynge is loth to heare,
Christis gospell to come unto cleare light;
Howe be it, surly it is so spred farre and neare,
That, forto let it, thou haste lytell myght;
God hath opened our dercke dimed syght,
Truly to perceave thy tyrannous intent,
To brenne Goddes worde, the wholy-testament.

Agaynst thyne ambicion all people do crye,
Pompously spendinge the sustenaunce of the pore;
Thy haultè[286] honoure hyly to magnify,
Maketh theves, traytours, and many a whore:
Wo worth the wretche, of wickednes the dore,
Forger of oure dayly damage and detriment,
To brenne Goddis worde, the wholy-testament.

O paynted pastoure of Satan the prophet;
Ragynge courre, wrapped in a wolves skynne;
O butcherly bisshop! to be a ruler unmete,
Maker of misery; occasion of synne:
God graunt the grace nowe to begynne
Of thy dampnable dedes to be penitent;
Brennynge Goddis worde, the wholy-testament.

Wat. No more, for oure Lordis passion!
Thou raylest nowe of a fassion,
With rebukes most despytous:
No man shall these wordes advert,
But will judge theym of an hert
To procede most contumelious.
Though popisshe curres here at do barcke,
Yet thou mayst therin well marcke

[284] [Hateful.] [285] [Caiaphas.] [286] [Haughty.]

The will of God accomplisshed,
The Cardinall thus to rewarde,
Which with oute eny godly regarde
Desdayneth the trothe to be pupplisshed,
Therfore, as he did the trueth condempne,
So God wil hym and all his contempne,
With the swearde of punnysshment.
Wat. They had fyrst some provocation?
Jeff. None wother, then the translacion
Of the Englysshe newe-testament;
Wherin the authours with meekness
Utterly avoydynge conviciousnes,
Demeaned theym so discretly,
That with all their invencion
They coulde fynde no reprehencion,
Resistynge Goddis worde wilfully.
Wat. Howe had the Gospell fyrst entraunce
Into Englonde, so farre of distance,
Where to rede hym no man maye?
Jeff. Goode Christen men, with pure affecte
Of God, singulerly therto electe,
With cost did hym thether conveye;
Which even as Christ was betrayed;
So with hym the clargy played,
Thorowe trayterous prodicion.[286]
Wat. Who played the parte of Judas?
Jeff. The wholy bisshop of Saynct Asse,[287]
A poste of Satan's jurisdiccion,
Whom they call Doctour Standisshe;
Wone that is nether flesshe nor fisshe,
At all tymes a commen lyer;
He is a bablynge questionist,
And a mervelous grett sophist,
Som tyme a lowsy graye fryer.
Of stommake[288] he is fearce and bolde,
In braulynge wordes a very scolde,
Menglynge vennem with sugre:
He despyseth the trueth of God,
Takynge parte rather with falcehod,
Forto obtayne worldly lucre.
In carde-playinge he is a goode Greke,[289]
And can skyll of post and glyeke,[290]
Also a payre of dyce to trolle.[291]

[286] [*Proditio*, Lat. Perfidy.]
[287] [Henry Standisshe, Guardian of the Franciscans, and Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1518: a most zealous favourer of the Romish religion, and one of King Henry's spiritual counsellors.]
[288] [*Stomach* seems here put for *heart*, alias temper, or disposition. Holinshed, and after him Shakspeare, applied the term in the sense of ambitious desire. The latter is speaking of Wolsey: "He was a man of an unbounded *stomach*." K. Hen. VIII.]
[289] [A reveller, says Mr. Steevens; in note on Troilus and Cressida, Act 1. But the word here seems used in its modern acceptation, for a gambling sharper.]
[290] [A game at cards, not now known.]
[291] [To turn about, to move circularly.]

For whordom and fornicacions
He maketh many visitacions,
His dioces to pill and polle.[292]
Though he be a stowte divyne,
Yett a prest to kepe a concubyne
He there admitteth wittyngly;
So they paye their yearly tributes
Unto his dyvlisshe substitutes,
Officiall or commissary,
To rehearce all his lyvynge;
God geve it yvell chevynge[293]
Or els some amendment shortly!

Wat. Howe did he the Gospell betraye?

Jeff. As sone as ever he hearde saye—
That the Gospell cam to Englonde,
Immediatly he did hym trappe,
And to the man in the redde cappe[294]
He brought hym with stronge honde.
Before whose prowde consistory
Bryngyne in falce testimony,
The Gospell he did theare accuse.

Wat. He did mo persones represent
Then Judas, the traytour malivolent,
Whiche betrayed Christ to the Jues.

Jeff. Thou mayst se of theym, in one manne,
Herod, Pilat, Cayphas, and Anne,[295]
With their properties severall;
And in another, manifestly,
Judas full of conspiracy,
With the sectes pharisaicall.
They are a grett deale more mutable,
Then Proteus, of forme so variable,
Whiche coulde hym silfe so disgyse:
They canne represent apes and beares,
Lyons, and asses with longe eares,
Even as they list to divyse.
But nowe, of Standisshe accusacion
Brefly to make declaracion,
Thus to the Cardinall he spake:—
"Pleaseth youre honourable grace,
Here is chaunsed a pitious cace,
And to the churche a grett lacke.
The Gospell in oure Englisshe tonge,
Of laye-men to be red and songe,
Is nowe hidder come to remayne;
Which many heretykes shall make,
Except youre grace shall some waye take'
By youre authoritè hym to restrayne.
For, truly, it is no handlynge
For laye-peoples understondynge

[292] [To pillage and to shear very close, *i. e.* to take extortion. See Minshew. The expression was borrowed from monastic phraseology, and may have become proverbial.]
[293] [Qu. for atchieving?]
[294] [The Cardinal.]
[295] [Ananias.]

With the Gospell to be busy;
Which many wone interprisynge,
Into heresy it did brynge,
Disdaynynge the churche unreverently."
Wat. Tosshe! these saynges are sophisticall,
I wolde heare the sence misticall
Of these wordes right interpreted.
Jeff. In fayth, with oute simulacion,[296]
This is the right significacion
Of his meaning to be expressed:
O Cardinall, so glorious!
Thou art capitayne over us;
Antichristis chefe member;
Of all oure detestacions,
And sinfull prevaricacions,
Thou alone arte the defender:
Wherfore, healpe now or els never,
For we are undone for ever,
Yf the Gospell abroade be spred:
For then, with in a whyle after,
Every plowe-manne and carter
Shall se what a lyfe we have led.
Howe we have, this five hondred yeres,
Roffled them amonge the bryres
Of desperate infidelitè;
And howe we have the worlde brought
Unto beggery, worsse then nought,
Through our chargeable vanitè.
Which knowen we shalbe abhorred,
Reddi to be knocked in the forhed,
Oure welth taken awaye clene;
Therfore; tyrant, playe nowe thy parte,
Seynge with the devill thou arte
Gretter then eny manne hath bene:
Put the Gospel a waye quyght,
That he come not to laye-men's sight,
Forto knowe Goddis commaundementes:
And then we that are the remmenaunt,
Shall diligently be attendaunt,
To blynde theym with oure commentes.
Yf they have once inhibicion,
In no maner of condicion
To rede Goddis worde and his lawes:
For us, doctours of theology,
It shalbe a smale mastery
To make theym foles and dawes.
Loke what thou dost by tyranny,
We will alowe it by sophistry,
Agaynst these wordly villaynes."
Nowe, truly, this is the meanynge,
Howe soever be the speakynge
Of these spretuall lordaynes.

[296] [Lord Bacon offers a nice distinction, in his Essays, between simulation and dissimulation, the former of which he co nsiders as more culpable.]

Wat. But what sayde the Cardinall here at?
Jeff. He spake the wordes of Pilat;
Sayinge, "I fynde no fault therin."
Howe be it, the bisshops assembled,
Amonge theym be examened
What was best to determyn.
Then answered bisshop Cayphas,[298]
That "a grett parte better it was
The Gospell to be condemned;
Lest their vices manyfolde
Shulde be knowen of yonge and olde,
Their estate to be contempned."
The Cardinall then, incontinent,[299]
Agaynst the Gospell gave judgement,
Sayinge, "to brenne he deserved."—
Wherto all the bisshoppes cryed,
Answerynge, "it cannot be denyed
He is worthy so to be served."
Wat. Yf they playe thus their vages,[300]
They shall not escape the plages[301]
Which to theym of Rome happened:
At whose scourge so marvelous
They wolde, yf they were gracious,
Gladly to be admonisshed.
To whom Goddis worde in purité
Was fyrst shewed, with humilité,
Accordynge to the veritable sence:
Howe be it, they wolde not it receave,
But frawardly, with swearde and gleave,[302]
They expulsed it from thence.
Unto tyranny they did leane,
Wherfore, God usynge another meane
To brynge theym unto repentaunce:
He stered[303] up some men's spryte,
Which their fautes did endyte,
Of their mischefe makynge uttraunce.
Yet wolde not they amende,
But moare wilfully did deffende
Their evill lyfe, agaynst Goddis worde:
Therfore, as mislyvers obstinate,
They were destroyed, nowe of late,
With pestilence and dent of sworde.
Jeff. Thou hast rehearced thre poyntes,
Which will make all prestes joyntes
For feare to trymble and shake:
Seynge, that the fyrst is past,
And the seconde commeth in fast,
Their hypocrisi to awake.
And yf they will not be refrayned,
The sworde of vengeance unfayned,
On their frawardnes will light.

[298] *Hoc est London. Epūs.* [*i. e.* Cuthbert Tonstall.]
[299] [*i. e.* Immediately.]
[300] [Qu. for vagaries?]
[301] [Plagues.]
[302] [*Glaive*, Fr. falchion.]
[303] [Stirred.]

Wat. Well, let us by no persuasion,
Geve no soche occasion,
Causynge Christen men to fyght.
Jeff. No man will have that suspicion,
But take it for an admonicion,
Their unhappy lyfe to repent:
For we shewe, as they shall fynde,
Yf God inspyre not their mynde
To laboure for amendment;
Which by scripture to verify,
Let theym rede the prophet Jeremy,
In the chapter fower and twente:[304]
Howe be it, I will me hens[305] hye,
Wheare as, the Cardinal's furye
With his treasure shall not get me.
Wat. Is this prowde Cardinall rycher
Then Christ, or goode Saynct Peter,
In whose roume he doth succede?
Jeff. The bosses of his mulis brydles,
Myght bye[306] Christ and his disciples,
As farre as I coulde ever rede.
Wat. Whether canst thou then flye awaye?
Jeff. To Constantinoble, in Turkeye;
Amonge hethen my lyfe to leade.
Wat. Yf thou wilt then live Christenly,
Thou must use thy silfe prevely,
Or els surly thou arte but deade.
Jeff. I shall have theare as grett liberté,
As in wother placis of Christenté,
The trueth of Christ to professe:
For he that will the trueth declare;
I dare saye moche better he weare
To be with theym in heathennesse.
Wat. Though thou go never so farre hence,
Yet, with most terrible sentence,
To coursse thè they will not mysse.
Jeff. I ponder very lytell their courses,
Forto God I saye, with humblenes,
'They shall course, and thou shalt blysse.'
Wat. In their courses is their no parell?[307]
Jeff. No; for they do it in the quarell
Of their God, which is their belly.
Wat. What mischevous God is that?
Jeff. Wone that hath eaten up the fatt
Of Englondes wealth so mery.
Wat. I will gett me then into Wales,
To dwell amonge hilles and dales,
With folke that be simple and rude:
Jeff. Come not there, I counsell thè,
For the prestes their simplicité
Thorowe craftynes do so delude;

[304] [In this chapter of Jeremiah is prefigured, by two baskets of good and evil figs, the restoration of Jeconiah with the princes of Judah from captivity, and the desolation of Zedekiah, with the residue of Jerusalem.]
[305] [Hence.] [306] [Buy.] [307] [Peril?]

That whosoever is so hardy,
To speake agaynst prestes knavery,
For an heretyke they hym take:
Of whose miserable calamitè,
Under the spretuall captivitè,
I will here after a processe make.
Wat. Then will I go into the realme
Of the plenteous londe of Beame[308]
In the cite of Prage to dwell.
Jeff. Of two thynges I will thè warne,
Whiche thou must parfetly learne,
Yf thou wilt folowe my counsell.
Fyrst, beware in especiall
Of the outwarde man exteriall,
Though he shewe a fayre aperaunce:
Many shall come in a lambis skynne,
Which are ravisshynge wolves with in,
Ennemys to Christis ordinaunce.
The seconde is, yf eny reply,
Bryngynge in reasons obstinatly
Agaynst that which semeth to be trewe;
Take no graduate for an authoure,
But remitt goode master Doctoure
To the olde testament or newe.
And yf he will beare thè in honde,
That thou canst not it understonde,
Be-cause of the difficulté:
Axe hym, howe thou arte able
To understonde a fayned fable
Of more crafty subtilité?
Wat. I se thou knowest their secretnes.
Jeff. Ye; I coulde in their very lycknes
Declare theym, yf I had respyte;
Wat. Well, I will departe, adue!
Jeff. Nowe I beseche our Lorde Jesu,
To be thy gyde, daye and nyght!

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[309]Christ, Goddes sonne, borne of a mayden poore,
Forto save mankynd from heven descended;
Pope Clemente, the sonne of an whoore,
To destroye man from hell hath ascended;
In whom is evidently comprehended
The perfett meknes of oure Saveoure Christ,
And tyranny of the murtherer Antichrist.

[308] [*i. e.* Bohemia: from the old French word *Boheme.*]

[309] [These lines are inserted on the last page of the book, with a wood cut of a blank shield, surmounted by the papal crown and cross keys. In the second edition 'Pope Clement' is altered into 'popes', and this prevailing plurality of application has in many instances taken away all the poignancy of the satire, by rendering it unappropriate.]

The Art of Living in London[1]; or a Caution how Gentlemen, Countreymen, and Strangers, drawn by occasion of Businesse, should dispose of Themselves in the thriftiest Way; not onely in the Citie, but in all other populous Places. As also, a Direction to the poorer Sort, that come thither to seeke their Fortunes. By H. P[eacham.]

Printed for John Gyles, and are to be sold by Samuel Rand, at his Shop at Barnard's Inne, in Holborne. 1642.

[Quarto, containing Four Leaves.]

This little tract occurs among the King's pamphlets in the British Museum, and is ascribed, in a hand-writing coëval with its date, to Henry Peacham: of whose biography the following circumstancial notices are now first drawn together. From his own scattered hints in 'Minerva Britanna,'[2] 1612; 'Thalia's Banquet,'[3] 1620; and 'Compleat Gentleman,' 1622;[4] we gather that his father was 'Mr. Henry Peacham, of Leverton in Holland, in the county of Lincoln;'[5] that he himself was born about 1576, at North Mims in Hertfordshire;[6] and that he became a student of Trinity-college, Cambridge:[7] It would seem of short continuance; as he laments to think how hastily or unseasonably he was torn from it. Yet, before his Emblems and other poems, he writes himself 'Master of Arts;' which requires occasional residence for the term of seven years. From one of his Emblemata (Fatum subscribat Eliza,) it appears that he was befriended by that bright pattern of female excellence the Princess Elizabeth, on whose calamitous marriage with Frederic, Count Palatine, he published 'Nuptial Hymnes.'[8] Sir John Hawkins describes him as having been a travelling tutor, who was patronized by the Howard

[1] [A modern poem with this title was published at London in 1784, and contains several useful intimations for the conducting of a visiting noviciate.]

[2] ['Or a garden of heroical devises: furnished and adorned with emblemes and impresas of sundrynatures: 'newly devised, moralized, and published. By Henry Peacham, Mr. of Artes,' 1612, 4to. Most of these devices are wood cuts, from his own designs. 'A second volume of Emblems, done into Latin verse, with their pictures,' is spoken of in his Epigrams, and was announced for publication at the conclusion of Minerva Britanna, but did not pass the press. A MS. copy of the 'Basilicon Doron,' turned into Latin quatrains by Peacham, and presented to Prince Henry, is now among the royal MSS. in the British Museum.]

[3] ['Furnished with an hundred and odde dishes of newly devised epigrammes. Whereunto (beside many worthy friends) are invited, all, that love inoffensive mirth and the muses. By H. P.' 1620, 8vo. At the end of his dedication to Mr. Dru Drury, of Riddlesworth, in Norfolk, the author signs 'Henry Peacham.'

[4] [Of which a second edition appeared in 1634, which comprised the 'Art of Limning.']

[5] [See his second part of Minerva Britanna, or Emblems, p. 170.]

[6] [This appears from Epigram 80, in Thalia's Banquet.]

[7] [See his Compleat Gentleman, and the following lines addressed to Mr. J. Simson, fellow of Trinity Coll. Cambridge.

'So let me, Sir, of heaven beloved bee,
'As I do love my nurse, your Trinitie;
'Whereof I was a member, bleeding yet
'To thinke, how rawlie I was torne from it.'

His college-tutor was Mr. D. Laifield, to whom he dedicated one of his Emblems, p. 95.]

[8] [These were republished in his Literary Museum, by the ingenious Mr. Waldron, who observes; 'There 'are so many beauties interspersed throughout these poems, that I cannot but wonder they have been so little 'known and noticed.']

family; and adds,—'he was well acquainted with Douland the lutenist, and while abroad, was a scholar of Horatio Vecchi, of Modena, as himself testifies.[10] *It appears that he travelled in the Low Countries, and went there with Thomas, Earl of Arundel. In his epigrams he describes certain inscriptions over inn-doors at Antwerp, Arnheim, &c. and addresses some lines 'to R. H. his jovial host at Utrecht.' In his metrical preface,* Thalia loquitur, *and says— he had 'borne arms.' It may be farther collected, that he was sometime master of a free school at Wimondham, or Windham, in Norfolk; an occupation that he confesses to have loathed. Yet he composed some pleasingly complimentary and amicable verses inscribed to his ingenious pupil, J. Cock of Deepham; to his ever-loved scholar, Hammond Claxton; and to his towardly hopeful scholar, Edward Chamberlaine, of Barnham Broome. In the last of these, which I insert below,*[11] *he intimates his own capability of delineating portraits, landscapes, flowers, and insects: but he seems to have practised the art only as an amusement. In a note to the same verses he speaks of 'a set of airs in four and five parts, ready for the press:' whence it appears that he was a musical composer as well as an amateur. Mr. Malone is of opinion that he finally went into orders, and died about the year* 1650, *at the age of* 74; *in a state of penury, according to Sir John Hawkins, who considers him as a man of veracity and judgment*[12]. *Warton styles him a learned and elegant writer,*[13] *and Mr. Ellis gives to all his works the just character of possessing considerable merit.*[14] *The following lines from his Emblems, convey a pleasing picture of his mind; and are likely to have been written when he directed his attention to theological studies.*

Henricus Peachamus.

Hinc super hæc, Musa.

Bid now, my Muse, thy lighter task adieu,
As shaken blossome of a better fruite;

[10] [To his friend Douland he addresses an Emblem, in a strain of tender pathos, and cordial amity. (See Hawkins's Hist. of Music, vol. iii. p. 195, or Waldron's Appendix to the Sad Shepherd. p. 146.) To him also he inscribes one of his Impressas in Thalia's Banquet, Ep. 99, and he has a copy of Latin verses before Douland's Magicall Banquet, 1610.]

[11] ['Ned, never looke againe those daies to see,
Thou liv'dst, when thou appliedst thy book with me:
What true affection bare we each to either,
How often walking in the fields together,
Have I in Latin giv'n the names to thee
Of this wild flower, that bent, this blossom'd tree,
This speckled flie, that hearb, this water-rush,
This worme or weed, the bird on yonder bush.
How often, when ye have been ask'd a play,
With voices, viols, have we pass'd the day:
Now entertaining those weake aires of mine;
Anon, the deepe delicious transalpine.
Another while, with pencill or with pen,
Have limn'd or drawn our friends pourtaies: and then,
Commixing many colours into one,
Have imitated some carnation,
Strange field found-flower, or a rare seene flie,
A curious land-schape, or a clouded sky:—
Then haply, wearie of all these, would goe
Unto that poeme [*Emblems*] I have labour'd so.
Thus past our leasureable howers away;
And ye did learne, even in the midst of play.' Epig. 70.]

[12] [Sir John says, he subsisted latterly by writing those penny books which are the common amusement of children. Hist. of Music, ut sup. p. 194. Qu. if from the anecdote of Bluemantle Gibbon? See Biblioth. Westiana, p. 226.]

[13] [Milton's Minor Poems, 2d edition, p. 451.]

[14] [Specimens of Early Eng. Poets, ii. 406, where most of Peacham's productions are enumerated; and where the 'Garden of Eloquence' in 1577, is with probability attributed to the father of our author. The son's it could not be; as will appear evident, from the dates above adduced. In West's Catalogue, No. 4391, is entered, 'A Dialogue between the Crosse in Cheap, and Charing Crosse, by Henry Peacham;' anagrammatised into *Ryhen Pameach.*]

And, with Urania, thy Creator view,
To sing of Him,—or evermore be mute:
Let muddy lake delight the sensuall thought,
Loath thou the earth, and lift thy selfe aloft!

IT is a greater piece of skill to live in a populous place, where multitudes of people reside, than in a solitary and private place among a few; yet some natures are so carried and led away with variety of acquaintance and company, that it is a death unto them to live by and to themselves, which indeed is the happiest life of all, and hath ever been most contenting and pleasing to the best and wisest men.

Now our most populous places are cities, and among us London, or καθ' ἔξοχὸ. The city, whither all sorts reside, noble and simple, rich and poor, young and old, from all places and countries, either for pleasure (and let me add beside, to save the charge of house-keeping in the country) or for profit, as lawyers to the terms, country men and women to Smithfield and the markets; or for necessity, as poor young men and maids, to seek services and places; serving men, masters, and some others all manner of employment.

Now the city being like a vast sea, full of gusts, fearful dangerous shelves and rocks, ready at every storm to sink and cast away the weak and unexperienced bark, with her fresh-water soldiers, as wanting her compass and her skilful pilot; myself, like another Columbus or Drake, acquainted with her rough entertainment and storms, have drawn you this chart or map for your guide, as well out of mine own as my many friends experience.

Who therefore soever shall have occasion to come to the city, for the occasions before mentioned; the first thing he is to do, is to arm himself with patience, and to think that he is entered into a wood where there is as many briers as people, every one as ready to catch hold of your fleece as yourself; for we see that sheep, when they pass through a thorny or bushy place, they leave locks or wool behind them; so imagine a populous city could not live nor subsist (like the stomach) except it have help and nourishment, from the other parts and members. Therefore, the first rule I give you, next to the due observance of God and the sabbath, and at other times, is the choice of your company and acquaintance; for according to that, every man finds his own valuation high or low; that is, we are esteemed to be such as we keep company withal, as well in estate as condition. If you cannot find such fitting for you, apply yourself to your friends, if you have any; or the friends of your friend; if you have not them neither (I speak to the meaner and more inferior), be sure that you take your lodging at least in some honest house of credit, whether it be inn, alehouse, or other private house; which [latter] I could rather wish, because in the other, the multiplicity of resort and company of all sorts will draw you to much needless and vain expence, as in pots of beer or ale, tobacco, perhaps cards, dice, the shovel-board-table,[15] &c.

But first of all have an eye to, and a care of your main business, or the end of your coming to town, as it were at what mark you would shoot your arrow; which, being thoroughly considered, for your purse sake, pursue it with all expedition; for the city is like a quick-sand, the longer you stand upon it the deeper you sink, if here money, or means to get it, be wanting.

But, imagine you have money of your own, and come hither only for your pleasure, as being tired and weary of your country, if you husband it not thriftily you may quickly take a nap upon penniless-bench; so many are the occasions here offered, that are ready every hour to pick your purse: as, perpetual visits of vain and useless acquaintance; necessitous persons ever upon borrowing hand with you; clothes in the fashion; this or that new

[15] [The term 'shovel-board,' in Shakspeare's Merry Wives of Windsor, has received much accumulation of notes in Reed's edition, but the commentators have not described the game. Mr. Douce indeed considers it as too well known to require any description, being a variation only of 'shovel-groat,' on a larger scale. Illustrations of Shaksp. i. 455.]

play; play at ordinaries, tavern feasts, and meetings; horse and coach hire; beside those brittle commodities they carry; boat-hire to Kingston, Windsor, and other places; with the like. For an antidote to these several poisons, let me prescribe to my city-country gentleman these receipts or remedies.

First, being come to the city, avoid idleness, which commonly draws after a train of many vices. I call idleness, keeping your chamber, consuming the day lying in bed, or, risen, in walking up and down from street to street, to this or that gentleman's chamber, having no business at all, and cannot meet with useful company; let the bible, and other books of piety, such as treat of philosophy, natural or moral history, the mathematicks, as arithmetick, geometry, musick, sometimes heraldry, and the like, be your chief company; for you shall find books no flatterers, nor expensive in your converse with them. Beside, you shall meet with those who can instruct you in all those arts which Tully calls *venales*, which are taught for money; as the mathematicks themselves, dancing, fencing, riding, painting, and the like.

Next, have a care of saving and improving your money to the best; as who would bespeak a supper or a dinner at all adventures at a tavern, and not know the price of every dish; as the Italians and other nations do; while they laugh at our English for their vain profuseness and simplicity, who when the dinner is ended must stand to the courtesy of a nimble-tongued drawer, or of a many-ringed whistling mistress, whether they or you should be masters of your money. Beside, one dish, well-dressed, gives a good stomach more and better content than a variety of twenty.

And above all things, beware of beastly drunkenness, which (as Horace truly saith) doth *affigere humo divinæ particulam auræ*. And well he may *affigere humo*, or 'nail to the ground;' for some are found sometimes so drunk, who being fallen upon the ground, or (which is worse) in the kennel, are not able to stir or move again. Drinking begets challenges and quarrels, and occasioneth the death of many; as is known by almost daily experience. Hence are Newgate, the Compters, and other prisons, filled with our young heirs and swaggering gallants; to the sorrow of their friends, and the joy of their jailors. Again, men when they are in drink, are apt to say or do any thing; as, become sureties for decayed companions, or lending them ready money out of their purses, which when they have slept upon it, they curse and are ready to hang themselves; besides the terror of conscience and extreme melancholy which sticks by them a long time after. Drunken men again are apt to lose their hats, clokes, or rapiers; not to know what they have spent, how much money they have; and full oft have they their pockets picked by whores and knaves. There is less danger in out-door recreations then; as shooting, bowls, riding, tennis, &c.

Next, let every man beware of play and gaming; as cards, especially dice, at ordinaries and other places; for in the city there are many, who when they live only by cheating, are so cunning, that they will so strip a young heir or novice, but lately come to town; and, wood-cock like, so pull his wings, that he shall, in a short time, never be able to fly over ten acres of his own land.

These, and the like errors, are the cause why so many fair estates, being near, or not very far from the city, have been so often bought and sold; and the truth is, very few have held out in a name to the third generation.

Let a monied man or gentleman especially beware in the city, *ab istis calidis, et calidis solis filiabus*, as Lipsius: these over-hot and crafty daughters of the sun, your silken and gold-laced harlots every where, especially in the suburbs, to be found: these have been and are daily the ruin of thousands; and if they happen to allure and entice him, which is only to cheat him, and pick his pocket to boot, with the bargain she makes; but let him resolutely say, as Diogenes did to Lais of Corinth, *Non tanti emam pœnitentiam*, 'I will not buy repentance at such a rate.'

Let him also in the city have a special care whom he entertains into his service; let him, or they, have friends of his acquaintance, who may undertake for them, but not at all adventure every straggler. What says old Tusser, in his book of good husbandry?—

'Take runagate Robin, to pity his need,
'And look to be filched, as sure as thy creed.'[16]

And if you bring one with you out of the country, except you have a great eye over him, he will quickly be corrupted in the city with much acquaintance: then shall you help yourself to bed, see your horse starved in the stable and never rubbed; your linnen lost at the landresses; in a word yourself every where neglected. Think it therefore no disgrace in a city-inn to see your horse every day yourself, and to see him well meated, rubbed, and watered; he shall make you amends in your journey; *Occhio di patrono ingrassa la Cavallo*, 'the master's eye makes the horse fat.' Besides, remember what Solomon saith—'The righteous man regardeth the life of his beast, but the ungodly have cruel hearts.' I saw, I remember, a carrier flay his horse alive, being able to go on the way no farther; his too heavy burthen having broken his back, insomuch that he tumbled raw in his own skin.

Next, let a gentleman living in the city have a care to keep himself out of debt; let him owe as little as he can to his tailor for following the fashion, than which there can be no greater misery; for then, if he walks abroad he is ready to be snapt up at every lane's end, by serjeants, marshal's men, or bailiffs; or keeping his chamber, let him stir never so little, be betrayed by some false knave, or other; in the mean time his creditors, if they be of the inferior sort, (nay their scolding and clamorous wives, and every saucy apprentice) will be ready to disgrace him; and if arrested, he shall be hauled to prison many times like a dog, if he returns but the least ill word; if he be a landed man, let him take heed of usurers and their factors, of whom he shall find as much mercy in cities as an ox-cheek from a butcher's cur. But I will turn my discourse now to such as accidentally make their abode here, either through business, to see friends, or sent for by authority.

Next after the setting up of their horses, and seeing them well used, which should be your chiefest care at your first alighting in the city, with all diligence follow your business; let not vain and bye occasions take you off from it; as going to taverns, seeing plays, and now and then to worse places; so lose your time, spend your money and sometimes leave your business uneffected. To avoid these, take a private chamber, wherein you may pass your spare time in doing something or other; and what you call for, pay for, without going upon the score; especially in city ale-houses, where in many places you shall be torn out of your skin, if it were possible, even for a debt of two-pence, and though you have spent twenty or forty pounds in one of their houses, your host, especially your hostess, will hardly bid you drink in a twelve-month; but if they be at dinner or supper, never to eat a bit with them: for that were an undoing to them in their opinion.

Again, walking abroad, take heed with what company you sort yourself withal; if you are a countryman and but newly come to town, you will be smelt out by some cheaters or other, who will salute, call you by your name (which perhaps one of their company meeting you in another street, hath learned by way of mistaking you for another man, which is an old trick,) carry you to the tavern, saying, 'they are a kin to some one dwelling near you,' &c. But all tricks of late years have been so plainly discovered, and are so generally known almost to every child, that their practice is out of date, and now no great fear of them; yet an *item* can do you no hurt.

You shall not do amiss if you send for your diet to your own chamber, a hot joint of meat, of mutton, veal, or the like; what you leave, covered with a fair napkin, will serve you to breakfast the next morning, or when you please. Keep out of throngs and publick places, where multitudes of people are, for saving your purse: the fingers of a number go beyond your sense of feeling. A tradesman's wife of the Exchange, one day when her husband was following some business in the city, desired him he would give her leave to go see a play; which she had not done in seven years. He bade her take his apprentice along with her, and go; but especially to have a care of her purse; which

[16] [Printed as one of the 'Huswifery Admonitions' of Tusser, No. 17. edit. 1599.]

she warranted him she would. Sitting in a box, among some gallants and gallant wenches, and returning when the play was done, returned to her husband and told him she had lost her purse. "Wife, (quoth he,) did I not give you warning of it? How much money was there in it?" Quoth she, "Truly, four pieces, six shillings and a silver tooth-picker." Quoth her husband, "Where did you put it?" "Under my petticoat, between that and my smock." "What, (quoth he,) did you feel no body's hand there?" "Yes, (quoth she,) I felt one's hand there, but I did not think he had come for that." So much for the guard of the purse.

Now for such as are of the poorest condition, and come to the city, compelled by necessity to try their fortunes; to seek services or other means to live, let them presently provide themselves if they can (for here is employment for all hands that will work), or return home again before they find or feel the extremity of want; here are more occasions to draw them into ill courses than there, as being constrained to steal, and to shorten their days; to seek death in the error of their lives, as Solomon saith; young maids, who never knew ill in their lives, to be enticed by bauds, to turn common whores, and the like. But if they can provide themselves, and take honest courses, by the blessing of God, they may come to as great preferment as aldermen and aldermen's wives. For poverty of itself is no vice, but by accident. Whom hath the city more advanced than poor men's children? The city itself being the most charitable place of the whole; and having done more good deeds than half the land beside. In a word, for a conclusion; let me give all comers, not only to London, but all other like populous places, this one and only rule never to be forgotten, which is,—To serve God, avoid idleness, to keep your money, and to beware of ill company.

Plain English[1] to our wilful Bearers with Normanism; or, some Queries propounded to and concerning the Neglectors of England's grand Grievance and Complaint, lately published under the Title of 'Anti-Normanism.' Wherein is undeniably demonstrated, that while this Nation remains under the Title of the (pretended) Conquest, she, and every Member of her, are no other than Slaves properly so called; and moreover, that (while she retains the same Title) all her, and her Representators, contending with their Prince for ungranted Privileges, upon any Pretence whatsoever, is unwarrantable and seditious.

Num inimicus sum vobis, dum veritatem vobis enarro? Gal. iv. 16.

London: printed for George Whittington, at the Blue Anchor in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange, 1647.

[Quarto, containing Fourteen Pages.]

To the Reader.

READER,

THOU mayest, perhaps, wonder that this poor piece of plain truth, without lye or flattery in it, and being also unfurnished of the licenser's passport, should without an army's protection adventure into the publick, in the mouth of an opposite piece of ordnance charged with dire menaces against such bold intruders; but thou oughtest rather to wonder, that in England, and at such a time as this, a discourse of this nature should need to be written, or that being written, it should seem questionable; for is it not *a monstrum horrendum,* &c. that a parliament of England assisted with an army of the same, having consulted and fought these seven years in the behalf of this nation, and for her rights and liberties, and having the whole kingdom in their hands like a piece of potter's clay, to be new moulded to their own pleasure, should not yet take it into their heads, nor after it hath been thrust[2] into their heads, suffer it to enter their hearts, to deliver the nation from the slavery of an unjust, disgraceful, pretended, conquest by foreign enemies? But thou wilt say (perhaps) that we are since united, and become one body, and that the successors of the conquerors are now our natural heads, and part of our nation; but I answer, that there can be nothing more absurd than to say so, for as there can be no conquest of a nation, but by foreign enemies, Rome being never said to be conquered till the Goths came, though it had often before been forcibly mastered, for that those masterers (namely Cæsar and many of his successors) were members of herself; so the heirs of a conqueror, while they retain his right and title, though it be after a myriad of descents from him, do still retain the quality of professed foreign enemies, only with this distinction, that the con-

[1] [The reader is requested to refer to Vol. VI. p. 36, and Vol. VIII. p. 94, previous to perusing thistr act.]
[2] *Viz.* By the edition of Anti-Normanism.

queror is the victor, and his successors the triumphers. Now that triumphing doth also of itself necessarily imply a foreign enmity, appears also (to omit reason) from the practice of the said Romans (who were no novelists in these matters) for that no triumph could be acted among them, but only over foreign enemies, civil-war victories afforded no laurels, whence, by the way, we may also observe the absurdity of some who of late would needs march laureated through this city: but if any be yet censoriously inclined against me for this work, my defence is this.

1. That the parliament have declared (as the chief warrant for all their actions) that *Res populi* is the supreme law; now I must new mould my notions, if what I have here, and in my 'Anti-Normanism' propounded, be not more for the service, not only of the people and parliament, but also of the king, than any thing that hath been yet propounded, said, or done, in this kingdom, since the pretended conquest unto this day; for that without this effected, namely the abolishing of the right and title of the conquest, our kings are in naked truth, (as Dr. Hudson in his late 'Treatise of Government,' p. 123, grants, and I have before manifested) no better than usurping foreigners, our people absolute slaves, and our parliaments undutiful servitors to both; yea, without this, not only the proceedings of this parliament are irregular (which is the sum of what my ensuing discourse charges upon them) but also all our laws and liberties, even *Magna Charta* itself, are without any firm foundation, and may in point of strict law (though not of conscience) be blown down with the king's arbitrary breath; and thus much is evincible, not only by reason, but also from the tenor of *Magna Charta* itself, which runs thus; *Spontaneâ et bonâ voluntate nostrâ, dedimus et concessimus*, &c. which shews it to be only a free and spontaneous grant, and such free grants are revokable at pleasure, the sole ground and consideration of it being expressed to be respect of duty toward God, and not of duty (though benefit) to the nation. It is also manifest from a confession of parliament, cited by Mr. Prynne in his 'Sovereign Power,' p. 59. (though he, good man, cited it to prove the contrary) extant in a memorable record (as he calls it) in the Parliament Rolls of 1 Hen. 4. No. 108. where it is recited, that King Richard should say, that the kings of this realm might turn or change the laws at their pleasure, which assertion the parliament did not deny to be true, but instead thereof, accepted of the king's gracious promise not to take advantage of such his prerogative, but to keep the laws, &c. So that by this time, I suppose it appears, that I have the warrant of the supreme law of *Res publica* for my enterprize; but if thou findest fault that it is too bold and plain, I answer, that I know nothing in it more bold or plain than true, nor yet than necessary, seeing the softer and suasory language of my 'Anti-Normanism' obtained no regard.

2. It is commanded in the Mosaical law, that *Si bestiam errantem videris, reduxeris in viam*, and if we owe such dutiful endeavours to beasts, then, much more to the pilots of our state.

Lastly, admit an incredibility, that is, that our statesmen should profess themselves Normans, and so persecute the assertors of the English liberty as enemies; yet should I not repent my adventuring in this cause, for that *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.* But it is high time to end, least I meet with a Diogenes and hear of Myndas. Therefore farewell,

JO. HARE.

Queries propounded to, and concerning the Neglectors of England's grand Grievance, &c.

Query 1. WHETHER among the civil rights of this nation, which, in name, have been so highly and hotly contended for, her honour be of so inferior a value, as not to be worthy the least consideration?

If it be of no value why was the violation of it made one of the heinous articles against the Earl of Strafford, *viz.* for occasioning the dishonourable loss of Newcastle to the Scots?

Qu. 2. Whether it be not an absurdity to ascribe other honour to our nation than to a slave, while she remains a captive, and wears the title and badges of captivity? [3]

For what is a slave but a captive serving his conqueror or his heirs? And moreover, according to your own verdict, if the suffering of one town to be conquered, was a betraying of the nation's honour, then what is the suffering of the whole nation to lie under a conquest?

Qu. 3. Whether it be not an absurdity to pretend to restore or advance this nation to her just freedom, and yet leave her under the title and injuries of a pretended conquest?

The just freedom of this nation consists in being under a prince, or his heirs, of her own election, blood, or at least admission, and under her own laws, of which laws also, the supreme next unto God's glory (according to your own doctrine) ought to be *Salus populi*; but ye make her to profess herself to be under the dominion of her usurping enemies, for what is a conqueror, or any succeeding in his right, but a prevailing and triumphing enemy; of which sort of dominions, namely those grounded upon conquests, also the supreme and fundamental law, and which is unseparable from that title, is unquestionably (as I shall anon prove) the will, honour, and benefit of the conqueror and his heirs; and yet ye call yourselves assertors of your nation's liberties.

Qu. 4. Whether they are not, and are not to be reputed, of private spirits and interests (whatever they boast) whether they be councils, cities, or armies, that are so tender of their own honours and interests, and yet so negligent, or else ignorant, of their nation's?

Your own interests and claims you assert with swords; but your nation's just freedom and honour, that might distinguish her from a slave, not with a word.

Qu. 5. Whether they are not contemptibly ridiculous, that call themselves men of honour, or so much as free-men (how highly soever born, in what dignity soever placed, or whatsoever they have atchieved against their own countrymen) who yet with the same mouth confess and profess themselves members of a captive nation?

The right honourables of an enslaved nation, are but right honourable slaves.

Qu. 6. Whether they are not also confessedly seditious, who professing their nation, and consequently themselves, to be captives by right of conquest, and moreover being (like the Jews' ear-bored slaves) nor minded to leave that quality and profession, do yet contend with their prince for free subjects' privileges or rather (Mameluke like) to be sharers in the supreme authority?

It is no other than as if one should say, "Sir, I am and will be your slave in right and title, but your master in act."

Objection 1. Yea, but our first Norman prince was admitted upon terms, as being legatee and kinsman of St. Edward, and upon condition to preserve our laws and liberties.

Answer. Ye contradict it yourselves, while ye say (how truly I have [4] elsewhere shown) that he came in by conquest.

If perchance you deny that you say it, and so think to invalidate all my incusations with that paradox; what means his title of conqueror, which ye still allow him, the doctrine of his conquest of this nation, which without your contradiction remains a received maxim in this kingdom? The effects and badges of such a conquest, which you retain as ornaments? Your suffering *Magna Charta* to be in the mouth of the law, the foundation of our liberties? And (lastly) your *à conquestu*, current not only in past acts of parliament, which (until you gainsay them) enjoy your suffrage, but also in fines past by the authority of your own great seal of England at this day?

Object. 2. But we have since had a charter of liberties granted us.

Answ. But there is no clause in that charter for liberty to contend for more: the granting you an inch entitles you not to the taking of an ell; and as for the clause therein (which Mr. Prynne in his 'Sovereign Power,' p. 74, sticks not to alledge as an undeniable warrant for all your proceedings) 'that the prince will not deny or defer justice or right to any

[3] If you know not what these are, see 'Anti-Normanism,' p. 2, 13, 14.
[4] Anti-Norm. p. 15.

'man,' by justice or right is plainly meant execution of law, and not a fulfilling of your unlimited desires; as is manifest by the rest of that chapter, and confirmed by the Lord Coke's exposition of that place.

Object. 3. But the king is bound by his coronation oath to grant all such just and reasonable laws as the people (that is the commons in parliament) shall choose.

Answ. This I confess, if it were so, and according to your own interpretation; that is, to grant all such laws as you shall say are just and reasonable, might seem a bottomless privilege, able to furnish you with licentiousness enough (I will not say liberty, for were you invested with as many donations and privileges as Haman, or any favourite in the Turkish court, yet while you profess to serve in reference to a conquest, you are but slaves[5]) yet for answer, I say, it is well known that our present king never took any such oath.

Reply. But he ought to have taken it.

Answ. Whether he ought or not, since he did it not, he is not bound by it in law; and as to his obligement to take it, if any such obligation was, it must be either by statute or custom; by statute you will not say it was, and as for custom, to make it obligatory, it must (according to your own [6]oracle) have both reason, and usage time out of mind; but this oath by your own [7]confession, was used neither by Henry the VIII. Edward the VI. King James, nor King Charles, so that instead of usage, here is a disusage; and as for reason, there is less; for what reason is there that some princes and their heirs doing some acts of grace and favour (as I shall anon prove that you grant this to be) to their people, that therefore all their posterity should be obliged to the same as duties? so that you see this oath cannot in any wise bind your prince, for that he neither took it, nor was bound to take it; but although he had taken it, yet I shall sufficiently prove, (notwithstanding all Mr. Prynne's impertinent volumes to the contrary) that, while you allow to his blood the right of a conquest over your nation, the oath would not serve your turn so as to give you authority to force him to the performance of your desires; for first, you say it was an oath: now an oath or *votum* hath not you, but God, for the object, so that if it be violated, he alone is the *vindex*, and that it is so, is testified by this, that the oath is tendered not by you or your substitutes but by the arch-bishop, who is God's representative, testified by his crowning and annointing the prince, which confers on him, or signifies the conferring of the Divine authority; now that it makes him not liable to you, appears also by our own laws, for what lawyer ever heard of an action brought upon an oath? In all the register no such writ occurs; but if you will make it a covenant or promise, that it may be obligatory, it must be grounded upon a valuable consideration, now that here is no valuable consideration appears from your own confession, for you confess him to be your king by right of conquest and succession, and accordingly do reckon his reign from the death of his predecessor, not his own coronation as being but a ceremony and that also administered neither by you nor your substitutes, so that it is plain that you should have no sufficient right to exact the performance of it if he had taken it; but grant both that he had taken it, and also that he were thereby bound unto you, yet could you not from thence justly claim your demands, for that which the oath binds to is the granting of just and reasonable things, but the things that you demand are proper and fit only for ingenuous subjects, or rather for *consortibus imperii*, whereas (you know) *non decet liberorum panem canibus objicere*; you have no reason to disdain the comparison, since that dogs themselves are so disdainable beyond other creatures only for this that they are beyond the rest, such *servi voluntarii*.

Object. 4. But the king is bound to these things by the law of nature and inferences from *salus populi* which is the supreme law.

[5] For the mitigation of slavery doth not take away the essence of it. Now you cannot deny, that you serve in reference to a conquest, seeing you are so far from ever having declared him whom you call your conqueror, an usurper, that you place him, for the root and *alpha* of your rightful kings in the regal catalogue.

[6] The Lord Coke and others. [7] In your remonstr. of the 2d of Novem. 1642.

Answ. Ye have nothing to do with the privileges of the law of nature or *salus populi*, while you adhere to a subjectedness by right of conquest, for in so doing, you renounce them: neither will any man say, you deserve them, while having liberty, that is, obedience in reference to a succession from the legitimate princes of your own blood, and servitude, that is, subjection in reference to a pretended conquest, both which titles are concurrent in his majesty, who, no doubt, is willing to indulge as well to the honour as to the benefit of his subjects, while, I say, having these two set before you, you reject the first, and prefer the servitude: in this case therefore you are to look only to the nature of the law of conquests, which as you may read in Cæsar, lib. 1, *de Bello Gallico*, is this, *ut hi qui vicissent his quos vicissent quemadmodum vellent imperarent*, that the conquered are under the arbitrary government and power of the conqueror; and consequently, while ye are pleased to remain in that quality, you are to make much of your princes' grants of favour, whether past, or future, and not to challenge more, for no more belongs to you: in sum it is plain, that while you retain your dear profession of captivity (notwithstanding all allegations whatsoever, that have been, or can be raised to the contrary) in contending for ungranted privileges, you do but act sedition, and repeat the old *bellum servile*.

Demonstrations from Scripture (for those that will not understand Reason) that to be under Conquest is to be in Slavery, and that such Servitude is a Curse, and consequently that it is absurd to pretend to make this Nation blessed (or happy) and yet to leave her in that Quality.

'OF whom a man is overcome, of the same he is brought in bondage.'[8] Now that such bondage is a curse may sufficiently appear by inferences from the following texts.

'Cursed be Cham, he shall be a servant of servants.'[9]

The elder shall serve, &c. as it is written, 'Esau have I hated;'[10] where such servitude is made a demonstration of the divine hatred.

'The stranger that is within thee shall get up above thee very high, and thou shalt 'come down very low, he shall lend to thee, and thou shalt not lend to him, (viz. laws, lan-'guage, customs, &c.) he shall be the head, and thou shalt be the tail,'[11] which is our very case.

In sum, while ye foster the right, title, and evidences of this pretended conquest, ye make a cursed slave of your country, an usurping foreigner of your king, and yourselves strange servitors to both. And therefore one may justly say to our reformers, in the behalf of England, as Cato once did to Pompey in the cause of Rome, *miseram quià decipis urbem si servire potes?* Never pretend to lead us out of our grievances into blessedness, if you account the injuries and disgrace of a pretended conquest for no burthen, and can be content to suffer yourselves, and your nation to wear for ever the accursed title and badges of captivity.

If ye ask what then is to be done? ye may please to see what is set down in 'Anti-Normanism,' p. 19, which may be easily effected without injury to or just opposition of any; which is also required not only by this nation's right, but also by the right of his majesty's just title (derived from the English blood-royal, one way, and from St. Edward's legacy joined with this nation's admission of the Norman blood, another way) against the unjust usurpation of his other title attributed to his blood (at first by traitors and enemies to this nation) from a pretended conquest, which even Dr. Hudson in his late book of Government, pp. 123, 124, (though one of the greatest royalists in the kingdom) declares to be no better than sacrilegious theft and robbery, and that the same ought both in honour and conscience, to be oppugned by all dutiful patriots with their utmost abilities.

[8] 2 Pet. ii. 19. [9] Gen. ix. 5. [10] Rom. ix. 12, 13.
[11] Deut. xxviii. 12, in that grand charter of curses.

A Discourse plainely proving the evident Utilitie and urgent Necessitie of the desired happie Union of the two famous Kingdomes of England and Scotland: by Way of Answer to certaine Objections against the same.

London: printed by Richard Field for Thomas Chard, 1604.

[Quarto, Forty-two Pages.]

The present tract is to be ascribed to Dr. John Thornborough, who became bishop of Bristol, in 1603. *This prelate is recorded by Wood,*[1] *to have been born at Salisbury, in* 1552: *he became a demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, in* 1570; *took his degrees in arts, was ordained, and made chaplain to the Earl of Pembroke, who bestowed on him the rectory of Chilmark, Wilts; and assisted in procuring his promotion to the deanery of York. In* 1593 *he was made bishop of Limerick in Ireland, where (according to Sir John Harrington*[2]*) he and his family had almost a miraculous escape from the falling in of a floor on their heads, in the dead of night. He was translated to the see of Bristol in* 1603, *and from thence to Worcester in* 1616,[3] *which he seems to have held till his decease in* 1641. *He is characterised by the Oxford Biographer as 'a person well furnished with learning, 'wisdom, courage, and other as well episcopal as temporal accomplishments, beseeming a 'gentleman, a dean, and a bishop.' His present tract is written in a conciliatory spirit, with a mixture of courtly pedantry, antithetic point, and argumentative ingenuity. Wood does not describe as though he had seen a copy of it; but mentions a very similar one published at Oxon, in* 1605, *which was conceived to be derogatory to the honour of both houses of parliament: 'the author (he adds) was complained of only in the upper house,*[4] *'which was soon passed over.' This was likely to be the case with a spiritual peer who seems to have re-echoed the sentiments of our first James, and whose work may therefore be considered as having received the royal* imprimatur *before publication. The tract here reprinted is of some rarity, and the Editor is indebted for the use of it to the friendship of Sir Egerton Brydges.*

To the King's most excellent Majesty, James, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c.

YOUR most excellent Majesty being graciously pleased to read and approve the written copy of that I have now printed, and withal to declare your princely pleasure (sufficient warrant) for publishing the same: I have thought meet, in all humbleness of duty to your Majesty, and in all truth of zeal to my country, by this means to endeavour to resolve them which doubted, to persuade them which denied, and to confirm them which ap-

[1] [Athen. Oxon. ii. 2.] [2] [Nugæ Antiquæ, ii. 212, edit. 1804.]

[3] [Wood says he was translated to Ely in 1618; but this appears to be erroneous information.]

[4] [Hume however tells us, under 1606—'The Commons were so averse to the Union, that they had complained 'in the former session to the Lords, of the Bishop of Bristol, for writing a book in favour of it; and the prelate 'was obliged to make submission for this offence. The crime imputed to him seems to have consisted in his treating of a subject, which lay before the parliament: so little notion had they as yet of general liberty.' Chap. xlvii. See also Parliamentary Hist. vol. 5. where it is stated, that Field and Chard, the printer and publisher, were brought before the House, and gave up the Bishop as the author. The Commons were at length appeased, by the Lords agreeing that the book should be suppressed. pp. 108-9-10.]

plauded, the most happy intended Union of your Highness's two most famous kingdoms of England and Scotland. I was not ignorant that the copies of the objections against it, were this term carried into most parts of those your Majesty's realms, and I suppose beyond the seas; which might in time, without answer, seem to prejudice your Majesty's honour unjustly with scandal abroad, and murmur at home. Therefore, though I be most unworthy to publish to the world my mean understanding, in a matter of such grave consideration and great consequence; yet have I rather chosen to hazard my poor credit, subject to each censure, than suffer a cause, in its own worth so precious, to sustain wrong by general silence: for objections are of force where no answer doth refute. Only I humbly crave your Highness's pardon for my bold presumption; and will evermore, with hands and heart lift up to Heaven, pray to God for the preservation of your gracious Majesty, and of your royal issue, in all honour, health, and happiness.

Your Majesty's faithful subject, and humble servant,

JOH. BRISTOL.

THE objections are of four several natures, or kinds:

I. Matter of generality, or common reason.

II. Matter of estate inward, or matter of law.

III. Matter of estate foreign, or matter of intercourse.

IV. Matter of honour, or reputation.

The matter of generality, or common reason, hath two parts.

1. That there is no cause of the change.

2. That there is no precedent of like change.

The first objection therefore is, that in constituting or ordaining of any innovation or change, there ought to be either necessity, or evident utility; but that we find no grief in our present estate, and foresee no advancement to a better condition by this change, and desire that it may be shewed unto us.

The second objection, that we find no precedent at home nor abroad, of uniting or contracting of the names of two several kingdoms or states into one name, where the union hath grown by marriage, or blood: and that those examples which may be alleged, as far as we can find, are but in the case of conquest.

Matter of estate inward, or matter of the law, hath three main heads.

The first, that the alteration of the name of the King doth inevitably and infallibly draw on an erection of a new kingdom or estate, and a dissolution and extinguishment of the old; and that no explanation, limitation, or reservation, can clear or avoid that inconvenience; but it will be full of repugnancy and ambiguity, and subject to much variety and danger of construction.

The second is, an ennumeration or recital of the special or several confusions, incongruities, and mischiefs which will necessarily and incidently follow in the time present.

As in the summoning of Parliaments, and the recitals of Acts of Parliaments.

In the seals of the kingdom.

In the great officers of the kingdom.

In the laws, customs, liberties, and privileges of the kingdom.

In the residence and holding of such courts as follow the King's person, which by this generality of name may be held in Scotland.

In the several and reciprocal oaths: the one of his Majesty at his coronation, which is never iterated; the other in the oaths of allegiance, homage, and obedience, made and renewed from time to time by the subjects.

All which acts, instruments, and forms of policy and government, with a multitude of other forms of records, writs, pleadings, and instruments of a meaner nature, run now in the name of England, and upon the change, would be drawn into incertainty and question.

The third is, a possibility of alienation of the crown of England to the line of Scot-

land, in case his Majesty's line should determine; (which GOD of HIS goodness defend:) for if it be a new erected kingdom, it must go in the nature of a purchase, to the next heir of his Majesty's father's side.

The matter of state foreign, or matter of intercourse, consisteth of three points.

1. The first is, that leagues, treaties, foreign freedoms of trade and traffic, foreign contracts may be drawn in question, and made subject to quarrel and cavillation.

2. The second is, that the King's precedency before other Christian Kings, which is guided by antiquity of kingdoms, and not by greatness, may be endangered, and his place turned last, because it is the newest.

3. The third is, that the glory and good acceptation of the English name and nation, will be in foreign parts obscured.

The matter of honour and reputation standeth upon four points.

1. The first is, that no worldly thing is more dear to men than their name: as we see in private families, that men disinherit their daughters to continue their names; much more in states, and where the name hath been famous and honourable.

2. The second is, that the contracted name of Britain, will bring in oblivion the names of England and Scotland.

3. The third is, that whereas now England, in the style, is placed before Scotland, in the name of Britain that degree of priority or precedence will be lost.

4. The fourth is, that the change of name will be harsh in the popular opinion, and unpleasing to the country.

A Discourse, plainly proving the evident utility, and urgent necessity of the desired happy Union of the two famous Kingdoms of England and Scotland; by way of Answer to certain Objections against the same.

IT was long before the objections against the intended happy Union of both the realms, came to my hands: but having read them, I could not hold my hand from writing, to remove and clear them; esteeming them only as great shew of big logs laid in the way, between the two eminent marks shot at by the sovereign Unitor; namely, honour and happiness: the one inseparably inherent in his royal person; the other assuredly intended for subjects' benefit; which things in apparent utility, or urgent necessity, the objectors desire to be shewed them; for whose satisfaction, I have briefly examined, and answered every objection. The objectors find no precedent, at home nor abroad, of uniting or contracting of the names of two several kingdoms or states into one name, where the union hath grown by marriage or blood; and say, that the examples which may be alleged, are but in case of conquest. But I remember, that Charles of France the Eighth (as *Comineus* mentioneth) taking to wife the heir of little Bretagne, annexed it to the crown of France, ruled it by laws, customs, and privileges of France, and gave the nobles thereof place in parliament in France; for union is a strong keeper of imperial sovereignty, and is the very sinews of weal publique. But, as Tacitus saith, by divers laws, over divers nations subject to one King; *Quicquid est authoritatis crebris destruitur contradictionibus.* Charles the Fifth united in the common name of Spain divers other his kingdoms; whereof two of them, namely Arragon and Castile, descended to him in right of blood. For he well knew, that the most eminent in dignity is most honoured by unity, and that this is truly called prudence, even the electing or rejecting the continuing or changing of forms, and uniting kingdoms, according to time, place, or persons: which great virtue is not always contained in certain and the same bounds, but altereth itself as occasion serveth, in respect of forenamed circumstance. But the objectors acknowledge uniting of kingdoms, in case of conquest. I marvel they do it not much more by right of blood—for in that union of constraint, there is ever doubt and dread for continuance thereof, as is well said, *Malus custos diuturnitatis metus.* But in this, by

right of blood, God giveth blessing to Nature's work: first in the greater majesty of the high and supreme governor, where one mighty monarch is of more command and power than a king of divers distinguished kingdoms.

Secondly, in the more facility of the government, where people under like laws are more easily ruled than under divers laws. And thirdly, in the more security of the governed, who being led with like equity of laws, will one love and strengthen the other; but being divided, do oftentimes undermine and practise subversion one of the other: *Vires imperii in consensu sunt obedientium: tolle unitatem et omnis imperii contextus in multas partes dissidet.*[5] Which consideration made King Henry the Eighth rightfully assuming the title of King of Ireland, by voluntary vote in parliament of the Lords and Commons of that kingdom: albeit the Kings of England were before that time but called Lords of Ireland: yet now changing his style, to endeavour by just laws to cause the Irish change as well their apparel as language, and divers their old forms and former laws, and to reduce them into form of English fashion, even against their former customs and conditions. It is then a matter not only of utility and necessity, but also of reason and justice, that a king in right of blood holding two kingdoms or states, do unite and contract them into one name and nature: specially kingdoms of one continent, and which in ancient times were but one, till ambition and contention divided them. And this may stand for answer to the objectors first main head of matter of estate inward. Now where it is farther alleged that the alteration of the name of the king doth inevitably and infallibly draw on an erection of a new kingdom, and a dissolution and extinguishment of the old; herein, verily, I think the matter is much mistaken: for the change of name is not so rightly to be termed alteration or new erection, as restitution and reparation, both of name and honour. For divers his majesty's most noble progenitors have heretofore been intitled (as chronicles tell us) Kings of all Britain: as Henry the Second, King of all Britain, Duke of Gascoyne, Guienne, and Normandy; whose son, King John, had also in his coin stamped, as is to be shewed, *Johannes Rex Britonum.* And before the conquest of the Saxons, it is certain that the whole isle was called by the name of Britain: but Saxons entering at disadvantage of that mighty nation, consumed by death and famine, conquering the remnant of people of famous Britain, enforced them to distinguish and divide themselves, by flying into mountains and fortified places. And afterwards King Egbert, utterly to root out the remembrance of Great Britain, commanded that the land should be called no more by that name, but England;[6] and the people Englishmen. But Egbert is dead, his power weak, nay none at all: let none therefore fear to restore his country to his old name, and ancient honour: for Egbert I say is dead, and King James liveth, *et vivat et vincat Rex Jacobus.*

This I say and enforce again, is a matter also reasonable, just, utile, and necessary; seeing the sovereign bringeth in no innovation of a new name, but restitution of the old; no dissolution, but fortification, whereto I know none will subscribe, which envy the king's greatness, or kingdom's happiness.

But let none marvel, why it hath not this long time been reduced into his former name: for the diversity of kingdoms, being made divers by war and conquest, and having heretofore divers kings, could not in reason or justice endure it, nor under any colour of utility or necessity undergo or conclude it.

But now seeing our sovereign lord the king, being rightfully descended of all those kings and princes, which heretofore reigned and ruled in England, Scotland, or Wales; as he only hath power to restore all into one to former title and dignity, so let none think this his princely and just pleasure a new erection, but restitution of old; where it is more reasonable and just to extinguish the name of lesser continuance, than the name which had continued and been famous by the space of 1137 years before Christ, and 688 after his incarnation; which whole computation cometh to 1825 years. And where it is most ho-

[4] Livy.

[5] [This injunction however seems to have had but little weight with some of his successors, as in a charter of Edgar the Peaceable, he styles himself *totius Brittaniæ basileus.* Madox's Formul. Anglic. 282.]

nourable by just descent in right of blood, not only to change, but to abolish the name imposed by a conqueror to the dishonour of a nation: and where, for ought I understand, the matter is not so difficult, nor of that inconvenience and danger, but may with ease and safety be done with *salvo jure*, or other reservation and explanation, as the wise and learned in the laws can at large devise, when they list; *sive nova excogitent, sive antiqua restituant.*

But for example, I bring the uniting of Dane-Lex and Mercia-Lex, by Edward the Confessor, which was not prejudicial to any, that ever I could read, but profitable and needful to all, in the abolishing of divers old laws, and ordaining divers new, and making laws to all, all one: done no doubt with due respect to weal publick, with needful limitation, and due consideration of men, matter, time, place, and other circumstance. Neither doth any new erection and extinguishment of old, so necessarily conclude inconvenience full of repugnancy, danger of construction, and confusion, as is pretended: but may in this case *(ubi beata omnium vita moderatori est proposita)* as easily be cleared and avoided, as it was when the principality and country of Wales was by parliament incorporated and united unto the kingdom of England; and all the inhabitants thereof made equal in freedoms, liberties, rights, privileges, laws, and in all other respects, to the natural subjects of England: and all inheritances made of English tenure, to descend without division or partition after the manner of England; and the laws, statutes, and ordinances of the realm of England, commanded to be executed and put in practice within the country and principality of Wales. So as now in this new erection and dissolution of the old, the Welshmen with us, and we with them, acknowledge joyfully, one only governor, and one only government: where the majesty of the governor is equally *supra nos*, and the justice and equity of the government equally *pro nobis;* where is *certus ordo in jubendo et parendo.* Which certain and the same course and order of commanding by the king, and by his laws, and of obedience in subjects, is a strong tie, and as it were a vital spirit, holding in one infinite thousands: where *Regere*, as the philosopher speaketh, is reckoned *inter necessaria*, and *Regi inter utilia.*[6]

Again, could seven kingdoms of Saxons be reduced into one, and in good time, all their divers laws, whereby the divers subjects of those seven divers kingdoms were diversly governed, be brought into one form of civil government, without repugnancy, ambiguity, or danger: and shall we think it a matter of such difficulty, to unite only two kingdoms, which do not much differ in manners, laws, and customs; saving such laws and customs as were formerly ordained on each part one against another, when they were enemies, or scarce friends one to the other? Which laws doubtless, all will say, must be abrogated; that in further proceeding to union, wise men, with grave consideration, may conclude it, for good of both nations, without offence, as in former times much more hath been done, with less ado.

An empire of many kingdoms thus reduced into one, is not unlike the firmament of Heaven, which GOD hath adorned with the two great lights, the sun and moon and other stars, even the whole army and harmony of the heavens in one firmament. 'Whoso throweth a stone against Heaven (saith the wise man) it will fall upon his own head.' And if any one standing alone from the rest, speaketh against and oppugneth this Union, better it were (saving my charity) that *unus ille periret, quàm unitas.*

Touching the enumeration and recital of the special or several confusions, incongruities, and mischiefs, which in the objections are, in the second place, of matter of estate inward, pretended: I briefly answer, that there is no fear of confusion in true and perfect union. Which thing the mighty Alexander, renowned for fortitude and policy, well knew, who is much commended by Plutarch,[7] that where Zeno, chief of stoics, framed an idea of best commonwealth, such as was not divided by countries and contrary customs, but was as all one, of one kind of life, and as one flock feeding in one pasture, under one shepherd: Alexander, I say, put that in practice, which Zeno but imagined. For, saith Plutarch,

[6] Arist. 1. Pol. cap. 3.

[7] Plut. de fortuna Alexandri.

not as Aristotle, Alexander's master, taught him, so did he, living as a father to the Grecians, and cruel commander over barbarians, respecting some and neglecting others; but he reconciled all into one, mixing men's lives, laws, names, and marriages together; and persuading, that none were aliens and strangers among his subjects, but such as were evil men; accounting all good men as one man.

Now I conclude this point, that there is no confusion, incongruity, or mischief to be feared in that union, where our most rightful king sitteth, not by conquest of sword but by right of royal blood, in the seat of his most noble progenitors, and not as Alexander, who by conquest sat in the seat of Darius among Persians;[8] nor as Xerxes, who joined Asia and Europe together with a wooden bridge over Hellespont: but as all other most mighty governors, and the best kings, have by a golden bridge of likeness, of love, of equity, of laws, and of common comforts of society and joy, (all which were both profitable and needful,) joined together two or more kingdoms, for their own greater honour and subjects' more undoubted happiness.

Which thing, likewise, that noble and valiant Trojan Æneas long since put in use; who by union, even of divers nations, *omnes eodem nomine, et eodem jure Latinos vocavit.*[9] And thereby, as Livy reported of him, he made many and divers nations as one people, most familiar, and most friendly together.

Do not divers sun-beams come from one sun, and all they of one nature? are not divers lines drawn from one centre, and all they of one fashion? are not divers boughs from one tree, and all they of one and the same substance? and may not divers people under one prince, though they are divided in persons, yet be united in laws; and though they be sundered in countries, yet be knit together in hearts; specially if emulation cause no incongruity, nor disorder confusion, nor strife mischief; only with saving each man's honour, with continuance of each good custom, and with furtherance and establishing the common good of weal publick?

The king is the country's parent, who by union, *non servos, sed cives cogitat;* and as Jupiter was said to be, *Rex omnibus idem;* so would his majesty be *idem omnibus*, one head to one body. Wherefore, if he desire to unite the two kingdoms, and to account them one; and as one beloved son, (whose life is dear and whose happiness joy to him,) that all subjects as one son, in common apparent utility, might participate common patrimony of just laws for weal publick; let none be so hardy (with the harlot in the days of Solomon) to say to the king, our common parent, "divide the child, and cut it into two parts;" least such division part that into two, which GOD in nature first made one: and now in his greater goodness hath restored, in the royal person of our gracious king into one.—'What God hath so joined together, let no man put asunder:' for hereof may arise plain incongruity, and fearful inconvenience, which may farther grow into confusion, and mischief.

Only I pray them, which object against the happy union, to set before their eyes, and to consider with their hearts, the grievous contention between the divers people of the kingdom of Israel and the kingdom of Judah; for, albeit, the two kingdoms were united in the person of David their king, yet for want of more perfect union in laws and love, there arose heart-burnings on both sides. For Israel complained; 'the men of Judah have stolen the king from us;' and they of Judah challenged, that the king was nearer in blood to them than to Israel;[10] and Israel again replied, that they had ten parts in the king, and therefore had more right to him. But what in end grew of this contention and emulation, consider, I pray, and prevent such inconvenience and mischief; there was not any one among the tribes in the second generation that followed the house of David, but Judah only;[11] *Omen avertat Deus.*

When I was but a young scholar, I learned to call that equivocation, which was *corpus monstrosum*, under one name of diverse forms: as *homo pictus* and *homo vivus* agree in the name of man, but not in the same reason, definition, and nature; so I can call the agree-

[8] Herod. lib. vii. [9] Liv. lib. i. [10] 2 Sam. v. xix. [11] 1 Kings, xii.

ment of English and Scotish only in subjection to one sovereign, but without farther union of laws and true love, not lively and indeed, but painted and in show; not substantial, but equivocal; not real, but nominal: namely, in the king, as in the head, which is but one; but not in themselves, as in the body, which likewise is, or should be, but one. This is true incongruity; whereof may arise such farther fearful inconvenience, as I wish may be to them that hate the state, and the experience thereof unto the king's enemies.

Touching the particulars of confusion, &c. surmised by the objectors, I briefly answer:

First, that, exception taken of summoning future parliament, is not worth answer; for the style and title of the king changed, may change also in future writs.

Secondly, the changing of seal, is only charge of a new cut.

Thirdly, the great old officers of the kingdom, when they (yet most worthy of office) do hereafter wear out, the king's majesty shall afterward by this union, have more choice to prefer the worthiest: for his majesty by this union shall gain more choice for all the publick services, to be performed either at home or abroad. Neither may it be reasonable for any man, for private or particular respects, to repine thereat: like to Cato, his son,[12] who feared lest by his father's marriage he might lose somewhat of his patrimony; and therefore murmured, lest his father should beget more sons: but had his answer with a sound reply unanswerable: "Son, I desire to have more sons like thyself, good citizens; and serviceable for the commonweal."

Fourthly, touching laws, customs, liberties, and privileges, it is to be wished that the rigour of ours were somewhat qualified, and the liberty of theirs somewhat restrained: neither is it a new thing, in so large a kingdom, that some should be more enabled and honoured with privileges than others, according to the king's good pleasure: in whom dwelleth, and from whom is derived, all true honour.

Fifthly, the fear of residence, or holding in Scotland such courts as follow the king's person, is the self same, as if we feared that without union, the king would hold personal courts in Cornwall; or as if we doubted that such courts, when our former kings were personally in France, were not for all that kept at Westminster. The seat of judgment is the seat of the house of David: thither the tribes go up, and there the people's feet stand, even in the gates of Jerusalem; which Jerusalem is a city that is in unity in itself: at unity concerning matters of religion, at unity in matters touching publick justice, and government; therefore the king began his Psalm 122, 'I was glad when they said to me, we will go,' &c.

Lastly, the exception taken against union, because of the king's oath at his coronation, which is never iterated, is grounded on the self same reason, as if it were also alleged that because his majesty sweareth to maintain ancient and fundamental laws, therefore, upon circumstance of time and occasion, he might not alter any law. But let it be remembered, that the king's oath concerneth the law, and not the title, and we know the laws may be preserved, though the title be altered.

And as for subjects, I doubt not but they may without danger, at the pleasure of the king, swear their allegiance, and do homage and obedience after restitution of title, reformation of law, and union of kingdoms. And ancient records do no more lose their force by the change of England into Britain, than by change of Queen Elizabeth into King James. And there is no more incertainty of pleadings, instruments, and writs, than when a plaintiff deceaseth after seven years suit, his heir is put to begin and commence his suit anew, and in other name.

The heart of objections against union being half broken, let us enter into the third consideration of matter of state inward, where is objected a possibility of alienation of the crown of England to the crown of Scotland, in case his majesty's line should determine. But (blessed be God!) our gracious sovereign king is blessed with a plentiful issue, and hath yet much farther hope. And I hope (for which I pray night and day) that his

[12] Plut. Cato.

majesty's royal issue shall not fail, so long as the sun and moon endureth. Nevertheless, if some will not labour of the common bane of good wits, which is rather to dispute than obey; and rather to reason beyond reason, than yield to reason; (*more magis quàm judicio;*) they may herein also easily answer themselves, that in uniting the two kingdoms, the second place in style may be rather drawn to the next of blood in our land, than the kingdom of England be transferred to one farther off from this stem: which thing, neither Henry the Seventh nor Henry the Eighth doubted; the one seeking to marry his eldest daughter, Lady Margaret, to King James the Fourth of Scotland; hoping, if his heirs male failed, by that means to unite Scotland to England: and the other, having his whole drift to match his son Prince Edward to Queen Mary, foreseeing, in his providence, the inestimable benefit of uniting the two kingdoms; for which cause many of the nobles of Scotland, gave faith to do their best endeavours. But it is a strange doubt, and cast beyond the moon, to imagine, that union of the two kingdoms doth so confound the state, and change the tenure, to bring it so into case of purchase, as it will necessarily subject England to Scotland, especially if his most excellent majesty, of his singular tenderness and love to this his realm of England, be pleased to effect and establish, that in case his royal issue (which Almighty God of his infinite mercy defend) should fail; that then, by this happy intended union, the realm of Scotland should for ever be, and continue indissolubly united, and annexed to the lawful and rightful inheritance, and succession of the crown of England, in the blood royal of the same.

Now touching matter of state foreign, in answer to the first objection; I am well assured, that our foreign affairs were at worst, in the opinion of all, at the decease of our late queen, and our intercourse utterly decayed with many princes; so as we need a kind of present renewing, which may be concluded as well under title of King of all Britain, as of England.

To the second it is easily answered, that the king loseth no precedency of place, as is imagined; specially, antiquity (as in the objections is alleged) guiding it, and not greatness. For the successor to King Arthur of Britain, will be worthy, in the opinion of the whole world, of better place than King Egbert of England.

To the third, that if the name of England (as is imagined) be obscured, the name of famous and great Britain will be illustrate, memorable in times past to all the known nations of the earth.

Touching matter of honour, it is certain and evident, that the name of England, though it hath been worthily most famous and great, yet is not equal to the title of Great Britain; when England and Scotland are re-united, either by reason of honour, or of power. All histories remembering unto us, that the Britons long time resisted the mighty force of Romans, lords and conquerors of the world. And albeit, some fathers can be content to disinherit their own daughters, to continue their names, (as is inferred in the objections,) and therefore enforced, should be much more in states, specially where the name hath been famous; yet for my part, I account such parents unkind and unnatural, where self-love of their name, maketh them forget themselves, and forsake their own flesh. I will not urge here the law of God, of nature, and of most nations, where daughters inherit, and names grow extinguished. But this is a vain respect only of name, whereof is spoken, to get a name on earth, and to think their name should never be put out: whereas, so many countries, so many people, so many persons, have either lost or left their former name, and most willingly have been called by another name. *Gaudet cognomine terra*;[13] that country rejoiced to be called by a new name: how much more should our land embrace this name of Britain; and yet not new, but indeed his old proper name renewed, and (as it were) redivived and restored from the dead. Or be it simply loss only of a bare transitory name: yet as the prophet Isaiah speaketh;[14] 'Let not the eunuch say, behold, I am a dry tree; my name shall perish with me.' Let us rather regard that name which God promiseth to them that serve him, saying, 'Even unto them will I give in my house,

[13] Virg. Æn. vi. [14] Isa. lvi. 3.

and within my palaces, a place and a name, better than of sons and of daughters: I will give them an everlasting name, which shall not be put out."[15]

The argument of oblivion deserveth no answer, but silence and forgetfulness: and yet I doubt not, but famous acts of noble Englishmen, will as well by chronicle be remembered to posterity, as the glory of renowned Britain [by ?] record remaineth to this day; neither will either be forgotten to the world's end.

The style of England now placed before Scotland doth no way prejudice the Union by loss of precedency, for when all is one, there is no subsequence: only honour is due to him who is to be honoured; and much honour to him that is much to be honoured; which thing in the Union may easily be provided for, and other pretended inconveniencies prevented.

Lastly, the prejudicating the popular opinion, to whom (as is objected) change of name will be harsh and unpleasing, is (in mine opinion) a wrong done, and imputation laid upon the people; who I know (for the most part) being a wise nation, and (I am sure) most loving subjects to the king's majesty, have learned obedience and duty; and will therefore rather joy in the content of their good and gracious king, than any way murmure at his demand: knowing that the empire, (as Livy speaketh) is *firmissimum*, when *eo gaudent obedientes;* who doubtless with one voice and heart submit themselves, and say to their sovereign, *Esto nobis solus arbiter rerum jure, et nomine regio.*

And as for harshness of the strange name, use will easily make it familiar. He[16] said:

Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere; cadentque,
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula; si volet usus.

This pretended unpleasing harshness is no more than the niceness of a virgin, who is as loth, and maketh it dainty to leave her father's name; yet afterward, married to a husband, taketh greatest comfort in the name of her husband; in whom she glorieth, and by whom she enjoyeth all her worldly joy. And yet need not England be so nice, as if she were a virgin, who like a widow hath so often changed her name; but may take pride, as widows do, to be called by her most honourable and most glorious name.

Thus having briefly run over the objections, and withal carried in open view in mine answer due consideration, both of evident utility and urgent necessity, I will be bold with additions of more reasons, yet a little farther to proceed in the persuasion of this desired happy Union. God, always blessed, and to be honoured for evermore, who is Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity, three persons, and but one God, doth by influence of His Holy Spirit, give divers gifts and graces to believers, of what country or condition so ever they be; and governeth them by one holy law, and uniteth them in the same faith, though diversly scattered among all the nations of the christian world: that hereby, the gods on earth, whom he hath placed to rule over many and divers kingdoms upon earth, might learn by the same laws in things human, and same religion in matters divine, to preserve weal publique and christian society among men.

But the ambition, and frowardness of many, desirous rather to be distracted into divers names and countries, and to be ruled by divers laws and customs, do oft time hazard the common good and peace of the weal publique; where two kingdoms so divided under one sovereign, are not unlike the rich treasures of pearl and gold, laid up in one ship, by contrarieties of divers winds to be driven upon rocks with extremest danger: as is said in Tully,[17] of dividing and distinguishing desires into several parts and members, in such diversities and differences: *Hoc est dissipare, et non distinguere, frangere, et non dividere.*

Which thing is to be feared by not uniting, but keeping the two kingdoms still in parts when upon every discontent in Scotland, as at a back door passage, may be given for foreign enemies, soon to weaken a divided power: as Cyrus the Persian soon emptied that great and deep river, otherwise unpassable for his soldiers, by drawing it into divers chan-

[15] Isa. lvi. 5. [16] Horace. [17] De fin.

nels.[18] And why should not we fear such and greater evils, if, as Virgil laid infamy upon us, calling us, *toto divisos orbe Britannos:* so we be content to add greater infamy to ourselves, and become *toto in orbe divisi*, divided within ourselves, in the sight and view of the whole world.

But I hope and wish for better things, that by Union in name of Britons, we may leave to be any longer divided into English and Scotish; as rivers of divers names meeting in the sea, receive one and the same name: the rather, because the elements of fire and water, of earth and air; being of repugnant qualities, yet joined in one body, do agree in one form, as in a medium, uniting and mixing them together; much more divers kingdoms oft times heretofore at war and discord, yet now being united into one body, of one name and nature, qualified by equal mixture of law, manners, honours, marriages, and such like; may be made perfect in one form, and have a being not as English and Scotish, but as Britons, knit together in that third and renowned name; that the maxim may be verified in us: *Quæ in aliquo tertio conveniunt, optimè conveniunt.*

I confess, that some laws of ours may be thought too streight for them, and some liberties of theirs unfitting us: but let all be wrested alike, putting some up, and letting some down, and in pleasing harmony we shall find, as Tully saith, *Commune et æquabile inter omnes jus:* where will be no strife; as was between Esau and Jacob, undermining and deceiving one the other, of blessing and patrimony; but all love, unity, and concord, and content; as if all were not twins, but one man; even one heart in one body.

And now if Iphicrates,[19] that valiant leader were again living and asked, whether he were under the now imperial majesty, this or that, English or Scotish, or among, or over them, an horseman, an archer, or a leader, he might truly answer, as sometimes he did in like case—" No, not any of these; but I am he, who knoweth under him whom I serve, to command and govern all these, as if they were but one man: *Unius Ducis imperium simul sentiunt omnis copiæ.*[20] Thus, in war and tumult, much more in quiet peace, may it be said: divers subjects *ad nutum unius Regis, et ejusdem legis omnes simul respondent.*

So powerful is the force of union, that *una via* being director for law, and *cor unum* performer for obedience; the law enjoining obedience, and obedience executing law, the prince cannot command what the people will not obey; and the people will obey what the prince commandeth, and unity among them will uphold all: *Unum imperii corpus unius animo regendum videtur;*[21] and so likewise, *ejusdem juris esse debent, qui sub eodem rege victuri sunt.*[22]

But rule of two kingdoms without uniting them, is to give occasion to either part to look back for an old grudge. *Ubi antiqui odii pertinacia in publicum stimulat exitium;* which I fear would be, as the going back of two rams, more fiercely to but at, and beat one the other: where, held both together in like yoke, one cannot easily offend or force the other, *Sic enim immensa multitudo authoritatis quasi spiritu regitur.*[23]

And where it is of the nature of man, not to endure all servitude nor all liberty, but to strive to shake off the one and to be weary of the other, it is certain that equity and equability of like laws to a divers people united in one, will make them which otherwise fear servitude, to enjoy freedom; and those which seem most free by former privileges and immunities, to fear servitude if they transgress their bounds: for such union and equity is *communis custodia, et principatus et reipublicæ.* But faction and ambition are the father and mother of intestine calamity, civil war, and deadly feud. Who so loveth this, will never like that; neither is he of the body, but of the toes and feet of that image,[24] which Nebuchadnezzar dreamed of; whose head was of fine gold, whose breast and arms of silver, whose body and thighs of brass, whose legs of iron, and whose feet part of iron and part of clay. Silver, brass, and iron, are metals easily mixed; but iron and clay will not by any means melt and join together. Kingdoms divided, are prefigured in the iron and clay; they are partly warlike and well governed, and partly weak, factious and

[18] Herodot. i. [19] Plut. [20] Sen. Epist. [21] Tacit. Ann. i. [22] Q. Cur. x.
[23] Seneca. [24] Dan. ii.

seditious: they agree not to the king, their golden head, and though they (as the text saith) mingle themselves with the seed of men, yet join not one with another, but are as iron and clay, which will not be mixed together. The poets call this latter age *Ferrea*. Let us which live in it, prove them poets and not prophets; that so being joined to our golden head, in all obedience and duty, in all love and zeal to our country, and in unity among ourselves; we may live a blessed life in the golden age of this our happy time, and show ourselves well tempered, not of brittle but of better clay. *Zueis* (as the poet saith) *meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan.* Therefore, let Aristides and Themistocles, joined in one commission, consult upon the point; some for England, some for Scotland, and for the weal public, say one to the other, *Vis ut hic deponamus inimicitias?* why do we strive together, for we are brethren? and they cannot but conclude, that the weal publique was never well administered without union and amity; namely, union in the government, and amity among the governed.

JOH. BRISTOL.

A Discoverie of certaine English Wants, which are royally supplyed in this Treatise. By H. Platt, of Lincolne's Inne, Esquire.

Nunc tuba nunc lituus cecinit taratantara raucus,
Taurus et infesto, jam pede pulsat humum. Ovid.

Printed at London by P. S. for William Ponsonby, 1595.

[Quarto, Six Leaves.]

'*Sir Hugh Platt, (says Harte, in his* Essay on Husbandry, II. 113,) *not to mention his other excellent talents, was the most ingenious husbandman of the age he lived in: yet so great was his modesty, that all his works seem to be posthumous, except the* Paradise of Flora; *which appeared in the year* 1600, *when it is probable he was living. He spent part of his time at Copt-hall, in Essex, or at Bishop's hall, in Middlesex; at each of which places he had a country-seat; but his town residence was Lincoln's Inn. His* Jewel-House *was published by Dr. Beati, commonly called in England Dr. Boat, (who, by the way was as great a genius in husbandry as most we have mentioned) and the* Flora's Paradise, *with a second original part, was published by one Bellingham, the author's kinsman, who changed the title to* The Garden of Eden.

'*Sir Hugh held a correspondence with all lovers of agriculture and gardening throughout England. And such was the justice and modesty of his temper, that he always named the author of every discovery communicated to him.*

'*In a word, no man in any age ever discovered, or at least brought into use, so many new sorts of manure. Witness his account of the compost and covered dunghill, and his observations on the fertilizing qualities lodged in salt;—street dirt, and sullage of streets in great cities;—clay;—fuller's earth;—moorish earth;—dunghills made in layers;—fern;—hair;—calcination of all vegetables;—malt-dust;—willow-tree earth;—soap-boiler's ashes; and broken pilchards, and marl.*'

Harte is by no means correct in mentioning the greater part of Sir Hugh's works as

posthumous publications, if he was living in 1600. *This will appear from the following list, in which they are, perhaps, enumerated for the first time.*

'*The Floures of Philosophie, with the Pleasures of Poetrie annexed to them, as wel* '*plesant to be read as profitable to be folowed of all men.*

' Otium sine literis mors est, et vivi hominis sepultura. SENECA.

'*Printed at London by Henrie Bynneman and Frauncis Coldocke. Anno* 1572.' *Small* 8*vo. Vide* Censura Literaria, viii. 1. *for a particular description.*

' Hugonis Platti armig. Manuale sententias aliquot divinas et morales complectens; ' partim è sacris patribus partim è Petrarcha philosopho et poeta celeberrimo, decerptas. '*Lond. Printed by Richard Tardly.* 1584.' 12mo. *(Vide Herbert's Typogr. Antiq.* 1206.*)*

'*A brief apologie of certen newe invencions, cōpiled by H. Plot.*' *This is mentioned by Herbert, as licensed to Richard Field, stationer, in* 1592*;* (Typogr. Antiq. 1260) *and is said by the author himself, in the opening of the tract here reprinted, to have been published in the following year.*

'*The Jewell House of Art and Nature. Conteining divers rare and profitable inventions,* '*together with sundry new experimentes in the Art of Husbandry, Distillation, and* '*Moulding, &c. By Hugh Platte, of Lincolnes Inn, Gent. Printed by Peter Short on* '*Bread-streat hill, &c. and are to be sold in Paules Churchyard.*' 1594. 4to. *Dedicated to the Earl of Essex. This was republished in* 1635, 4to. *by D. B*[*eati*]. '*London, Printed by Bernard Alsop and are to be sold at his house in Grub Street, near* '*the Upper Pump;*' *dedicated to* '*the munificent lover of all learning, the Right Honour-*' *able Boulstroad Whitlock, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England,*' *&c. by D. B.*

This Jewel-house consists of five apartments, or books; each with a separate title page, &c. so as to sell singly occasionally; but have the same running title, '*the Jewel House of Art* '*and Nature.*' *It is so at least with the three first books; viz.* '1. *Divers new Experiments.* '2. *Divers conceits of husbandry.* 3. *Chemical conclusions concerning distillation.* 4. '*Of moulding, casting, &c.* 5. *An offer of certain new inventions, which the author* '*proposes to disclose upon reasonable considerations,*' *&c.* (Herbert. 1207. *Censura Literaria,* ii. 215.)

'*A discoverie of certaine English wants,*' &c. 1595. 4to. *The tract reprinted on the following pages. This does not appear to have been known or noticed, except by Tanner and Harte; having escaped the observation of modern bibliographers. Parts of it may remind the reader of the Marquis of Worcester's Century of Inventions, in Vol. IV. p.* 515.

'*Sundrie new and artificiall remedies against famine. Written by H. P. Esq. upon thoccasion of this present dearth.*

' Non est quo fugias a Deo irato nisi ad Deum Placatum. AUG.

Printed by Peter Short on Bread Street hill, 1596. 4to.—*again* 1683. (*Bibl. Brand,* 5415.) *Harte also enumerates, Platt's* Flora's Paradise, 24mo. *His* Discoveries, 12mo. *and his* Garden of Eden, 12mo. *often printed; sixth edition, Lond.* 1685. 8vo.

A Supplie of certaine English Wantes.

WHERAS in my late 'Apologie,' published *anno* [15]93; as also sithence in my booke entituled the 'Jewell-house of Art and Nature,' printed *anno* [15]94, I have, amongst many other conceipted experimentes, tending to several aswel profitable as delightful uses made likewise a publicke offer of sundry new and rare inventions, such as if they were brought into some generall and common use, would procure great love and securitie to the rich, sufficient maintenaunce and reliefe to the poore, some credit to the

author, and no smal benefit to the whole realme of England. I am now forced even by the bond of charity, as a Christian; and in the tender love and affection which I owe unto my native countrey, as a trew and naturall Englishman; (seeing in these unthankeful and wretched times,) I see it is not sufficient to propound the best and most royal offers howsoever exemplified and made authentique even by often and manifold experience herselfe (the true and undoubted mother of all credit in this kind, unlesse by a manuell demonstration, likewise the meanes of execution, which is the life of al inventions, be associated and joyned thereunto.) I saie, I am enforced, both as a scholer, first to devise, and then as a polititian to bring into publicke use, that which hetherto hath so long attended uppon dewe deserved favors, untill it is trampled under the proud foot of every base mechanicall workeman, whose absurd eare can endure no other musick, then that which is forced from the anvill, with the grosse hand and hammer of an ordinarie vulcanist.

Now therefore, I see it is time, and high time, to let the world and all posterity to understand, that if our English artists (whereof sundrie in my knowledge are of such rare and singular conceipt as they were able, yea and would also be found willing, if the stipend of honor and merit were now propounded, fully to discover a world of new inventions, whereof no Polidore[1] hath as yet taken any note or notise) were sufficiently emploied in the fulnes and height of their spirits, that they would bring foorth so many, so rich, and so inestimable buds and blossomes of skill, as neither any civill pollicy that hath bin hitherto shut up in printed bookes, nor any religious charity that hath bin so often and so divinely sounded in at our deafe eares, could yet produce or shew any comparable effects unto them.

And that I (being the boldest, though the meanest of many thousands, to take so waighty a taske in hand) may in some measure maintaine so hard a paradox, and discharge the credit of the rest in this point; I will yet once againe acquaint you with some few, and those ancient inventions of mine, which if you will at this time heare with patience, and censure with equity, and further with your favors, I hope to give you such a true and lively tast of the fruits of art, that I shal make your stomacks even long and mourne to be better satisfied with that secret foode, which these silent philosophers and inginers have reserved unto themselves; and will hardly offer unto their country, until their first ambassadors returne with the reward of vertue in their hands.

And because I will herein proceede in the most acceptable maner that I may, I wil seeke to wring nothing out of your cofers; for I know they have too many bolts, bars, and lockes upon them; it is but your countenance, your commendable labours and examples, which are in authority, that I require, it is but that which now you loose, and without me you cannot save; nay, they are but the very crums that fall from Dives' table, wherwith I will undertake to relieve poore Lazarus, who neither as yet with the saltish drops of his body, is able by his labour, nor yet by the bleeding teares of his soule is able by his misery to procure sufficient maintenaunce the one way; or compassion the other way, to relieve himselfe and his distressed family.

Suppose then, that whatsoever might be saved in fewel and fire by some such art as I would discover and make manifest, in most plaine and naked tearmes, were speedily and cheerefully gathered, and brought into a common treasury, which cannot be lesse than the one halfe of all that which now is spent in brewing, throughout the whole realme of England. Suppose, also, that hereunto were added, the one third of al other fires, which may also be saved in al such shires where any seacoale is usually burnt, at the rate of 8*s.* the chawdren, or upwarde; what a yearly summe and masse of treasure would this amount unto, throughout this populous island? Naie, what an infinite number of poore and sillie wretches might be profitably employed in the composition of so manie colebals, as would be necessarie in so great an expence of fewell as cannot otherwise be avoided? Hereunto I may also further adde, the full halfe or moity of all such fewell as is dayly and

[1] [Polydore Virgil, the Italian, published a book 'De rerum inventoribus,' in 1499.]

grosselie spent in all the peterworkes[2] of this realme; which by a third invention (allowing the petermen their usuall coales, vessels, and furnasses) might well be saved, and is now most vainly and absurdly wasted and consumed. Wherein, methinks, such a sottish and stifnecked people might be forced by some authority to compound, bycause this violence should concerne their owne good; and now their stubbornes worketh a wilfull wasting both of great store of wood, and sea coale, that might be serviceable for as good or better use?

All this being presupposed, and warranted to be true; and that these secrets, when they shal be put in practise, shal be found reall and substantiall in all their proofes and trials: then let us consider advisedly of all those questions or objections, that do presently arise concerning the same:

The first and principall (as I suppose) will be concerning the authoritie of such, as shal be thought fit assessors of so new and weightie a charge. Herein I must needs confesse, that I can shew no president; but I thinke insteede of authoritie to commaund, these few reasons may serve to perswade al such as shal be unwilling to contribute in so great a worke of charitie. First, their owne safetie and security, which in these late yeares of dearth hath bene a little touched, and more feared; and we have an old proverbe, that hunger breaketh through stone walles. Secondly, a sufficient employment of all such poore as are willing to worke, and all excuse of idlenes removed from lazie and loytering rogues. Thirdly, the easines of the charge, or rather the gaine that shall hereby growe unto the ritch; for my purpose is, that every contributor should onely give the moity of that which he shal save, and to retaine the other moitie to himselfe: so that he shall give with the one hand, and yet receive with the other. Fourthly, the avoiding of many pettie charges, which shal be royally supplied in this. Fifthly, the manifestation of a trewe and a charitable faith, in relieving the extreame wants and miseries of their poore and needie neighbors. Sixtly, and lastly, the great encouragement of the author, who meanes as a principall actor to come in for an *enitia pars* (as the lawyer termeth it) and by his goode successe in this kind, wil be readie, both himselfe, to propound and discover some farther matter of skill then as yet he thinketh meet to publish: and also draw in others of his owne consort, that shall most royally both enrich and beautifie this little iland, with their admirable and most profitable inventions.

Then we are to consider how this charge shall be equally imposed, and who shall be exempted in this charge. I thinke herein we shall not neede to use any exact geometricall, or arithmeticall proportion; but the same discretion that hath bene alwaies used in other taxes, may likewise serve in this: only my desire is that all the poorer sort should scape skot free.[3] But here will also arise another doubt, how all these persons shall be assessed that be of good abilitie, and dwell either in such shires where they have no use of sea-coale, and thereby canne make no benefite of my fire; or dwell in corporate townes, or els where; and so being served of a common brewer, have no need of my saving vessel. Hereby, it doth manifestly appeare, that worldly wise men do call their purses to a more strict accompt then they do their consciences; and though they care not how many sins they dailie commit, yet they keepe a perfect booke of *debitor* and *creditor*, for every penny which they spend. Well; yet to give these frugal men also some contentment: as concerning the first, they cannot chuse but reape thus much benefite by the fire; that the more wood that shall bee spared in other shires, by reason of this new kind of fiering, they are also like to have their usuall woode or coale the cheaper, and likewise their own store to last the longer. And this may also be some reason, to satisfie all those who (either upon some pretence for a time, or upon a wilful stomack perhaps longer) will contribute nothing to this fier, because they happilie will alleadge, that they meane not at any time to use the same in their own houses. But there is yet another reason, and that is, the freeing of al such shires from al their idle vagabonds, who then insteede of sending them to the place where they were borne (according to the statute) may now

[2] [*Peter* is still the technical term for salt-petre, by those who traffic in the commodity.]
[3] [*i. e.* Without charge.]

convey them (be it spoken under correction, and with all reverence to al good lawes and magistrats) into these exercising shires, where they shal finde sufficient employment for them.

Touching the second sort of recusantes, it maie be (yea and it is very probable and likely) that these vessels may also serve for divers other necessary uses, besides brewing; whereof some are not as yet meet to be disclosed. But suppose there were no other, yet some reasonable contribution on their parts (either in respect of the fire, or in respect of some of the former reasons, which do also fall into the same mood and figure, or in respect of the best reasons whereof these present times affoord us too many, though in good discretion I forbeare to urge them) is both to be wished and expected. Yet, if this publike good cannot bee wrought in this publike manner, without bringing in of a daungerous president, to the overbolduing of all good wittes that woulde from time to time shewe themselves pregnant in this kind, then I submit my selfe to the direction of those who beeing in higher place, of riper judgement, and greater experience then my selfe, wil happily finde out some better course therein, then either my shallow head can as yet conceive, or my slender penne is able to describe.

And because these eagle's egges be long in hatching, and seeing daily experience hath now assured me, that though many hands make light worke, yet manie wits for the most part conclude nothing; I am resolved (as neither expecting nor refusing any good course that shal be offered me herein) to entertain the present time not with a theorical wit any longer, but with a practical hand and free spirit being ready to maintaine the credit of my former labors, as wel by discovery of divers secret and gentlemanly skils unto such as shall repaire unto me for the same, as also by furnishing of all travailers with light and comely garmentes; not as a taylor or a shomaker in the fashion, but as an artist in giving a defensative unto them against al wet and stormy weather; so as even in a slender hat, cloake, cassocke, or basses of taffata, satten, or grogeram, and other mercery stufs, and in a sweet and cleanly boot, or shoe of Spanish or Bonaventer, or any other drie leather and uncorried, each gentleman may be sufficiently armed at all pointes, either on foote or horsebacke, in the greatest shower of raine that can happen.

And lastly, because I have alwaies founde it in mine owne experience, an easier matter to devise many and very profitable inventions, then to dispose of one of them to the good of the author himselfe; and because I know that there be many gentlemen in good favor, that be alwaies ready and willing to entertaine good suites, I have thought it not amisse to let them understande, that I am also as yet well furnished for them, if they come in time, and whilest my small store lasteth. For I have referred them all unto my title of priority, and posteriority. All which suites as they are for the most part new, and fresh from the mint, so they are, by their nature and quality, either fit for a priviledge, or for some newe officers, that may undertake such services of charge as are greatly wanting, though daily wished for, in this realme and in these times. And had the author himselfe found any favour in his first suites, he would then have conferred those secrets freely upon his country, which now (by reason of his further charge and greater losse of time that is irrecoverable) he is forced to offer in this kinde; neither pleasing himselfe, nor satisfying others, nor answering the worth of those skils which he purposeth to disclose.

An Abstract of some few of the Particulars intended in this Treatise.

1. A MEANS to prepare beefe, veale, or mutton, without any salt; and fit to bee laide up in storehouses for many yeares, or to furnish long voyages withall.

2. A defensative in the highest kind of all armor, and artillery, whatsoever, from rusting in seven yeares after one preparation. This is a fit secret for all hir Majesties armories, and all the artillery of her ships; wherein the beauty of the armor is still preserved, notwithstanding his defensative upon it. It suffreth no dampe either of fresh or

brackish water to prevaile against it. This is an inestimable secret for the sea in the opinion of Sir Fr. Drake.

3. An excellent caliver, or musket shot, exceeding all bullets that are yet had in ordinary use: of these the author wil be ready to make such store as shal be required.

4. Some English secrets, wherby we may be lesse beholding either unto Spaine or France, in some of their best commodities.

5. A candle of much lesse price then our ordinary candles; each of them lasting 120 howers at the least. It is sodainly made.

6. A new kinde of malting; wherein the one halfe of our usuall fire will be saved.

7. A cheape and multiplied pitch; serviceable onlie for ships and other vessels.

8. A certaine and speedy way for thuning of any breach.

9. The art spagiricall, which shall bee delivered in a most familiar and speedy maner for the drawing of all oiles out of gums, seedes, flowers, and aromaticall bodies; and of all waters, spirits, and salts, out of vegetables, with all necessary circumstances belonging thereunto.

10. An excellent oily composition, defending all iron workes from rust and canker; wherewith I did furnish sir Francis Drake in his last voiage.

11. A pump not weighing twenty pound in weight, and yet sufficient to deliver five tuns of water in one hower. It is an excellent engin to water all those houses that are neere the river of Thames, or any other river in England; as also for all ships of warre.

12. A licour to keepe either boot, shoe, or buskin, made of drie leather, both blacke in wearing, and defensible against all raine, dew, or moisture: whereof there hath bin already a sufficient triall had by divers gentlemen and others. This is to be had of the author in severall kindes.

Temporizare optimum.

All those that are desirous to have any conference with the publisher hereof, may bee advertised of his abode by William Ponsonby, stationer, in Paules churchyard.

The Speech of the late Marquis of Argyle upon the Scaffold, May 27, 1661. Being a true and perfect Copy.

Printed at Edinburgh, and reprinted at London, Anno Dom. 1661.

[Quarto, containing Four Leaves.]

It is remarked by Dr. Campbell that there are some variations in the printed copies of the Marquis's speech, which, perhaps, may be owing to a desire to give an English turn to some of the Scotch expressions. But whoever peruses it must confess, that it is grave and manly; and, at the same time, loyal and pious. He gives a full and clear account of his actions, asserts the uprightness of his conduct, and the sincerity of his affection, both to King Charles the First and Second. He owns and justifies his zeal for the religion in which he was bred; and with true Christian charity forgives his enemies, and prays that God would forgive them. *Biographia Britan. Art. Campbell, Marq. of Argyle.*

Gentlemen,

MANY will expect, that I will speak of many things, and according to their several opinions and dispositions, so will be their expectations from me, and constructions of me, but I resolve to disappoint many, for I came not either to justify myself, but the Lord, 'who is holy in all his ways, and righteous in all his works, holy and blessed is 'his name;' neither come I to condemn others; I know many will expect that I should speak against the hardness of the sentence pronounced against me, but I will say nothing to it, I bless the Lord, I pardon all men, as I desire to be pardoned of the Lord myself; let the will of the Lord be done, that is all that I desire. I hope that you will have more charity to me now, than ye would have had at another time, since I speak before the Lord, to whom I must give account shortly. I know very well that my words have had but little weight with many, and that many have mistaken my words; many have thought me a great enemy to those great works that have of late been brought to pass: but do not mistake me people, I speak it in the presence of the Lord. I entered not upon the work of reformation with any design of advantage for myself, or prejudice to the king or his government, as my will (which was written in the year 1655, and then delivered to a friend, in whose hands it still remains) can show. As for those calumnies which have gone abroad of me, I bless God I know them to be no more, and as I go to make a reckoning to my God, I am free as to any of them concerning the king's person or government. I was real and cordial in my desires to bring the king home, and in my endeavours for him, when he was at home, and I had no correspondence with his adversaries army, or any of them, the time his majesty was in Scotland, nor had I any accession to his late majesty's murder, by counsel, or knowledge of it, or any other manner of way: this is a truth, as I shall answer to my judge; and all the time his majesty was in Scotland, I was still endeavouring his advantage, my conscience beareth me witness in it: that is for that; (at this he turned about, and said,) I hope gentlemen ye will all remember this.

I confess many look on my condition as a suffering condition, but I bless the Lord that he that hath gone before me hath trod the winepress of the father's wrath, by whose sufferings I hope that my sufferings shall not be eternal. I bless him that hath taken away the sting of my sufferings. I may say my charter was sealed this day; for the Lord hath said to me, 'son be of good chear, thy sins be forgiven thee.' And so I hope my sufferings shall be easy; and ye know the scripture saith, 'That the captain of our salvation was made perfect through sufferings.' I shall not speak much to those things that I am condemned for, lest I seem to condemn others, it is well known it is only for compliance, which is the epidemical fault of this nation, I wish the Lord may pardon them, I say no more. There was an expression in my submission presented to the parliament of the contagion of the times, which may be misconstrued, as if I had intended thereby to lay imputation upon the work of reformation; but I declare I intended no such thing, but it was only in relation to the corruptions and failings of men, occasioned by the prevalency of the usurping power,

Now gentlemen, I think there are three sorts of people that take up much of the world, and this nation: There are, 1. The openly profane; and truly I may say though I have been a prisoner, yet I have not had mine ears shut; I hear assuredly that swearing, drinking and whoring were never more common, and never more countenanced than now; and truly if magistrates were here, I would say to them if they lay forth their power for the glorifying of God by the restraining of this they would fare the better; if they continue in not restraining of it, they will fare the worse; I say no more, but let either people shun profanity, or magistrates restrain it, or assuredly the wrath of God will follow on it.

2. Others, they are not openly profane, every one will not allow that, but yet they are Gallios in these matters, if things go well as to their private interests, they care not whether religion, and the church of God sink or swim: But whatever they think, God hath laid engagements upon Scotland, we are tyed by covenant to religion and reformation,

those that were then unborn are engaged to it, and in our baptism we are engaged to it; and it passes the power of any under heaven to absolve a man from the oath of God: they deceive themselves, and it may be will deceive others that think otherwise. But I would caveat this; people would be ready to take this as a kind of instigation to rebellion, but they are very far in the wrong that think so, and that religion and loyalty are not consistent; if any man separate them, religion is not to be blamed, but they; it is the duty of every Christian to be loyal, yet I think the order of things is to observed as well as their nature; the order of religion as well as the nature of it, religion must not be the cogboat but the ship, God must have what is his as well as Cæsar what is his. And those are the best subjects that are the best Christians. And that I am looked on as a friend to reformation is my glory.

3. There are another sort that are truly godly, and to those I must say, what I fear, and every one hath reason to fear (it is good to fear evil) it is true that the Lord may prevent it, but if he do not, these times are like to be very sinning times, or very suffering times; and let Christians make choice; there is a sad dilemma in the business, sin or suffer, and truly he that will chuse the better part, will chuse to suffer, others that will chuse to sin, shall not escape suffering, they shall suffer, but it may be not as I do here (turning him to the maiden when he spake it) but worse, mine is but temporal, theirs shall be eternal, when I shall be singing, they shall be howling; beware therefore of sin, whatever ye beware of, especially in such times. Yet I cannot say of my own condition, but the Lord in this providence hath minded mercy to me, even in this world; for if I had been more favourably dealt with, I fear I might have been overcome with temptations, as many others are, and I fear many more will be, and so should have gone out of the world with a more polluted conscience, than through the mercy of God now I have; and hence my condition is such now, as when I am gone, will be seen not to have been such as many imagined. It is fit God take me away before I fall in those temptations, that I see others are fallen into, and I fear many others will fall, I wish the Lord may prevent it. Yet blessed be his name that I am kept both from present evils, and evils to come.

Some will expect that I will regrate my own condition; but truly I neither grudge nor repine, nor desire I any revenge. And I declare I do not repent my going to London, for I had always rather have suffered any thing, than lye under such reproaches as I did. I desire not that the Lord should judge any man, nor do I judge any but myself; I wish that as the Lord hath pardoned me, so may he pardon them for this and other things, and that what they have doue to me may never meet them in their accompts. I have no more to say, but to beg the Lord that since I go away, he may bless them that stay behind.

His last words immediately before he laid his head upon the block were the vindication of his innocency from that horrid crime of the King's murder in these words:

I desire you gentlemen, and all that hear me, again to take notice, and remember, that now, when I am entering on eternity, and am to appear before my judge, and as I desire salvation, and expect eternal happiness from him, I am free from any accession by knowledge, contriving, counsel, or any other way to his late majesty's death; and I pray the Lord to preserve our present king his majesty, and to pour his best blessings upon his person and government: aud the Lord give him good and faithful counsellors.

The Standard of Equality, in subsidiary Taxes and Payments, or a just and strong Preserver of Publick Liberty. Conducing towards the most happy Government of Kingdoms and States.

London, Printed by D. H. 1647.

[Octavo, containing Forty-Four Pages.]

The good sense and moderation contained in the following tract are well worthy of preservation, however futile its application may be to the present refined system of taxation. In recommending the excise-duties as the most eligible mode of raising supplies, the author has been followed by the sagacious Blackstone, though with more reference to the articles of manufacture and domestic commodity. *Vide Commentaries, Vol. I. Chap.* 8.

To the Honorable and most worthily accomplished Sir John D'Anvers.

SIR,

I HAVE read of a lady, which made a sorrowful but unsucessful enquiry after her little infant, which some having stolen from her, concealed (disguised in rags) amongst a company of common children. The discovery was the more difficult, because a babe's flesh is too tender for solid signs to be fastened on it, and the favour thereof too changeable to bear settled marks of distinction from others. At last the mother found her son, only by the direction of his eye, the sparkling whereof did shine through the cloud of bad clothes wherewith it was apparelled.

In like manner, this model, though it be strangely altered and defaced by the meanness of my expressions, you may perceive therein a vigorous lustre (the rays whereof triumph through my dull language) whereby you may be pleased to own and acknowledge it, as relating to those memorials and expressions, which I have had the favour to receive from your own discourse.

But, sir, another motive that persuaded me to present this treatise to your judicious view, is not because I presume that the handling thereof is worthy, but because the subject itself is proper for your patronage. Lighting casually on the poems of Mr. George Herbert, lately deceased (whose pious life and death have converted me to a full belief that there is a St. George) and therein perusing the description of a 'constant man,' it directed my thoughts unto yourself, having heard that the author in his life-time had therein designed no other title than your character in that description. And this discourse, treating of justice, which hath a marvelous sympathy with constancy (for nothing grounded on unjust principles can long continue) may therefore most properly address itself to your honourable protection.

I will plead nothing in my own excuse, knowing that the noble principle in your breast will prevent what I would, and exceed what I can plead for myself. Thus hoping that my intentions shall not be condemned for the weakness of my performance, but rather my performance pardoned for the goodness of my intentions; so rests,

Your Honour's in all humble service,

PHILO-DICÆUS.

1. BEFORE we proceed to the building, we must clear the foundation, and vindicate the suspicious title of this book from all exception. The rather because the offensive sound of the word equality, is subject to be falsely rendered by men's jealous apprehensions.

2. By equality, that anabaptistical parity is not intended, that all men should have power and state alike, so to lay a level line over all mankind, sinking the mountains and raising the vallies, to make an even champaign. A conceit injurious to men's private property, destructive to the publick state, and no less than blasphemous to God himself, questioning of and quarrelling at his goodness and wisdom, whose providence hath ordered such distances in nature. For that our meditations may with the more easy ascent climb up into the knowledge of an infinite Deity, God hath appointed vegetable, sensible, and rational creatures, as the stairs whereby we may mount up into contemplation of him. And amongst reasonable creatures, some high, some low, some rich, some poor, according to the dispensation of his own providence, whence an excellent harmony doth result. Otherwise they would make strange music who would have all the pipes of the organ equal in sound, length, and bigness.

3. But by equality in subsidiary payments is designed a just and impartial dividing of all taxes, according to men's several estates. That which the Apostle driveth at in regulating the contributions to the poor in the church of Corinth, 2 Cor. viii. 13. 'For I mean 'not that other men be eased, and you burthened, but by an equality.' It is the desire and endeavor of this treatise, that no persons be pressed beyond justice and equity, and that all should bear their due proportions in politic payments. This equality hath so near a sympathy with the liberty of the subject, that as they unanimously embrace one another, so neither can long subsist (at least not freely flourish) if divided.

4. By this liberty we plead not for that licentiousness which many men in all ages have set up as a master of misrule, to justify their extravagancies, and when such their looseness is retrenched, presently complain that their liberty is infringed. No, we need not lend our quill, to imp the wings of this wild liberty any longer, which oft flies too high of its own accord. But by liberty we mean that patrimonial privilege which the poorest subject in Englande is born to, the undoubted inheritance for which the youngest is of full age at the first instant of his nativity, beholding it with the light, and sucking it in with the air, freedom being the breath of the soul, without which it is soon stifled. Our state is no galley, wherein any slaves are bound to row at the oars, but it is a ship, wherein all the passengers are free merchant adventurers; though according to their different proportions. So that every Englishman may say with St. Paul that 'he is freeborn.' No other fine, or fees being paid for this his privilege, save only the pains of his mother when she first brought him forth unto the world.

5. These things premised may I humbly presume to sigh forth the general groans and common complaint of thousand families in this land. That all rates and taxes fall intolerably heavy on the middle sort of people, contrary to their birth-right, liberty, and the rules of all equality and justice. For whereas our ancestors resolved on the way of subsidies as the fittest and freest means to supply the wants of the publick, continuance of time and personal corruptions have so frustrated and defeated their good intents, that subsidies at this day through the inequality of as-sessing them, are almost shrunk to be inconsiderable. And whilst some great ones shift their shoulders from under the publick burden, the weight thereof falls heavy upon their fellow subjects, especially on the yeomanry of the land: as if the commonwealth in all public assessments had played with false dice, which ran nothing but treys and caters. An injustice which, if not seasonably prevented, will prove the hectic feaver of our English liberties, consuming by degrees the radical moisture thereof.

6. Whereas indeed if any condition of people may pretend to more favor due unto them, the middle rank of men seem best to deserve it, because, I may say, they lie in conti-

nual service, and their labour so beneficial to the commonwealth, ought to be countenanced, and instead of these unreasonable weights, wings of encouragement should be given to their industry; whereas now it fareth with them as with the body-horse in their teams, which though drawing most is most lashed, exposed thereunto by the unhappiness of his posture, being always next to the whip.

7. To remedy and redress this grievance, no juster and fairer way doth offer itself than by subjecting all commodities in this kingdom, by way of assessment or excise, to be made contributive to the publick treasury, and that all persons whatsoever, partaking of protection in the state, should share likewise equally in their payments thereunto, according to their several proportions; a rule of such undeniable justice, that nature itself might seem to have dictated it, to the capacities of some brute creatures.

8. It is observed of the beavers in Virginia, that when disposed to carry a beam to the building of their kennel or burrow (wherein they are curious architects) they set such who are most faint and feeble, of their company, to the lesser and lighter end of the beam, and order such as are the strongest amongst them, for the portage of the heaviest part thereof. Men's hats may not only be made of beaver's hair, but their heads and hearts may be taught equity from the example of so small a creature, instructing us that all burdens of publick concernment ought to be impartially born by all persons which reap benefit in the commonwealth. For as all men ought to be exempted from the shackles and fetters of servility, so it is just and equal, that they be all tied alike, in the same girdles and garters, which are both for the adorning and strengthening of the commonwealth; wherefore the effect of our ensuing discourse is, to propound the evenest way of settling of rates in the land, according to justice, and the least grievance of the subject.

9. No self-end or desire to court the notice of the world hath put me on this design. But only love of justice and the good of my country, which every true patriot ought effectually to advance. Hoping that when divine goodness shall restore our land to her former peace and tranquillity and when the king shall be re-married to the state (to which there is a probable and promising forwardness, if our sins in this land forbid not the banns) all things will be settled and modelled in an excellent method and politic uniformity; according to the wise pattern and platform established by our ancestors (in that best comprehending and comprehended government by kings, lords, and commons) bettered and improved by experience of our age, which in few years as it had the misery to see many changes, so it hath had advantage to learn and gather much knowledge thereby. Amongst many others I humbly tender this spark of discovery, prostituting it at the feet of the judicious in authority, who if disliking it may tread it out and quench it, or blow it up in a flame, if it be found useful for the general good.

10. Now, whereas we lay it for a ground-work that all subsidiary payments may most equally be assessed by way of excise on lands, goods, &c. we will first endeavour to vindicate the word excise from that odiousness, it hath generally but unjustly incurred. Two causes there are make an English stomach disgust the excise; both because it is novel, and also hath been abused in the execution thereof. But whilst passionate men rend out all the letters which concur to the spelling of the very word, may the judicious reader be requested but to hold his fingers till the matter be truly stated, and then proceed to censure.

11. That the excise, rightly ordered, is the ready way to raise a mass of money, with the least sensible pressure of the people, appears by the practice of our neighbours in the Low Countries, a nation so zealous of liberty, that this article alone, hath made all other creeds in their country to agree in a joint defence against the publick invader of their freedom. Yet even these have pitched upon the excise, as the surest, speediest, easiest provision for the publick, as in which what hath dropt out of private purses, by unperceived degrees, flows in a full and fair stream into the common bank.

12. Yea, come over into England, and we shall soon observe that the excise, though

new and strange in sound, is old and familiar in the practise thereof. For all impositions, taxes and customs, formerly imposed upon wares and commodities, were in effect the same with the excise, though under another name and notion; only that which made these taxes so much distasted by the subject, was because many of them were imposed by arbitrary power, and exercised in the nature of odious monopolies, oftimes by men of narrow hearts and wide hands, merely minding their own private interest. For the body of our state will not only patiently but cheerfully undergo great pecuniary burdens for the publick benefit, provided that her back be kept whole and unhurt, I mean her liberty not prejudiced and impaired by the illegality of such impositions. But if once her freedom be infringed, not only to the breaking of her skin but bruising of her flesh, the least and lowest rate which can be demanded, lighting on such a sore or galled place, becomes an intollerable torture. No wonder therefore if the state not only wincheth at it for the present, but for the future, waits the first opportunity to kick it off and cast it down, not so much because pressed with the weight, as pained with the wrongfulness thereof.

13. Wherefore amongst other regulations of the excise, these particulars may profitably be propounded. First, that when God of his gracious goodness shall be pleased to bless us with peace, the excise be ratified by act of parliament, which will instantly alter the shape and complexion thereof in the eyes of the people; for presently they will look on it as their own voluntary deed, proceeding from such as represent them: and love to the hand which laid it on (ultimately resolved to be their own) will lessen and lighten the burden; summoning those their spirits (hitherto lost and lavished away in fruitless fuming and fretting against the excise) hereafter to be better employed in the cheerful undergoing thereof.

14. Secondly, that a tender care be had of the fundamentals, as I may term them, of man's life; namely, bread, flesh, salt, small-beer, &c. That in all matters of taxes the state lay her finger on things necessary for man's sustenance, and her loins on such things as are merely superfluous. Otherwise it would be lamentable that the poor labourer, who hath threshed all day for a livelihood, should himself be threshed at night with unconscionable payment for things tending to the bare support of Nature.

15. Thirdly, that favor be shewed to manufactures, that men be not made to pay excise for the dropping of their own sweat, and a special regard be had to the encouragement of industry in cloathing: for, what is confidently reported of many houses and churches built in moist and spungy places, that they are founded on wool-packs, is certainly true of our English state, whose greatest profit is grounded on that same commodity; whereby numberless people are fed and maintained: care therefore must be taken that artificers be tenderly used in the excise, otherwise it will cause a cramp or hand-gout in all manufactures: yea industry will be left in a worse condition than idleness, for though both alike be sent supperless to bed, yet idleness shall only be hungry, but industry hungry and weary too, taking pains without profit, which is swallowed up in the publick excise.

16. Lastly, if the number and fees of officers therein employed be thriftily reduced, not left at large, to share for themselves, as if the kernel were made for the shell, and the excise only and chiefly intended to enrich the receivers and collectors thereof. And indeed in all ages it hath been observed that publicans (though they carry much of the publick in their names) are of all people, in their practice, most addicted to their private commodity. Here it would be considered of, what competent term of time they should hold their places, and at what season such who have lain long in service at the receipt of custom should have others to relieve them, not so much for their ease, as the ease of the commonwealth. For, as those who are much employed in telling of silver, have commonly their fingers coloured and blacked therewith, so even upright souls, long continuing in such money offices, gather and contract, by degrees a soily tincture, growing daily less diligent for the publick good, and more cunning for their private advantage. Yea, it were to be wished that offices in the excise were made of more credit, and less profit, more lustre and esteem being cast upon them, so that the reputation thereof might

pass in part of payment and compensation of their pains employed herein, which would invite men of quality and known estates to entertain the place, rather than to be entertained by it, only with moderate allowance to discharge and defray the same from being burdensome unto them; whereas now such offices are commonly hunted after, by hungry persons (whom we may call men of fortune, in the same sense as others are termed soldiers of fortune, not such as have, but seek a settled estate, coming with intent to prey on the commonwealth, under pretence to serve it.

17. These limitations observed (with reservation of room for such additionals as better judgments may contribute) whereas now the excise-house is beheld of men as the Bridewell of the estates, wherein they are stript and whipt without measure or mercy, they will hereafter be justly reconciled to a more favourable opinion thereof; and those very butchers, now ready with their axes and knives to knock down and cut the throat of the excise, will be converted into a more charitable persuasion thereof, when made sensible that it is the most effectual and least offensive means to supply the emergent necessities of the commonwealth.

18. To proceed now to some particulars. All things which are beneficial to the possessors in this kingdom, and by consequence ought to be contributive to the publick, fall under the four heads of lands, houses, goods, and money at interest. To begin with the first, lands are easily rated, if six pence in the pound, more or less, as the wisdom of the state shall adjudge expedient to be laid on their annual worth through the kingdom. And in case the owner doth not himself reside on his lands, the occupant or tenant for the time being, shall make that sum good to the state, with power (according to the nature and condition of his lease or bargain) to deduct the same out of his rent, when accounting with his landlord.

19. Houses cannot be reduced to so constant a valuation, because subject to more casualties, of fire, vacancy by infection or otherwise. The best ground we can give thereby, to take the steadiest aim at so uncertain a mark is, by rating each house with two chimnies or fire-places according to the proportion of two acres of land. Herein we abate a moiety of what the rigour of the law requireth, allotting four acres to every house to be erected. And according as two acres of land in those respective places are valued, so to estimate a house with two chimnies, and to increase proportionably as the house shall be found to be greater. If the town, borough, or city wherein this house shall stand, shall have no land thereto belonging, whereby to make this valuation, then let respect be had to the worth of two acres of land in the nearest place adjacent thereunto, and let the house be rated accordingly.

20. It will be objected that many of those houses will fall out to be but bare retiring places of pleasure, returning no profit to their owners. But know that such persons, having plentiful estates, if their cup run over for their private delight, some drops thereof must fall beside to the common good.

21. Goods follow in the third place to be assessed by way of excise, of which, thus much in general. That lesser taxes (as low and little as the necessity of the estate will permit) will bring in the greatest gain: for where impositions fall extreme heavy, many will be disabled, and others disheartened in trading, whereas reasonable rates do quicken traffic with greater profit to the public. Those landlords which let their copyholds and other leases cheapest, make most money, whose tenants (like tame doves which breed eleven times in the year) are always bringing in profit to their masters, whereas the fines of enhancing landlords (like the birth of elephants, many years in perfecting) come seldom and prove not so beneficial. For it is not always that sheep which beareth the deepest fleece, but which cometh oftenest to be shorn, which returneth most gain to the owner.

22. Money at interest comes in the last place to be taxed. Hereon (namely on the increase or consideration money) a poundage may be leavied of shillings in the pound. So that

On every bargain or contract betwixt creditor and debtor,

An hundred pounds let at use for $\left\{\begin{matrix}4\\5\\6\\7\\8\end{matrix}\right\}$ pounds, $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{shall pay yearly}\\\text{to the state}\end{matrix}\right\}$ shillings.

And surely, as parents presume with uncontroulable confidence more sharply and severely to correct their own children (then the sons of strangers) as having a peculiar reference to, and proper dominion over them, so the commonwealth may be bold to lay a round tax on use money, a son, a creature of their own; owing its birth and being to the courtesy and sole subsistence, to the connivance and toleration of the state.

23. This in process of time will prove very beneficial to trading, and so by consequence to the commonwealth. For we may observe an innate desire in all men (some few vain-glorious persons excepted) with silence and secresy to steal into an estate, to grow rich without making noise, which otherwise would give an alarm to envy, and expose them to more expence, expected from them. Now close hoarders up of money, being loath to let their coin lie dead in their coffers without returning them profit, and unwilling on the other side, in open contracts to confess and discover their wealth, will embrace a middle way to reconcile their hope of gain with their humour of secrecy. This they will do by finding out some tradesmen, of whose ability, industry and honesty, they are well assured, and privily joining stocks with them, on confidence of a proportionable consideration from the improvement of their money by them employed; relying rather on the private promise of such honest persons, then willing to reveal their estates for the benefit of use money; a thing always doubtful in conscience, and made dear in the state, when certain poundage is imposed upon it.

24. Here a necessity is implied that it should be penal for any person to admit or suffer any under-rating, or fail of payment and discovery of whatever shall be intended and prescribed contributive to the public, by act of parliament. For strange it is to observe with what confidence men presume to cheat and deceive the public, spending freely upon the state's as on another man's purse, whether it be in hope of not being discovered, seeing few grains cannot be missed out of so great a heap, or if discovered, in confidence of easy accounting, presuming perchance on the favour of such as should censure them, as possibly guilty in the same nature themselves. Besides they are bold with the state (the shot payer general) as with their public parent, with whose goods their children may freely partake. Yea they cheer their consciences with this weak comfort, that they are injurious to no particular man, seeing a round sum taken from the public is not considerable to the interest of any private person. These fallacies so far persuade them, as without fear to defraud the common stock which afterwards inclines and enables them to deceive their neighbours, seeing his conscience, who hath swallowed the doing of a wrong to the publick, will never be choaked with cheating single persons. The best way therefore to fright men out of this falsehood, is by a sharp penalty on such as either shall actually cozen the state, or suffer it to be deceived, by having themselves undervalued out of all reasonable distance, as to a fifth of their estates. Provided that none be constrained by oath to accuse themselves; the foulest rape that can be offered on the chaste liberty of an English subject.

25. Great and many benefits would accrue to all sorts of people if this justice were generally observed in all taxes. For first it would cure the disease of sore eyes, grown epidemical amongst the common sort. These do with bad looks behold the height and greatness of others, almost conceiving themselves injured by the honour and wronged by the wealth of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom; either unwilling to consider, or unable to conceive, that divine providence, and princes well grounded bounty, have lifted such men higher, and spread them broader than others. But now mean people will leave off envying and repining at their betters, when such shall pay equal to the meanest in

proportion to their estates. None will have cause to begrudge the beauty or height of corner stones, when beholding them to bear a double degree of weight in the building. Yea, hereafter the common sort will behold noblemen and gentlemen, with a regardful delight, not only because their great means are responsible with the smallest in all public accounts, but also sensible of the great benefit which vulgar people reap and receive by the natural parts and acquired accomplishments of such as are of noble extraction. For whilst such honourable persons are employed in public offices of state, their abilities are serviceable to the behoof of the meanest, who freely possess what the other hath dearly purchased. Their far foreign travels are brought home to their doors, and all the results of their discoveries and observations, which cost expence, pain, danger and long experience, are freely tendered to be useful and serviceable to their lowest fellow-subject in the kingdom.

26. Secondly, this equality in bearing or sharing the burden or benefit in all rates and taxes for subsidy of lands or goods, by way of assessment or excise, will prevent the imposing of needless payments on the people; when parliament men (who are or should be persons of prime wealth and estate) shall perceive that what they lay on others falls most heavy on themselves, and all pecuniary burthens, light first on the rafters before they come to the laths. This I say will make them cautious how they cast needless burthens on the commonwealth, and will make them lay and levy no more taxes then the absolute exigency of the state doth extort. For it may be well presumed, that he who is to strike another through himself, will give him but as easy and gentle a blow as possibly he may. And when the greatest part of the stream must flow out from parliament-men's purses, they will be sure to lavish no more water then what will turn the mill.

27. Thirdly, it will by degrees repress riot, and abate luxury in the land. For such as steer the state will labour as much as they may to ease themselves, by laying the less weight on lands, houses and things necessary, and will throw the bulk of the burden of the excise of the kingdom, on such foreign commodities as may best be spared. May we be sensible of, and thankful for the goodness and bounty of God to this island, in affording it all absolute necessaries for man's subsistence (especially if industry were used) so that whatsoever is found defective in our land, may be concluded superfluous for our life. But besides these, it is strange to see what a company of need-nots are daily imported into the kingdom, things which may be wanted without want; yea, the best that can be said of some of them is, that they are superfluous, which may be challenged upon strong suspicion to be hurtful and dangerous. Nor is it less sad to behold, how the teeth of the commonwealth are rotten with feeding on such sweetemeats, as are pleasant to a wanton palate, but unwholesome to the stomach of the state. All this will be remedied when such sweet meats shall be sauced with such sour payments as shall fright the riotous into thriftiness, or make the desperate prodigal pay dear for his pleasure.

28. It will be objected that if luxurie be stinted, thousands will be starved in this kingdom. For as matters now stand, Riot is the greatest housekeeper in England. Charity maintains but some few in colleges, hospitals, and at some great mens gates; but excesse keeps many menial servants, with more retainers at large, whose trades and professions merely depend on the luxury of this kingdom. All these with their families will be at a loss for a livelihood, if luxury (the master which hitherto hath set them a work, and paid them their wages) should in this land decay in his estate: It may therefore in some sort seem thrift to connive at prodigality, and policy to permit luxury in this kingdom.

29. But to this it is answered that such people whose subsistence heretofore was only on reference to luxury, finding their foundation to fail them, will begin on a better and surer bottom, and seasonably betake themselves (forced by necessity) to some more useful professions, there being latitude enough in this land for their several employments. For nature in this island tenders us the rude materials of many commodities, and makes signs, as I may say, to art and industry to perfect what she hath begun. Which signs though men hitherto, out of ignorance or idlenesse, could not, or would not understand, yet hereafter they will be made to mark them: and being cashiered by luxury, they will list

themselves under industry, as the surer pay master, and find out some more certain and profitabler employment.

30. Lastly, Equality of rates, being thus settled all over the kingdom, it will inspirit all trades with a vigorous cheerfulness to prosecute their calling. The husbandman as well as his land will be in heart, the spinsters wheel would merrily turn round, an edge would be set on the cloath-workers sheers, and a fresh colour on the dyer's cheeks. None will regret at the payment of taxes, when equally proportioned amongst all persons, on all commodities. For the porters of this city are politicians enough in this point to teach us how easily a burden is borne when equally poized on the shoulders. And this will constantly supply the state against all emergencies with a plentiful treasure of money, which is the sinews of a commonwealth. For as all the piety of the patriarch Jacob could not preserve him from halting, when the sinew in his thigh was shrunk, so no piety or wisdom can keep that commonwealth from being a cripple, wherein the nerves of money are wanting, for the lawful advance whereof all must contribute their utmost endeavours.

31. Here it were to be wished that publick encouragement might be given to such undertakers, who are the discoverers of profitable projects, not only to such as exactly hit the mark, but even to those that probably miss it, because their aberrations may be directions to others. This would make active brains to beat about for new inventions, wherein former ages and nations have been very fruitful, and ours, might be presumed, would not be barren. And though many tympanies, false conceptions, and strange births would be produced, and many frustrations, aberrations and miscarriages brought forth, yet amidst these, some pregnant wits would happily be delivered of rare inventions, especially if the state were pleased to be their midwife, favourably to encourage them.

32. We see no nation post with more haste, or crowd in more numbers to lotteries than our English. No people is more contentedly cozened with hope of gain, in that kind, no whit disheartened by the disproportion of blanks to adventure for the prize. This discovereth in our countrymen a curious humour to be tampering with contingencies, and a longing mind and liquorish palate, after novel projects, especially if made luscious with probability of profit. An active humour, which if vented the right way, and directed to the true end, might prove (as now destructive to themselves) well and beneficial to themselves and others, in putting them on hard but honourable projects, or difficult designs, but sweetened with likelihood of success, O what Indies would they find in England! rescuing treasure from the jawes of the sea, or bowels of the earth, enlarging the dimensions of this land, not to make it longer or broader, but deeper by their industry.

33. Here we take the boldness to point at a double injustice. First, many men when they have conquered an hard invention, another is crowned with all the credit thereof. As in the fable of the birds, striving to fly highest, when the sovereign eagle had soared above them all, the small wren, which covertly had conveyed herself upon the eagle's back mounted with her own wings a little higher, and so got the victory, so many men improving themselves on the discoveries made by the brain and pains of others, and only adding some complemental enlargements of their own, have plundered the first founders of all the praise and profit of their invention. Thus any common fellow may set fire to a gun, and hit the mark, whilst the commendation belongs justly to him who first rightly mounted and levelled the ordance.

34. The second is a greater grievance; namely, when one on his own purse and pains hath completed a project profitable for the commonwealth, and then some great person, stepping in by force or favour, ejects the true owner out of the possession of what his industry had acquired. We read in the second book of Samuel, chap. 23, v. 16. how those three were accounted amongst David's worthies, who breaking through the army of the Philistines fetched water from the well of Bethlehem, to satisfy the longing of king David, well then in like manner may that meritorious knight be ranked amongst the worthies of this realm, who to quench the thirst of thousands in the populous city of London, fetched water more than four and twenty mile on his own cost, encountering all the way with an army of oppositions, grappling with hills, struggling with rocks, fighting with

forests, and yet with admirable constancy hewed out his passage in defiance of all difficulties, and brought his project to perfection: when a potent person, and idle spectator strikes in, and by his greatness possesseth himself of a moiety of the profit, which the unwearied endeavours of the aforesaid knight had purchased to himself. Such injustice for the future may be prevented, that men may quietly reap what their industry hath sown, not disturbed by the intrusion of others.

35. But to return to the equality of rates settled over the land, when the excise shall be excised according to the aforesaid restrictions, and all taxes established in their respective proportions, over all persons and commodities, this will publish and clear the several conditions and values of men, as they are estated and entrusted in possessions, that so, if the ability of their minds and civility of their behaviour be answerable to their means, they may be suited accordingly with places of power and trust in the commonwealth.

36. Here it would be considered of.

1. What sum of payment to the state should enable a man with a voice or suffrage to choose a knight or burgess in parliament.
2. How much shall qualify him to serve in petty or grand juries.
3. What proportion may render him capable of the commision of the peace.
4. How much may make him eligible to be a member of parliament.

It being to be presumed that such who have best bottoms of their own are least subject to temptations of injustice, and it being equal that such as pay most to the state should be honoured from the state with most credit and employment.

37. As for necessitous persons, uninterested in the state, as obliged thereto by no considerable fortune (engaged rather to their creditors than their country) it hath ever been accounted dangerous to employ them in places of high trust. For whilst men of means are fixed to the freehold of the commonwealth, therein to run, or rather to stand the hazard thereof; indigent persons like light moveables may on any occasion of danger quickly convey themselves away, even at the windows of the state, if the door be not opened unto them.

38. True it is, some rare precedents may be found of men from mean estates, promoted by convenient degrees through several trials, unto places of power in most important councils, wherein they have acquitted their integrity even to admiration. But the generality of men's corruption treads in the footsteps of that statesman, who from a low fortune, commenced an honourable and great officer, *per saltum*, and being minded of the public good, he bound it with an oath, that in the first place he must and would provide for his own estate. Thus though security may be given by their friends, for the truth of such entrusted in money matters; no caution can be put in, no pledge or pawn devised to oblige men of great abilities, with keen, eager and active parts, to be faithful to the public, otherwise than what security ariseth from their own considerable estates in the commonwealth.

39. But here it will be objected that this will dishearten ingenious men from accomplishing themselves to serve the public, when disabled from preferment for want of means. It is the standard of inequality to measure wit by wealth, and the highest injustice to debar able parts from employment. How many men have shrunk their portion into their education, and contracted many acres of ground into their own accomplishment. And we read, Eccles. ix. 15, of a poor wise man who by his wisdom delivered a city. This man had been excluded all activity in the state, if riches only rendered men capable thereof.

40. But in answer hereunto, be it known that such order might, and ought to be taken, that flourishing parts should not wither, for want of maintenance, but be watered with the comfortable dew from the public treasury. For when the state shall discover one of extraordinary education and abilities (so that divine providence seems to design him for public employments, by enabling him above his equals) earth ought so to concur with heaven, as to choose and weigh out his merits, and to give him a suitable fortune to engage and uphold his integrity to the commonwealth. That so having breadth of means answerable

to his height of parts, he may appear in all dimensions, a person proportionable, to manage a public trust. This would turn men's lives into a race of virtue wherein the nimble and able-parted, spurred on with hope of reward, would lovingly strive to outstrip each other in worthy accomplishment.

41. I know that in this age, wherein men are deaf to any motion which sounds not to their own profit, it will be hard to persuade people freely to contribute to the maintenance of others. But let such seriously consider that their bounty in this kind is the best thrift, and what herein they give, they save to themselves. For suppose that such able spirits with weak estates, impatient to be imprisoned in a narrow fortune should by their own undertaking and projecting, (studying and watching the humours of times and princes) gain trust to themselves, and intrude or insinuate their diligence into places of high importance, hath not their corruption a plausible plea, or at leastwise a probable temptation, *viis et modis*, in the first place to provide for themselves? We read of King Edward the First, that he made the length of his own arm, the standard of the yard, to be used in measuring all over England; but such men of high honours and hungry fortunes too often make the grasp of their own hands, the measure of their moderation, clutching as much as their long fingers are able to contain, to the great prejudice of the public. This hopefully might be prevented, if such persons might sufficiently be armed against all force and fear of want, out of the public magazine, and proportionable means to support them provided fitting their eminent parts with places of trust, and furnishing their places with maintenance to support the dignity thereof without endangering them to descend to unworthy ways for their subsistence.

42. And here a worthy custom long discontinued deserves to be revived and put in practice. Some hundred years since the eminent and promising wits of either university were picked out, and sent over into foreign parts and there maintained many years on the public cost: whence these merchants for experience returning home with their gainful adventures were preferred according to the improvement of their time to offices in their own country. Sir Thomas Smith, that learned secretary to Queen Elizabeth, was the last of the brood which was hatched in this manner. Well it would be, if the like nursery were now new planted, and the stocks of young students grafted with foreign education, on the common charge. In a word, if where God gives talents, men would give pounds, encouraging hopeful abilities with helpful maintenance neither need the necessitous be raised to places of trust, nor poor men of great parts be excluded the line of preferment.

43. But this subject is of that ample latitude and grand desert, that the copiousness thereof cannot be confined to this small treatise, nor can it in so little a volume satisfy the particulars of all emergencies. I have read how one having bought a small map of the world, was afterwards offended therewith as false and defective, because the map only taking cognizance of great cities, did not, by name, express the private place of his habitation. I hope this treatise shall light on more judicious and charitable readers, who will not condemn our discourse (wherein only general heads are briefly summed up, and represented as I may say in landscape) if therein they find not an exact specification of all particulars in assessments or excise which their expectation promised unto themselves. Wherefore I must be forced to leave the full and exact prosecution thereof to men of greater power and parts, the subject being of such receipt as will entertain and employ their best abilities.

44. Lastly, when the vast consequence both moral and divine arising from these and the like notions of equity and justice, shall be happily infused into governing spirits, and dilated in practice and execution, by casting the greatest weight of necessary charges from men's real estates upon superfluities, it will so invite the blessing of Almighty God upon us, that it will promote and advance that heaven upon earth, and most happy spectacle which here can be presented to the divine majesty, most delighted, when looking from his throne, on earth his footstool, to behold the symmetry of a well governed commonwealth.

A Commemoration of the most prosperous and peaceable raigne of our gratious and deere soveraigne Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God of England, Fraunce, and Irelande, Queene, &c. now newly set foorth this xvii day of November, beyng the first day of the xviii yeere of her Majesties sayd raigne. By Edw. Hake, gent.[1]

Imprinted at London, by William How, for Richard Johnes, dwellynge without Newgate, over agaynst S. Sepulchers churche. [1575.]

The only two circumstances now known of the life of Edward Hake are these: that he was educated under a worthy schoolmaster, John Hopkins, the metrical associate of Sternhold, and afterwards became an attorney in the Common Pleas.[2] *His vocation as a law practitioner is repeatedly alluded to in the following dedication; and his school of poetical study is sufficiently set forth by the cadence of his verse. To James Bindley, esq. F. S. A. the editor is obliged for his unique copy of the present production. Hake was the author of the following pieces.*

'A touchestone for this time present, expressly declaring such ruines, enormities, and abuses, 'as trouble the church of God, and our Christian commonwealth at this daye, &c. Newly 'sett foorth by E. H. London, 1574.' 12mo. At the end of the 'Epistle dedicatorie to 'his knowne friende Mayster Edward Godfrey, merchant,' his name, Edward Hake, is subscribed at length. Annexed is 'A compendious fourme of education, to be diligently 'observed of all parentes and scholemasters in the trayning up of their children and schol-'lers in learning. Gathered into Englishe meeter by Edward Hake.' It is an epitome of a Latin tract De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis.[3]

'The imitation or following of Christ and the contemning of worldly vanities: at the first 'written by Thomas Kempise, a Dutchman, amended and polished by Sebastianus Castalia, 'an Italian, and Englished by E. H. [Edward Hake, says Herbert.] Lond. 1567.' 8vo. Dedicated to Thomas Duke of Norfolk.[4]

'The Touch-stone of Wittes,' &c. written by Edmund Hake, Lond. 1588, 12mo. Chiefly compiled, with slender additions, from William Webbe's 'Discourse of English Poetrie.'[5]

'Of gold's kingdom and this unhelping age, described in sundry poems, by E. Hake. 1604.' 4to.[6]

There were two other writers of the same surname about this time. Vide Ritson's Bibliographia Poetica, 231. *and Herbert's* Typograph. Antiq. 924.

In Biblioth. West. No. 1045, *occurs 'Hake's Newes out of Powles Churchyarde in eight 'Satires. b. l. imp.* 1579.' *This has not been seen by the editor, nor does he recollect any reference to it in contemporary authors.*

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[1] [Oldys's Catalogue of Harleian Pamphlets, No. 5.]
[2] [See Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, iii. 275.]
[3] [Ib.]
[4] [Herbert's Typograph. Antiq. 944.]
[5] [Warton's Hist. ut supra.]
[6] [Ritson's Bibliographia Poetica, 231.]

To the worshipfull, his verie loving cowsen M. Edwarde Eliotte, esquier, the Queene's Majesties Surveyour of all her Honours, manours, landes, and possessions, within her Highness county of Essex.

BEING entred (worshipfull and my beloved cowsen) into the meditacion of the rare government of our renowned Queene Elizabeth; so high and so aboundant matter of admiration offered it selfe to the view of mine understanding, that I felt my thoughts in such sorte surprised with the consideration thereof, that (for the solace of my minde) I yeelded myselfe a joyfull man to set downe in wrytyng some superficiall discourse upon the same; such as (at the least within mine owne soule) might stirre up and procure the prayses of God, and draw forwards a due thankfulnes unto his majesty, for the wonderfull benefites that largely, thereby, have accrewed to the whole body and to every particular member of this our Englishe nation. And loe! no sooner had I accomplished this motion of my minde, in such sorte as you may see it here set downe in printe; but another cogitacion began with importunitie to assayle me a-freshe; for, beholdinge (with the fervency of my harte) the truthe of that matter which I had already compyled; and seeing yet farther, so gloryous and so plentifull a treasourie remayning to be discovered, and that *in perpetuam rei memoriam;* I could not choose but so farre mislike with the slenderness of that which I had already done, as I wished (and not slightly) that it woulde please Almighty God, (to the eternall praises of his holy name,) to stirre up the zeale of some learned and well approved member, to give abroad for an universall view to all countries and nations of Christendome, in the heroicall garnishment of learnyng and truth, an exact history and declaration of the same. And in this cogitacion repairing unto your house, for the comforte of your friendly conference, it was the good will of God that I should disclose my affections that way unto you; as also that I should offer unto you the hearing of this matter, as it was at that time, thus unlearnedly penned; where findyng (by the like good favour of God) your learned and friendly neighbour, it was reckoned for God's divine providence that I should require him also to be a hearer of the same. Which learned man (as you know) upon the hearinge thereof, so largely dispensed with all those wants that by learning might, peradventure, have been supplyed in this booke, as that by favoryng and chiefly regarding the undoubted truth of the matter; he perswaded, that it would grow no blemysh at all unto my credit, neither in respect of the brevitie of the worke, nor yet for the plainesse and rudeness of the stile, if I should agree to the publishing of the same in prynt: wherunto, on the one parte, the admyrable works of God so exceedingly above humane reason shininge forth unto the world in the royal person and regiment[7] of our most loving and gracious Queene; and on the other parte, the silence of the learned sort (silence I may terme it, in respect of that vehemency which the woorthines of the cause requireth,) and the more than stoical and colde consideration of all our English people, who are for the greatest part so far from thanking, that they have no thinking of the same: these motions I say, together with the favorable censure[8] and encouragements of your said learned neighbor at one instant concurring, I was zealously bold to cast abroad into the view of the world this my small treatise, as it were to provoke the pen of some renowned Homer, and to prepare the hearts of all her Highnes' subjectes to a farther and deeper consideration of God's exceeding and superabundant mercies; that in the thankfulnes and sinceritie of their hartes they might (not for one day supersticiously, but for ever) kepe holy unto the Lord the commemoration of the most prosperous and peaceable raigne of the same our gracious and dere soveraign lady, queen Elizabeth.

And now, my worshipful cowsin, because the forces of these my private motions, have in this sort effected, that nedes they must breake forth, (I trust to the honor of the Highest!) and the same not meanely, by occasion of the encouragements which I received in your house: I cannot resist but (coactedly as it were by love) I must confer that dedica-

[7] [*Regime.* Fr. government, rule. See Minshew's Guide into Tongues.]
[8] [*Censure.* Fr. judgment, opinion.]

tion thereof (digested into this little boke as you see) upon you, before and above the rest of my beloved friends: assuring you that in the great joy of my hart, I have founde you so equall unto mine affections in the favouring of this cause, and in the comfort that you take by beholding the blissfull dayes of our sanctified Debora; as also so jealous for the registryng of her Highnesse' prayses, (or rather the prayses of our God) unto posteritie; that if I knew by what other meane more acceptably than thus by the first view of these my travayles (employed to the glory of God) I might manifest unto you the sincerity of mine affection; undoubtedly you should finde me so forward to accomplishe the same, that the deede itself, to the utmost limit of my poore degree, should be enough to make knowne what unfayned love I do beare you. And whereas the dedication of all other bookes, for the most part, doe seeme to crave countenance and defence at the hands of the patron; this my small booke, assure yourself, for the dignitie of the personage of whom it treateth, as also for the truth of the matter that it conteineth, shall be able enough (besides the defence of itselfe) to give both countenance and commendation to your person; being indeed the very man, amongst men of your place and calling, whose loyall heart and religious minde (besides the consideration of private duties of love) may challenge from me such affection, as best of all becometh a Christian lover to his friend so well approved. And though the book be but little, yet the personage of whom it treateth is great; and so great, as that the book may sooner be countenanced with the royaltie of her highnes' name, than be able (by the thowsande parte) to show foorth the number of her princely vertues; much lesse of the large benefites that infinitely arise unto our common wealth of England and to every member of the same, by the goodnesse of her rarest government: some particuler partes whereof are (as before is declared) in these quaires,[9] though brieflye, yet truely discoursed.

But nowe, that you may some way answere the name of a patron of this my booke, although the matter of the same hath defence sufficient in itself, and in the trueth thereof is able enough to stand against the faces of all the enemies of truth; yet because there is a sorte of people which (I feare me) more of envy than of any true zeale or care of my well doynge, as havynge an awstere regard unto my vocation, which in deede resteth in the study, or rather in a meane place of practise, of the common lawes of this realme; will reckon it a matter more than ordinary, that I shoulde after this sorte so transcende the limits of my sayd vocation, as spendynge my time (or, at the least, some parte of the same) in thynges by semblaunce so far discrepaunte from my profession. Let my defense be so made, I beseech you, that it may in equall sort be considered (or at the least wise by you enforced) not only how much and how largely love and zeale are able to worke and bryng to passe, in men otherwhyles conversant in the consideration of thynges high and precious, but also how seemely a thyng it is, and how well agreeable with every vocation, to advaunce and set foorth the high prayses of vertue and vertuous personages, as also to batter and beate downe the enforcements of vyce and vicious monsters.

And for my selfe, I have boldly to affirme unto all such discontented mindes (especially unto those that have the common lawes for their profession) that the matter of this my little booke is not so voyd of excuse, but that by view of the substaunce and full scope thereof, it may yeelde forth a stronge and rightfull defense agaynst these nice and over curious reprovers. For, as it concerneth the special prayse of God, in the commemoration of the Queenes majesties most prosperous and peaceable government; so it is not unknowne, that touching the regiment of princes, the nature of lawes, the office of counsaylers, and the authoritie of judges, the volumes of our lawes are not so barren, but that they may and do minister matter abundantly to the professors and students of the same, whereby to discern and to deem indifferently of them all. For whether we would consider the good and godly government of a prince by often pardoning of offences in mercy, or by sharply punishing of offenders in justice, by planting of good and wholsome lawes, or by repealing of evill and unnecessary statutes: not only Bracton, but also the worthy and worship-

[9] [Quires. See Jamieson's Scotish Dict. *in voc.* Quair.]

ful knight master Fortescue, in sundry places of his little commentary, very copiously give foorth matter for the furthering of studious wittes in the consideration thereof. And no lesse may be gathered, touching a difference and sound censure of honourable counsaylers: but especially of judges and of lawes. Whereupon I trust I may infer, that to praise and extoll the admirable government of our renowned soveraigne, or to commende the soundness of her lawes, or to advaunce and set forth the wonderfull vertues of her Highnes' counsaylers, or to acknowledge the rare learning and holyness of her reverend judges; so far forth as they be matters, though but superficially, to be discerned and decyphred by the books of our lawes; so far they are not to be thought discrepant or impertinent, for a student of the lawes to treat or to write of.

But wherefore should I thus carefully seeke to defend that which I suppose needeth no reprehension? Why should I not rather challenge that liberty, that is granted to every vocation of learnynge; yea, to the lawyer himself; namely to intermingle with paynful travayles of the minde the pleasures of some exercise more plausible and mild: especially where the same may be practised to the glory of God, and to the profit of our brethren; as I trust this is, or at the leastwise was intended.

Well, if all this notwithstanding, these curious carpers will never be satisfied; let them at their pleasures blow abroad what they list, and holde on in their mislikings, untill (in the vanytie of their purposes and the rage of their envy) they shall at the length be glutted with the fulnesse of rancoure and uncivill reproaches. You, finally, I doubt not, will take this gifte as I meane it, and deeme of it as a thing not unnecessarily sent abroade at this instant. God graunt unto it such effect in the harts of all those unto whom it specially appertaineth, that they (or rather every English soule) may say in the fervency of a sownde faith, *Domine! quid ego retribuam tibi, pro omnibus quæ tribuisti mihi?* 'What reward 'shall I give unto thee, O Lord! for all the benefittes that thou hast done unto me?'[10] In which prayer I think it convenient here to make an ende.

At Barnards inne, this joyfull eve of our 17 day of November 1575, with his haunde, whose hart loveth this instant day, and you.

EDWARD HAKE.

The authour's minde upon the matter of this his little booke.

A publique peace our high Jehove hath wrought,
A private warre with hate tweene man and man,
Doth Sathan breede: good state, but life right nought.
Alas! alas! what wretches are we than?
A vineyard fenc'd, well fenced from decay;
A state preserv'd, but people frowarde ay:
Ah! most unkinde, that never will obay.

'Thorowe me doe Kings raigne; thorowe me counsailours make just lawes; thorowe me do Princes 'beare rule, and all the judges of the earth execute judgement.' Prov. viii. 15. 16.

'Because of sinne, the land doth oft chaunge her prince: but through men of understandinge and 'wisedome a realme endureth long.' Prov. xxviii. 2.

'Where the prince is without understandinge, there is great oppression and wronge: but if he be 'such a one as hateth covetousness, he shall longe raigne.' Prov. xxviii. 16.

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[10] Psalm cvi. 12.

A commemoration of the most prosperous and peacable raigne of our gratious and deere soveraigne Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Queene, &c.

JEHOVAH! with our joyned hands
and hartes replete with joye,
We prayse thee for our noble Queene,
the shield of our annoye![11]
Not we, not we, oh greate Jehove!
not we, but thy right hande
Hath wrought this calme and quiet state,
in this our Englishe lande.
Great Bulles of Basan roare abroad,
great curse from Balac comes;
Each foreyn ear is fill'd with fight,
and sownde of fearfull drums.
Woe, woe, waymenting woes and fear
through foreign soyle doth range,
No coast so cleare where face of war
ne makes the cruell change.
Blood, blood is shed, in monstrous wise,
each forein state doth jarre;
And open murthers, wanting law,
in forein countries are.
Fowle fraude, and faithlesse fawning wordes
in forein coastes do dwell,
High seates of sway, in forein soyles,
of fraude and falsehood smell.
Men, beastes, and fieldes, lawes, love, and truth,
there fall from former states;
Each thing, each sexe, uncertaine standes,
and honest order hates.
No course kept right, no seasons knowne,
nought there in safety lies;
Each good grow'th ill, each ill grow'th worse,
each worse to worst doth rise.
There soyles lie sackt, there mountains quake,
there loftie hilles downe sway;
There pleasant plots yield filthy weede,
where fragrant odoures lay.
The plowed fields are there layde waste,
there fertile grounds lye bar'd;
Each meadow there lieth cleane defaste,
no plotte of pleasure spar'd.
No lofty pallace stands upright,
no place where vertue dwelt,
Stand'th there so sownde, which of the dint
of battaile hath not felt.
No seate in safety, nothing helps,
no due regarde prevailes,
No right of cause there frees from force,
no sexe of sorrow fayles.

[11] ['Protection *from* annoy,' is what the poet seems desirous to convey.]

Each noble face ly'th there forlorne,
  each mighty head brought lowe,
Each valeaunt visage sprente with bloud,
  there through the streats they throw.
No law relieves, no justice helpes,
  no truth from daunger frees ;
None there that lives in godly feare
  true hope of safetie sees.
The aged man there droop'th in woe,
  the younge and lustie route
Are there sent forth, to leade their life
  in pyllage round aboute.
The armed knights, with treasons trapt,
  the sages of the land,
In suspense lodge to live or die ;
  thus each one's case doth stand.
There wronged wights with silence smart,
  and there th' opprest want ayde ;
There lawes wherby the just should live,
  do make the just afrayde.
There dwelles no sounde of sacred songes
  that sweetely sende forth health ;
But there both dole and double plaints,
  waymenting sorowes telth.[12]
No fountaine there stands free from filth,
  no christall spring runnes cleare ;
In steede of streaming flouds of life,
  deepe dampes of death are there.
And whilst these woes do wander thus,
  as forein coastes have tride,
Thine English people, Lord, dwell safe ;
  with them doth peace abide.
With them doth live a loving Queene,
  who like a mother raignes,
And, like a chosen sacred impe,[13]
  immortall glory gaines.
Her handes shee holdes not foorth to warre,
  her heart doth rest in peace ;
Shee joyes to see her people's wealth,
  and wayles their harmes increase.
Thy gospell's sownde shee sendes abroade,
  shee stoppes no wholsome spring,
But Popish puddles dammes shee up,
  which noysome humours bring.
A prince of price, most worthy prayse,
  for thee and in thy name,
Of all that ever scepter bare,
  of all that ever came
From Englishe loynes to royall seate ;
  I say none worthy more

[12] [Tilth is tillage ; and the meaning seems to be, that double complainings were employed to lament the increase of sorrow.]

[13] [So Shakespeare terms K. Henry V. an 'impe of fame.']

Amongst the race of English kings,
that ever scepter bore.
I would conteine my fervent Muse,
ah gem! thy name denyes:
My prayse nor all the poets' pennes
thy merit can suffise.
And highest kinge that welkin weeldst,
if hence thy glory come,
That of a virgin-queene, whom thou
hast set in sacred Rome.
Thy people's peace should be sustainde,
thy gospell should be spred;
Why should my burning Muse lye still?
why should my penne lye dead?
Is hand of fleshe her firmest force;
is frowning face her sway?
Doth subtile drifts drawe forth her peace,
or vaunting glory? Nay.—
Of fleshe the feeblest sexe by kinde,
of face not Juno's feere;
But mylde Susanna in her lookes,
and Hester in her cheere.[14]
The worke is thine; 'tis thine Jehove!
no jot begonne by man;
Thou framd'st her onely for thy praise,
by thee her dayes began.
All onely thou, Jehova! thou
hast wrought her for thy praise,
All onely thou hast made her deedes
a wonder to our daies.
From thee, therfore, what so shee ha
from thee her vertues came;
And her we praise as gifte of thine,
and glory to thy name.
So planted is her sovereigne seate,
so fixed is her throne,
That thick and threefold wronged wights
there laye abroade their mone.
Truth, mercy, peace, and love possesse
her chayre of royall state,
No subject-soule, complaining griefe,
goes helplesse from her gate.
And what shee rules, by love shee rules,
no force where love may winne:
First, friendly warnings sendes shee forth,
eare smarting lawes beginne.
Her subjects' bloud she seekes to save,
as apple of her eye,
They live and shall, save such as law
and justice bids to dye.
They live and joye, her foes and all,
full many kept from death;

[14] [This motley mixture of personal adulation, from sacred and profane history, was very common in the age of Elizabeth, when poetic judgment and taste were only in their nonage. See Nichols' Progresses, *passim*.]

No ease to her, but griefe of minde
is losse of subjects breath.
Her subjects goodes shee never seekes,
none lyves whom shee hath spoyl'd;
Her very foes are free from force,
no foe with force is foyl'd.
Yea, foes and all they sow and reape,
they plant and eate the fruit,
They build and buye, no losse they take,
unlesse by lawfull suite,
Each wight within her royall realme
possesseth as his owne
Such substaunce as by lotte he hath,
and unto him is growne.
With quiet course, in equall sorte,
each man in his degree
Draw'th forth his dayes, and spend'th his time
full orderly to see.
Wrong resteth no man's right by might,
where princes' ayde is crav'd;
The poore with riche contend a like,
by law their rights be sav'd.
No law lockt up, no justice stopt,
no one through her takes wrong;
Oh, noble prince! and hast thou livde
a vertuous queene so longe?
And hath thy name, Elizabeth,
so many years sustain'd
The cause of trueth, and runne that race
that vertue hath ordain'd?
Now blessed be those dayes of thine,
thrise blessed be our God,
By whom our queene Elizabeth
those vertuous steppes hath trod!
Not force of fleshe hath held her up,
not sharp devise of man,
Not crafte, not skill, not worldly shifte,
her blessed state began.
Before her raigne, bereft of peace,
bereft of outwarde joy,
Pursued to death by Romishe beastes,
still seeking her annoy;
Whose foamy frothy murthrous jawes,
with stomacks stuft with guile,
Each day devis'd her grace's death
and sacred state to foyle:
Whom high Jehove preserved hath,
in spite of Sathan's rage,
To live a queen in blessed peace,
to lyve an happy age.
Oh, graunt her God! an hart to prayse
and magnifie thy name;
And as thou hast preserv'd her life;
so still preserve the same.

Let due remembraunce never slippe
from forth her royall brest;
But let her alwayes beare in minde
how thou hast wrought her rest.
Full seventeene yeares this day,[15] her grace
hath raignde with us a queene;
No treason's force hath yet prevail'd,
that ever could be seene.
No drift, devise, no devill's deede,
no falshood fetcht from hell,
Hath yet ta'ne place; in safetie yet
her noble grace doth dwell.
Thyne hand, Jehove! hath found them out;
thine owne right hand hath broughte
Each darke devise to open view,
and treason's guile to nought.
Thine hand hath held her kingdome fast,
thine owne right hand hath stayd
The running rage of rancour bent,
and made her foes afrayde.
Of wisdome hast thou lent her store,
to guide thy folke aright:
What giftes of grace have princes more
obtayned in thy sight?
Grave counsaile, guiding all by truth,
thou, Lorde! with her hast plaste,
Whose careful workes, for common wealth,
can never be defaste.
Whose mindes to rigour they ne bende,
no hartes they have to harme;
No woe they worke to any wight,
to none they cry alarme.
No lawe they wrest to worke their wills,
no sleightes they doe impose,
No burthen on her subjects backs
obtruded is by those.
They envy not her people's good,
no trappes they laye to traine;
Nor subtile baytes, by pinching lawes,
at any time ordeyne.
Their prince's wrath they whet not on,
no wayte they lay for blood;
Oh, noble wightes! and have you liv'd
to worke your country's good?
Have all your foes fownd endlesse bale,
that sought your honor's spoyle?
And stande you yet in countrey's sight,
to seeke fowle treason's foyle?
With teares we hold our hands to Heaven,
and from our hartes we crie—
Live, live, you noble counsaillers,
live, live, and never dye!

[15] 17 Novemb. an. 18 Elizabeth, R.

Let prince's love remaine on you,
and love you her againe;
So shall no treason's drifte disjoynte
our English peace in twaine.
So shall you gaine a guerdon just,
for your so noble deedes;
And so shall we, poore subjecte-sortes,
still sticke to you at needes.
Lorde! blessed be thy name alwayes,
thrice blessed be thy name,
That guid'st to good their grave attempts,
dyrecting still the same.
These giftes for thine we do proclame,
even all these giftes for thine.
A gratious queene, with counsayle grave
that to thy will encline:
A noble race of royall wittes,
a senate surely knitt,
A prudent sort of polisht heads,
who never haplesse yet
Attempted ought, that might redownd
to wealth of Englishe soyle;
Who never yet emprised ought
wherin they took the foyle.
By thee we still enjoy her grace,
by thee, this counsayle so;
By thee the same doe plant good lawes
all vice to overthrow.
And for those lawes such judges set
as justice well maintayne,
Such judges some, as doubtlesse yet
no former times could gayne:
Not moody sorte of wandring heades,
not hearts corrupt with guyle,
Not wrangling wittes, not bribinge handes,
our judgement seates defile:
But seemely sortes of sacred heads,
but sages sownd and grave,
But goodly view of learned wittes
our judgement-places have.
Where, looke what law and justice will,
that judges do pronounce;
Where, looke what law and justice nill,[16]
that judges do renounce.
Where hee, my lorde, amongs the rest
whose handes regard no meede;
Whose heart dyes no deceyte at all,
with honour doth proceede,
As others eke, in soundest sort
to joyne together aye,
With mercy, truth; with justice, peace;
in firme and perfect staye.

[16] [Ne will: will not.]

Ah, hawtie hall, with honours deckt,
ah, roofes of royall viewe,
Ah, seates possest with justice' self,
with peace and judgments trewe.
Sith laude, sith thankes, sith endlesse praise.
be due unto thy name;
Sweet Lord! sweet Christ! for these thy gifts
we magnifie the same.
Lord blesse, therfore, these benefittes:
Lord, give them large increase:
Lord, let thy mercies still endure;
Lord, let them never cease.
Lord, blesse our queen; Lord, prosper her;
Lord, leade her with thine hand:
Lord, teach her aye thy will to know
and worde to understand.
Lord, graunt that shee in harte maye love
thy lawe and thy decree,
That shee may knowe howe all these giftes
proceede, good Lord! from thee.
And for thy works of wonder done
let her extoll thy praise:
Let her in truth and holy life
continue all her dayes.
Let, Lord! her grace's eyes so pearce
into thy churches state;
That she, with judgement sound and pure,
remoove from thence debate.
And let her, Lorde! so love to heare
thy godly preachers' voyce:
That shee rejecte not what they teache,
but take the best in choyce.
Let pompous state be unto her
no stoppe of due regarde:
Ne let the faults of faythlesse mates
at any time be sparde.
Let all her royall howsholde so
reformed be from sinne;
That they to all the worlde may show
what vertue is therein:
That shee may bring a lasting praise
and glory to thy name;
That life and doctrine fownde alike,
her foes may suffer shame.
Lorde! give her judgement to discerne,
and that with counsayle grave
Shee may finde out what sownde redresse
our common wealth should have.
To cut off crafte from wholsome lawes,
and chiefly to supplant,
From place of rule and justice, such
as sownde possession want:
Whose handes how hurtfull they shall be
in times of troublous state,

Our sondry sortes of troublous heades
expressed have of late.
Lorde, graunt therefore that lawes be had
to binde each place to choose
To office, such as love thy worde,
and others to refuse.
That whensoever forein driftes,
or home devise shall rise;
Such men of trust prepared so,
may treason's guile surprise.
Lorde! finally with humbled mindes
and sowles we thee desire,
Unite both prince and people's hearts,
with love and zeale entire:
That th'one with upright course may rule,
the other so obaye,
As prince may be her people's joye,
and people prince's staye.
Lorde graunt, that none within this lande,
no one that beareth breath,
Refuse in harte to crie—'God save
our Queene Elizabeth!' *Amen.*

The Authour, most humblie, to all the Queene's Highnes most honourable Counsaylers.

Though poets' pennes, in these our later dayes,
In works of waite[16] gaine credit neare a deale,
Because, that some, seduced many wayes,
Their fond affectes and fancies do reveale,
In ryming frames, wherein they do conceale
No want of wit, nor learnynge due regarde,
As in their bookes full many have declarde.

Yet hope I must, that truth may take no harme
Where she is cloath'd with cloake of simple ryme,
Devoyd of dark devise and poet's charme,
Which learned wits full rifely in our time
Have set to view, as sootest[17] hearbes in prime;
Although the blunt and bitter-biting braine
Each rymed truth doth blot with black disdayne,

You, noble wights, that win immortall fame
By guiding well our English commonwealth,
To you I wryte, as one that loves the same,
And joyes in heart to see your honours health:
Rejecte him not that riming fancies tel'th,
But beare him out, where he deserves no blame,
And hear such terms as he in truth shall name.

Your godly, grave, and provident foresights,
These passed times and blissfull dayes forespent,
Have so prefer'd in peace unto your mights,

[16] [Weight.] [17] [Sweetest.]

That calmer dayes of yore were never lent:
Your God, therfore, that so your hearts hath bent,
Extoll with praise and watch to worke his will,
Seek treason's foyle, and love your countrey still.

Beware of forreign fraude, and false pretensed love,
Accept good will, but secreat woorks prevent;
So joy in league, that close compacts you prove,
So live in peace, as you to warre were bent:
Yeeld trust, but try for feare ye do repent:
Geve heede to peace, but live not unpreparde,
The strongest state the longest time is sparde.

And as you watch, each one in your degree,
T'establish peace, and plant right wholsome lawes,
So, noble wightes, as you true noble be,
Keepe men opprest from rage of ramping pawes.
Pluck, pluck the spoyle from foorth devouring jawes,
And let not crews of cruell wasting wights
Thus prank in pride with spoile of poore men's rights.

To tax the trades that wickedness findes out,
To touch the lives that lewdnesse hath begonne,
To blase the pride that runnes the realme throughout,
To preach the spoyles that private gaine hath wonne,
To shew the shiftes that poore men have undone,
O noble wightes! and honourable all;
No pen of mine hath force or ever shall.

Men crave, you graunt; men pray, you pardon still;
Men swear, you trust; men crouche, you thinke them milde:
Ah, out alas! herein is errour still,
Herein your godly meanings are beguilde;
Herein the wasteful crews and lusty heads wax wilde;
Herein the trades that wickednesse doth breed,
On common-welth with private paunch do feed.

Herein the pompe of pride, withouten end,
Hath put itself in prease[18], and vaunting spreddes,
With daring face, where none should dare offend;
No Cæsar's looke nor prince's eye it dreddes:
In frank outrage, alas! it trampling treddes.
Herein the rowts of cutting roysters grow,
And banks of peace with braules do overflow.

Herein the bloody papists do conspire,
And begging broodes of bankrupts in their kind
Do take the course to set our peace on fire,
By fawning force a filthy fetch to finde,
A few to raise with riches ill assign'd;
Though thousands thence do reap their endlesse neede,
Whence hate for love in consequence doth breede,

[18] [*Prest*, Fr. readiness: or, perhaps, in crowds of insurrection.]

Herein, to fine[20], the fewest sortes do right,
Herein, the lawes that godlyness have fixt,
Herein, the peace appearing in our sight,
By private heades with wickedness are mixt;
And this our peace hath dangers drawne betwixt.
Herein, therefore, to finde redresse with speede
Shall make your names 'true noble' still indeede!

In most humble wise,
EDWARD HAKE.

¶ Gentle reader, having this prayer following imparted unto mee by a learned and worshipfull gentleman, very necessary to be run unto in the end of our rejoysing, I have (according to the dutie of godlyness) here published the same, as the fittest and seemliest conclusion to be had in this my lyttle booke.

A Meditation wherein the godly English giveth thankes to God for the Queene's Majesties prosperous government hitherto, and prayeth for the continuance therof to God's glory.

Amongst other thy benefits great and innumerable, (heavenly Father, our most mercifull Lord and God,) by thee of thy exceeding goodnesse bestowed upon the children of men, the servants of thy household, dispersed upon the face of the earth; it hath pleased thee that we, thy people of England, living in these dayes, should in aboundance beyond the measure of the graces of our brethren and the prosperous course of our fathers, behold and perceive thine inestimable goodwill, in the amiableness of thy countenance shininge upon us, to whom thou hast geven thy chosen handmayden Elizabeth, for soveraigne lady and governour. For what so ever is the glory of thy house (O Lorde) for us, with the issue of the slime of the earth, to stand and looke up to heaven, made into vessels after thine image that were not; to be redeemed and born a new after the seconde Adam that perisheth not, in the sprinkling of the bloud of Christ and sanctification of the Spirit, that were utterly lost, to stand fast in thy handes, sealed according to thine eternall love, and written in the booke of life, that dayly runne headlong to our owne destruction. As the sence therof rejoiseth the hartes of all those whom thou hast knit into this felowship of the saintes, and called into the blessed hope of the eternall kingdome; so againe, how ungrateful should we be, to whom thou hast dealt these benefittes from thy divine majestie, by the person raised up for thine instrument thereof toward us, if we should not in speciall sorte shew us thankfull unto thee therefore? And if not to live tearing and eating one the other, like the giants in the old world, and every man to do what seemeth him best in his own eyes, as when there was no judge in Israel; if that princes raigne and governors give judgement, it is thy gift; and then in the worst disposition of their thoughts for the sinnes of the people, they are redoubted: thou, O Lord! hast appoynted them, they are sacred: thou, O Lorde! hast annoynted them, they are feared: thou chaungest their hearts like the streames of waters, they are honoured: thine owne image and likeness, in guiding angels and all creatures, is pregnant, and cannot devayle in them, bearinge rule in earth over the children of men: what praise is due unto thee from those unto whome thou leavest not an anarchy and headlesse dissolution, as to the Cannibals, a monstrous and mishapen government, and flaminge with fire, and streaming with bloud, and smoking with mist and darknesse of error and ignoraunce, as to the Antichrists[21] greased in the browe with the mark of the image of the great beast and whoore of Babilon; not a waste and barbarous perpetuall heathen contricion, as unto the Tartarian hoords of

[20] [To finish or conclude.]

[21] [i. e. The Romish Church: to whom it has not been uncommon with protestant writers to apply the several marks and signatures of Antichrist enumerated in the Apocalypse.]

cursed Cham ;[22] unto the rusty and wasted with misery, the inhabitants of Meshcech ; or to the turbulent and ravenous swarmes and hosts of Tubal-Gog, or such like as those ; but, contrarywise, whom thou leadest like a flocke of sheep, by the hands of Moyses and Aaron, and hast chosen David thy servaunt, whom thou hast loved, to feede as the people of thine owne inheritaunce, giving unto them for war, peace; for incivilytie, socyetie; for ignoraunce, knowledge; for supersticion, religion; for errour, truth ; for hunger, plenty ; for unprovidency, polycy ; dissonancy, harmony ; for myserie, felycitie ; and making them to dwell in safetie, as under the wings of thy defence and shadow of thy protection. Now such hath been thy mercie towards us, that no tongue is able to express, in geving (in thy gracious pleasure, and thine unrecountable largesse and liberalitie) thy select servant Elizabeth, queene and supreme governess to us, of the leige nations and peoples of her obeysaunce and regiment: that, as by a star, the light and influence over thinges beneath, from thee the first cause and fowntaine of brightnesse, not to be attayned unto: and as by a cleere river and plentifull brooke, the course of the waters from thee, that everlasting head-spring ; even so, the shining beauties and flowing streams of all those thy mercies and good giftes, hath been and are (sithence[23] the dayes of her happy and gracious government) from thee convaied and devolved unto us. And we, that before were no people ; not so much in regard of the state in which we haled[24], when we were savadge as woodmen, cruell as men-devourers, terrible as spirits, brutishe as beastes, in the old age, at the first calling home of our grand auncestors to human civility ; but in these dayes, in fewe yeares degenerate from the true knowledge of Thee and thy son Jesus Christ, unto the consuming nakedness of idolatry and playing inordinate before the golden-calfe of our own making, and our priestes ; now the eighteenth sun most happily environeth in the firmament, sithence by the meanes of a poore vessel of the weaker sex, and a silly mayden ; thou, performing the gloryous delyverance of thy people out of the thraldome and slavery of Pharaoh and Egypt, dyddest annoynt the king's daughter with an holy oyle, setting a crown of pure golde upon her head, and investing her with the purple and scepter and regal diadem of this realme. Sithence which time, O Father ! we owe to Thee and to her (our God and our Moyses) the sight of this light, the use of this ayre, the ease of our hartes, the peace of our consciences, and the whole worke of our welfare. By her, inspired by Thee, spreading her beames at her appearing, the bloudy launces and claunching murreans[25] and redoubling shields have been shattered asunder in shivers, and bated and foyled into mattokes and spades; the flames of our furies quenched and put out, and the coole of grace flowed over the realme ; the lion reconciled with the lamb, the wild asse set to be pastured with the seely kid, the abhomination of desolation removed from the holy temple, and the Son of man exalted and lift up on high in his own kingdom, for all that were stung by the fiery serpent to looke upon and be saved. In admirable lenitie, Babylon hath put on Sion ; Egypt is become our owne ; Rahab, the harlot, denizoned in Jerusalem ; we become of the wilder olyves the true garden plants ; of Ismaell, Israell; of miscreant, Christian; of Paynim, protesting and professing ; of Antichristian Romanest, heathen idolaters, faithfull evangelicall sincerely believing worshippers of Thee in spirit and veritie, accordynge to thy holy worde. Neither hath cost been spared, nor occasion foreslow'd,[26] nor time over passed, nor travail intermitted, to raise that [which] was fallen, to win that was witholden, to call that was strayed, to heale that was wurried, to finde that was lost, to restore that was ruined, to repaire that was decayed, to make good and enhable that was abandoned. Preachers have been sent forth plenteously, lawes have been executed mercyfully, orders have been set downe politickly, dangers have been declined discreetly, tumultes have been appeased victoriously, the whole spacious dominions of both isles and the adjacent lands governed triumphantly. So as it is harde to finde the man that more orderly hath managed the charge of any one

[22] [Cham or Kam is the title given to the sovereign princes of Tartary, in like manner as Pharaoh was applied to those of Egypt.] [23] [Since.] [24] [Held ?]
[25] [Or murrion, a steel head-piece, or casque.] [26] [Qu. foreshow'd ?]

houshold; than the daughter of thy house, with her virginall hands, hath wielded the weighty scepter of sundry and mighty populous nations. In her time hath been seen the golden yeares of the reigne of her father David,[27] and the peacefull kingdom of Salomon to have been advanced: The earth not to have denied her fruitfuluess, the sea her encrease, the clowdes their drops, the heavens their fayrenesse, the sun his warmth, the yeare her goodnesse. But the valleys stand thick with corne, the wildernesse crowned with gladnesse, the furrowes watred, the mountaines laugh and sing, the folds full of sheepe, our sons and daughters grow up like to the polished corners of the temple, our young men see visions, and our olde men prophecy: Hierusalem her light shining unto her, and the glory of the Lord risen upon her: the queen bringing her honor unto the city of David, and the nations walkinge in the light thereof. Great is the honour that thou hast heaped upon us, and honourable in forreine regions is the work that thou hast wrought by thy chosen: Yea, and so much the more hath the brightness of this beauty been poured abroad, that whiles Egypt round about hath bene darkened, (even the whole world in a manner besides us, whom thou hast gathered into pastures of this Goshen,) and the thicke mists of errour hath blinded the eyes of the earth; the cloudy pillar hath not departed from us by the day, nor the fiery flame by night. Whiles other lands round about have warred to the destruction of one another, our Moyses hath guided us in peace: whiles other nations like Egypt, round about, hath been plagued by the destroyer, (from the first-born sitting upon the prince's throne unto the slave grinding at the handmill,) our Moyses hath not diminished of her flocke: whiles the firme landes have bene overwhelmed by the rage of the seas and waters, our island having dwelt in peace, in peace hath sent her ships into Opher for golde, and prepared her navy against the daunger of the enemie. Whiles Athalia hath murdered her owne blood, our Joas hath learned the lawe of the Lord of Jehoida. Whiles Achaz consecrateth his own son in the fier, and Samaria eateth her own children on the walls; our Eliza directeth the children of the prophets in their offices. While Jezabel setteth up Baal, and embreweth Achab with the blood of the prophets and of Naboth; our Elias gathereth the people of God to mouut Carmell, to beholde the wonder of the fire of God lightning from heaven upon the sacrifices, and replenishing the hearts with joy, and tongues with giftes of languages.

This is then so worthy an instrument of thy goodnesse, and expresse image of thy majestie, and the ample matter of this dayes celebrity: and now what doth thy people desire at thine handes, but that first, O Lorde! thou geve us thankfull heartes, and make us all the dayes of our lives miudfull of this thy fatherly and gracious bountifulness. Then as presently the queene's highnes heth gloriously atchieved the travaill of full seventeene yeeres, and now the annuall celebrity of our voluntary sacrifioe of praise and thanksgiving therefore returneth; so it may by thy benefit full often returne, and not once or twise, but yeare by yeare, and yeare heaped upon yeare, we and our offspring may behold this felicity, untill we and she, satisfied in aboundance, the time draw alonge which thou hast appointed for the veling[28] of her crowne at the feete of thy son Jesus; and the course of this earthly pilgrimage over run, we and she, at our determined seasons, be taken to raign in the everlasting kingdome of thy glory.

Againe, where much is the mischief of man, great and enormous the rage of Sathan, suttle the practises of Antichrist, evill our desertes, lamentable the state of things, whiles open colouring hideth privie conspiring, poysoned lippes give sugered words, the breath of cocatrices, the embrasings of scorpions, the roringe of bulls, the raging of Rabsake,[29] the sword of Herod, the destruction of Abaddon, hath bene seen in our streets, hath been harde on our walls, hath multiplyed before the gates of our cities, that thou destroy us

[27] [Perhaps so titled, from a Sermon of Edward Dearing, preached before the Queen in 1569; the text of which was taken from Psalm 70, 'He chose David his servant,' &c.]

[28] [*Forsan* Vailing? *avaler le bonet.* French.]

[29] [Rabshakeh: the cupbearer of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, by whom he was sent with an imperious message to King Hezekiah.]

not in the midst of thy workes of thy mercy: to leave us headlesse, and make us a scorne and proverbe to the enemy; but rather to beholde the number of the faithful subjects, in the dreade of their souls, and just jealosy of their common interest, bowing the knees of their hearts, for the long safetie of Queene Elizabeth's sacred princely person; rather than in thy just fury, for avenging of our sins, to suffer the devill with the wicked to prevaile, in the unjust zealousnesse of their preposterous vows, gracelesly swearing the death of thy saints and thine anointed.

Lastly, that what remaineth of the happy building of thy church, by the hands of thy deare daughter, thou plentifully powre[30] of thy principall spirit upon her, and ravishe her heart with the flame of the love of thee and thy house; with Moyses to lead and with Josue to bring into the land of promise, with Debora to fight thy battaile, and with Jahel to knock Sisera of Rome, in the temples of his usurped headship, to his utter destruction; with David to bring home the ark, and with Salomon to finish and consecrate to eternity thy temple amongst thy people: on the earth, for the time, to give largely her foster milk to Hierusalem: in heaven, at the time, in the purenesse of her virginity to be presented to the Lamb, and sing the song of her weddinge day with thy angels and thy saintes, to the praise of thy glorious majesty, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, in one eternall deitie for ever and ever, Amen.

[30] [Pour.]

A compendious or briefe Examination of Certayne ordinary Complaints, of divers of our Country men, in these our Dayes: which although they are in some part unjust and frivolous, yet are they all, by way of Dialogues, throughly debated and discussed. By W. S. Gentleman[1].

Imprinted at London in Fleatstreate, neere unto Saincte Dunstone's Church, by Thomas Marshe. 1581. *Cum privilegio.*

[Quarto, containing One hundred and Sixteen Pages.]

" *This extraordinary piece was reprinted in* 1751, 8*vo. under the name of William Shakspeare, Gentleman; and dedicated, by the modern editors, to the late king (Geo. II.) as* ' *a* ' *treatise composed by the most extensive and fertile genius that ever any age or nation* ' *produced.*'

" *Here we join issue with the writers of that excellent though very unequal work, the* Biographia Britannica: ' *If (say they) this piece could be written by our poet, it would* ' *be absolutely decisive in the dispute about his learning; for many quotations appear in* ' *it from the Greek and Latin classics.*'

" *The concurring circumstance of the* name *and the* ' misdemeanour' *(noticed in the author's dedication to Queen Eliz.) which is supposed to be the old story of deer-stealing,*

[1] [Vide Oldys's Catalogue of Harleian Pamphlets, No. 266.]

seem fairly to challenge our poet for the author: but they hesitate.—His claim may appear to be confuted by the date 1581, *when Shakespeare was only* seventeen, *and the* long *experience which the writer talks of.—But I will not keep you in suspense: the book was* not *written by Shakspeare.*

" *Strype, in his Annals, calls the author* ' some *learned man,' and this gave me the first suspicion. I knew very well, that honest John (to use the language of Sir Thomas Bodley) did not* ' *waste his time with such baggage-books as plays and poems;' yet I must suppose he had heard of the name of Shakspeare. After a while, I met with the original edition. Here, in the title-page, and at the end of the dedication, appear only the initials, W. S. Gent. and presently I was informed by Anthony Wood,*[2] *that the book in question was written, not by William Shakspeare, but by William Stafford, Gentleman: which at once accounted for the* ' *misdemeanour' in the dedication. For Stafford had been concerned at that time, and was indeed afterward, (as Camden and the other annalists inform us), with some of the conspirators against Elizabeth; which he properly calls his* ' *unduetifull' behaviour.*" *Farmer's* Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare.

Sir F. M. Eden, who has more than once quoted this piece, remarks that several important branches of political science, particularly the subject of enclosures, are ably discussed in it. In imposing restrictions on the exportation of wool, the legislature (he adds) seem to have adopted the principles of the writer. See his elaborate History of the English Poor, I. 89, 109, 115, 119. *Lond.* 1797. 4to.

To the most vertuous and learned Lady, my most deare and Soveraigne Princesse Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defendresse of the Fayth, &c.

WHEREAS there was never anye thinge hearde of in any age past hetherunto, so perfectly wrought and framed, eyther by arte or nature, but that it hath at some time, for some forged and surmised matter, sustayned the reprehension of some envious persons or other; I doe not much mervayle, most mighty pryncesse, that in this your so noble and famous a government, (the glory whereof is now longe sithence scattered and spread over the whole face of the earth,) there are, notwithstanding, certayne evill disposed people, so blinded with malice, and subdued to their owne parciall conceiptes, that as yet they can neyther spare indifferent judgements to conceyve, or reverent tongues to reporte a known truth, touching the perfection of the same. But for these men, as they are (no doubt) sufficiently refuted by the testimonies of their owne consciences; so are they most certaynly condemned by the common consent of all such, as are wise or indifferent.[3] And although this be of it selfe so cleare and manyfest, that it cannot be denied, yet could not I forbeare (most renowmed Soveraigne) being as it were inforced, by your majestie's late and singular clemency, in pardoning certayne my unduetifull misdemeanour, but seeke to acknowledge your gracious goodnesse and bounty towards me, by exhibiting unto you this small and simple present: wherein as I have indevoured in fewe wordes to aunswere certayne quarrels and objections, dayly and ordinarily occurrent in the talke of sundry men, so doe I most humbly crave your grace's favourable acceptation thereof: protestinge also, with all humility, that my meaninge is not in the discourse of these matters heere disputed, to define ought, which may in any wise sounde prejudiciall to any publicke authority, but only to alledge such probability as I coulde; to stop the mouthes of certayne evill affected persons, which of their curiosity require farther satisfaction in

[2] [Fasti, I. 208. Though this piece was not written by Shakspeare (said my late observant and lamented friend William Fillingham, esq.) the performance would not have done any discredit to our immortal bard.]

[3] [*i. e.* Impartial, candid.]

these matters, then can well stand with good modesty. Wherefore, as upon this zeale and good meaning towards your estate, I was earnestly moved to undertake this enterprise, and in the handling thereof rather content to shewe my selfe unskilfull to others, then unthankfull to you: so presuminge of your auncient accustomed clemency, I was so bould to commit the same to your gracious protection; fully perswading and assuring my self, that it would generally obtayne the better credit and entertainment among others, if your Majestie's name were prefixed; as it were a most rich jewell and rare ornament to beautifie and commend the same. God preserve your Majesty, with infinit increase of all his blessings bestowed upon you: and graunt that your dayes of life here upon the earth may be extended (if it be his good will) even far beyond the ordinary course of nature: that as you have already sufficiently raygned, for your owne honour and glory to last with all posterities; so you may continew and remayne with us many more yeares, even to the ful contentation (if it may so be) of us your loving subjects, and to the perfect establishing of this florishing peace and tranquillity in your common weale for ever.

Your Majestie's
most faythfull and
loving subject,
W. S. Gent.

A Table of Thynges most notable, contained in this Booke.

The First Dialogue.

THAT no man is a straunger to the commonweale that he is in.
That of many heads is gathered a perfect counsell.
That every man is to be credited in his owne arte.
Why the Booke is made by way of Dialogue.
The summe of the whole booke.
That men are not borne to themselves onely.
The complaint of inclosures by Husbandmen.
The complaint of dearth of victuall by Artificers.
The complaint of the decay of townes by Marchauntmen, and of all other common easements.
That many superfluous charges are layde downe, and yet never the more plenty.
Of dearth of outward marchaundise.
Of dearth of all kinde of victuall.
That Inclosures should not be the cause of this dearth.
That Gentlemen feele most griefe by this dearth.
The complaint of Craftesmen against Gentlemen, for taking of Farms.
The Craftman's complaint that hee cannot set men a-worke, for the dearth of victuall.
The Gentleman's complaint how he cannot kepe like countenaunce as he was wont to doe.
Why Gentlemen doe gieve over their Housholdes.
Why Gentlemen doe take Farmes into their handes.
A complaint against Sheepe.
The Doctor's complaint for men of his calling.
A complaint against learned men.

Why Learning should be like to decay hereafter.
Whether a Commonweale may bee well governed without learning.
That the Learned have alwaies had the soverainty over the Unlearned.
Whether a man may be wise without Learning.
That Learning supplieth the lacke of experience, and that experience is the father of Wisedome.
The wonderfull gyftes that we have by Learning.
That there is no faculty, but is made more consumate by Learninge.
How Cæsar excelled all other captains, by reason of his great learning joined with his prowesse.
That knowledge in morall Philosophye is moste necessary for a Counsailour.
What maketh learned men to be so few.
That yonge studients be alwaies over hasty in uttering their judgements.
That Pythagoras commaunded silence to his disciples for a time.
That Plato commaunded that no man ignoraunt in geometry should enter his schoole.
What harme may come, if they be suffered to judge in thinges to whome it doth not appertaine.
That it is not learning sufficient, to know tongues and write.
Why Learning should decay.
That every state fyndeth him selfe grieved.
That marchaunts can best save themselves in every alteration.
Of our old coyne exhausted.
Whether it made any matter, of what mettal the coyn be made.
What men are most pinched by this common dearth.
That the prince hath most losse by this common dearth.
What daunger should it be to the Realme, if the prince should want treasure in time of neede.
How the Queene's majestie can not have treasure, when her subjectes have none.
A recapitulation of the common griefes.

The Second Dialogue.

THAT it is a marvailous dearth that cometh in time of plenty.
The occasion of this dearth is laide to the Gentlemen.
How from the Gentlemen it is laide to the Husbandmen.
The Gentlemen's excuse and reasonable offer.
The Husbandmen refuseth, and puts over the fault to Ironmongers and Clothiers.
If all land were abated in their Rent, whether this Dearth woulde be remedied.
That it were not expedient that Straungers should sell their wares deare, and we our's good cheape.
Another offer of the Gentleman made to the Husbandman.
Whether if the Husbandman were forced to abate the price of hys stuffe; this dearth should be then amended.

The straungers will take but money currant every where for their wares that they have over their exchange.

That straungers and all marchauntes bring things that be beste cheape to them, and dearest with us.

What thinge is of that sorte.

He that selleth good cheape, and buieth deare shal not lightly thrive.

It is not possible to keepe our treasure from going forth of the realm if it be in more estimation elsewhere.

That the dearth rose neither at the Gentleman nor the Husbandman's handes.

Permutation of things before coyne.

A complaint againt sheepemaisters.

That Inclosures is occasion of desolation, and weaking of the power of the realme.

Reasons to defend Inclosures.

What kinde of Inclosures is hurtfull.

Whether that which is profitable to one, may be profitable to all other, if they use the same feate.

Every commodity must be so advanced, as it be not prejudiciall to other greater commodities.

No man may abuse his owne things, to the prejudice of the common weale.

How inclosures might be remedied without coercion of lawes.

That a like restraint of wooll should be made, as is of corne; or none to be sent over unwrought.

Reasons why the husbandman should be at liberty, as well as other to sell his wares.

That by breeding, the husband hath most clere gaines.

That profit advaunceth all faculties.

That some are to be allured by rewardes, and some other with straight paynes forced, in a commonweale.

The lesse honor or profit is geven to any Arte, the lesse it shal be frequented.

Profit will make husbandmen more occupied, and thereby more plenty, and consequently better cheape of corne.

Whether the Queene's custome should be minished, by restraint of Wooll unwrought.

How straungers fetcheth from us oure great commodities for very trifles.

Our delicacy in requiring straungers wares.

The increase of Haberdashers, and Mylleners, over they were wont to be.

How the Straungers finde an easier way to get Treasure by things of no value, then by any mynes of gold and silver.

How straungers finde their people with our commodityes.

Why strangers may aforde wares by them made, better then we may the same made heere; and yet, that it were better for us to buy our owne, though they be dearer.

The most durable and universall profit is more to be esteemed, then short and particuler.

Whether such restraints do touch the leagues made with other princes.

No league is to be chearished that is not for the common weale.

A worthy example to be folowed in using of straungers.
What harmes come, and may come, by the alteration of the coyn.
That the substance and quantity is esteemed in coyne, and not the name.
That the necessity of mutuall traffique, and commodity of exchaunge made coyne to be devised.
Why Golde and Silver were the stuffe most meet for Coyne to be to be stricken in.
Why Gold and Silver are esteemed afore all other mettals.
Why Silver and Gold were coyned.
Sometime brasse, silver, and gold, were weighed, before coine made.
What losse comes, of losse of credence.
What do straungers bringe us for our treasure, and chief commodity.
How our old coine may be transported, and the Prince and her officers not knowing of it.
We devised the readiest way to drive away our treasure.
Why things within the Realme should be so dea re.
Some have gaynes by the alteration of the coyne.
Who have losse by the alteration of the coyne.
Of excesse in apparell.
In peace looke for warre.
Of excesse in buildings.
How the alteration of the coyne shoulde be most losse to the Prince.
Whether all our Woolle were expedient to be soulde over, unwrought.
Mysteries are to be increased rather than minished.
Of three sorts of mysteries.
One bringeth out our treasure.
Another spendeth that they get in the same country againe.
The thirde sorte bringeth in treasure, and therefore most to be cherished.
Mysteries doe inriche countreys that be els barren.
Alliaunces with straungers are to be purchased and kept.
Whether great armyes be as necessary here as in Fraunce.
A lesse griefe would not be holpen with a greater sore.

The Third Dialogue.

The common griefes.
The originall cause in every thing is to be searched.
Diverse sortes of causes there be.
Howe one thing is cause of another, and that of the third.
The straungers aunswere, touching this dearth.
That the alteration of the coyne was the very cause of the dearth, and consequently of other griefes which followed.
How Inclosures might be remedied.
Of townes decayed.
The occasion of the decay of townes.

That arte is to be most cherished in a towne, that bringeth most to the towne.
Townes are enriched with some one trade.
The occasion of scysmes in matters of religion.
The faults on the parte of the laytye.
How these scismes might be remedied.
The byshop of Rome is no indifferent man.

A briefe Conceipte touching the Common-weale of this Realme of England.

CONSIDERING the diverse and sundry complaints of our countriemen, in these our daies, touching the great alteration of this common wealth, within the compasse of these few yeres lately past; I thought good, at this time, to set downe such probable discourse for the occasion hereof, as I have hearde oftentimes uttered by men of sounde learnyng and deepe judgement. And, albeit, I am not one, to whome the consideration and reformation of the same doth especially belong; yet knowing my selfe to bee a member of the same common-weale, and to further it by all the wayes that possibly I may; I cannot recken and account my selfe a meere straunger to this matter, no more than a man that were in a shippe, which being in daunger of wracke, might say, that, because he is not (percase) the maister or pylate of the same, the daunger thereof doth pertayne nothing at all to him. Therefore, havinge nowe suffycient leasure from other businesse; mee thought, I could not apply my study to a better end, then to publishe and make relation of such matters as I have hearde throughly disputed herein.

First, what thinges men are most grieved with; then, what should bee the occasion of the same: And that knowne, how such greves may bee taken away, and the state of the common-weale reformed agayne. And, albeit, yee might well say, that there be men of greater wittes then I, that have that matter in charge, yet fooles (as the proverbe is) sometimes speake to the purpose; and as many heads, so many wittes; and therefore princes, though they bee never so wyse themselves, (as our most excellent prynce is) yet the wiser that they be, the moe counsellors they will have, (as our noble and gratious Queene doth daily make choyse of more) for that that one cannot perceave, another doth discover: the giftes of wits be so diverse, that some excelles in memory, some in invention, some in judgement; some at the first sight ready, and some after long consideration: and though each of these by them selves do not severally make perfit the matter, yet when every man bryngs in his gyfte, a meane witted man may of all these (the best of every man's devise being gathered together) make, as it were, a pleasaunt and perfect garlonde, to adorne and decke his head with all. Therefore, I would not onely have learned men, whose judgements I would wyshe to bee cheyfly esteemed herein, but also marchauntmen, husbandmen, and artificers, (which in their callinges are taken wyse,) freely suffered, yea, and provoked, to tell their advyses in this matter: For some poynctes in their feates, they may disclose, that the wysest in a realme cannot unfoulde againe: And it is a maxime, or a thinge receyved as an infallible verity among all men, that every man is to bee credited in that arte that hee is most exercysed in. For did not Apelles, that excellent paynter, consider, that when hee layde forth his fyne image of Venus to bee seene of every man that past by, to the intent he, hearing every man's judgement in his owne arte, might alwayes amend that was a mysse in his worke, whose censures hee allowed so longe as they kept them within their owne faculties, and tooke not uppon them to meddle with an other man's arte: So, percase, I may be aunswered, as hee was, yet I refuse not that, if I passe, my compasse: but for as much as most of this matter contayneth pollicy, or good government of a common-weale, being a member of philosophy moral, wherein I have somewhat studyed, I shall bee so bolde with my countreymen, (who I doubt not will construe

every thinge to the best,) as to utter my poore and simple conceipt herein, which I have gathered out of the talke of divers and sundry notable men, that I have hearde reason on this matter: and though I should herein, percase, move some things that were openlye not to bee touched, (as in such cases of disceptacion is requisite,) yet havinge respect to what ende they bee spoken, I trust they can offend no man; for harde were it to heale a soare, that a man woulde not have opened to his physition; nor yet a surfet, that a man woulde not declare the occasion thereof. Therefore, now to goe to the matter, uppon boldnesse of your good acceptation, that kinde of reasoning seemeth to mee best for boultinge out of the truth, which is used by waye of dialogues, or colloquyes; where reasons bee made too and froe, as well for the matter intended, as agaynst it: I thought best to take that way in the discourse of this matter, which is; first, in recounting the common and universall grieves that men complayne on now a-dayes; secondly, in boulting out the verye causes and occasions of them: thirdly, and finally, in devisinge of remedies for all the same. Therefore, I will declare unto you what communication a knight had betweene him and certayne other persons of late about this matter; which because it happened betwene such persons, as were members of every state that finde themselves grieved now a-dayes, I thoughte it not meete to bee forgotten to lett you understand, that the persons were these: A Knight (as I sayde first) a Marchaunt man, a Doctor, a Husbandman, and a Craftes man. And first, the knight rehearsed the communication in this manner ensuinge.

The First Dialogue.

Knighte. AFTER I and my fellowes, the justices of peace of this comminalty, had the other day declared the quene's highnes' commission touching divers matters, and geven the charge to the enquest; I, being both weary of the heate of the people and noyse of the same, thought to steale to a friende's house of myne in the towne, which selles wyne, to the intent to eate a morsell of meate, (for I was then fasting,) taking with me an honest Husbandman, whom for his honest and good discretion I loved very well: whither, as we were comne, and had but skant sit downe in a close parloure, there comes me in a Marchaunte man of that city, a man of estimation and substaunce, and requires the sayde husbandman to goe and dyne with him; "Nay (quoth I) hee wil not I trust now forsake my company, though he should fare better with you."

Marchaunt. "Than (quoth the marchaunt man) I will send home for a pasty of venison that I have there, and for a friend of mine and a neighbor that I had bid to dinner, and wee shalbe so bolde as to make merry withall heere in your company; and as for my guest, hee is no straunger unto you neyther. And therefore both he of yours, and you of his company, I trust wilbe the gladder."

Knight. "Who is it?"

Marchaunt. "Doctor Pandotheus."

Knight. "Is he so; on my fayth he shalbe hartely welcome, for of him we shal have some good communication and wise; for he is noted, a learned, and a wise man." And immediately the marchaunt sendes for him, and he comes unto us, and bryngeth wyth him an honest man, a capper of the same towne, who came to speake with the sayd marchaunt: than after salutations had (as yee knowe the maner is) betweene me and maister doctor, and renewinge olde acquayntaunce which had bene longe before betweene us, we sat all downe; and when we had eate somewhat to satisfie the sharpnesse of our stomackes,

Doctor. "On my fayth (quoth the doctor to me) yee make much a-doe, you that be justices of the peace of everie countrey, in sitting upon commissions almost weekely; and in causinge poore men to appear before you, and leavinge theyr husbandry unlookte to at home."

Knight. "Surely, it is so. Yet the prince must be served and the commonweale; for God and the prince have not sent us the poore lyvinges that we have, but to doe service therefore abrode amonges our neyghbours."

Doctor. " It is well if yee take it so; for nature hath grafted that perswasion in you and all other that followes the cleare light of nature. As learned men[1] have remembred, saying, we be not borne onely to our selves, but partely to the use of our countrey, of our parentes, of our kinsfolkes, and partly of our friendes and neyghboures; and therefore all good vertues are graffed in us naturally, whose effects be to doe good to other; wherein we shewe forth the image of God and man, whose property is ever to doe good to other, and to distribute his goodnesse abrode like no nygarde, nor envyous of any. Other creatures as they resemble nothing of that godly image, so they study no common utility of other, but onely the conservation of them selves and propagation of their owne kynde. Wherefore, if we looke to be reckned most unlyke them, being most vyle; and lykest to God, being most excellent; let us study to doe good to other, not preferring the ease of this carkasse, which is like the brute beastes; but rather the vertues of the minde, wherein we be lyke to God himselfe."

Husband. " Then (sayd the husbandman) for all your paynes (meaning by me) and all oures also, I would yee had never worse commissions in hand then this is. So wee had lost more dayes workes at our husbandry then this."

Knight. " Why so?"

Husband. " Mary, for these inclosures doe undoe us all; for they make us to pay dearer for our lande that we occupy, and causes that we can have no lande in manner for our money to put to tyllage; all is taken up for pasture: for pasture eyther for sheepe, or for grasinge of cattell; in so much that I have knowne of late a dozen ploughes, within lesse compasse then sixe myles about mee, layde downe within this seven yeares: and where three score persons or upward had their livings, now one man with his cattell hath all; which thinge is not the least cause of former uprores: for by these inclosures many doe lacke lyvings and be ydle, and therefore for very necessity they are desirous of a chaunge; beinge in hope to come thereby to somewhat, and well assured that howe so ever it befall with them, it can bee no harder with them than it was before: more over, all things are so deere, that by their day wages they are not able to lyve."

Capper. " I have well the experience thereof; for I am fayne to geve my journeimen two pence in a day more than I was wont to doe, and yet they say they cannot sufficiently live thereon. And I know for truth, that the best husbande of them can save but litle at the yeare's end; and by reason of such dearth as yee speake of, wee that are artificers, are able to keepe but fewe or no prentizes, like as we were wont to doe; and therefore cityes which were heretofore well inhabited and wealthy, (as yee know every one of you) are now, for lacke of occupiers, fallen to great poverty and desolation."

Marchaunt. " So bee the most part of all the townes of England, London onely except: and not onely the good townes are sore decayed in there howses, walles, streates, and other buildinges; but also the countrey, in their high wayes and brydges: for such poverty rayneth every where, that few men have so much to spare as they may geve any thing to the reparation of such wayes, brydges, and other common easements: and, albeit, there bee many thinges layde downe now, which before time were occasions of much expences; as Maygames, wakes, revels, wagers at shooting, wrestling, running, and throwing the stone, or barre; and besides that, pardons, pylgrimages, offrings, and many such other thinges; yet I perceyve wee bee never the wealthyer, but rather poorer: whereof it is longe, I cannot well tell, for there is such a generall dearth of all things as before xx. or xxx. yeares hath not bene the like; not onely of thinges growinge within this realme, but also of all other marchaundize that wee buy from beyond the sea; as sylkes, wynes, oyles, woode, madder, yron, steele, waxe, flaxe, linnen clothe, fustians, worsteddes, coverlets, carpets, and all hearses, and tapestry; spyces of al sort, and al haberdasher ware, as paper both white and browne, glasses aswell drinckinge, and looking, as for glasinge of windowes; pinnes, needles, knives, daggers, hats, cappes, broches, buttons, and laces. I wot well, all these doe cost nowe, more by the thyrde parte than they did but fewe

[1] Plato. Cicero.

yeares agoe: Than all kinde of victayle are as deere or dearer agayne, and no cause of God's parte thereof, as farre as I can perceave; for I never sawe more plenty of corne, grasse, and cattell of all sortes, than wee have at this present, and have had (as yee know) all these twenty yeares passed continually; (thanked bee our Lorde God!) if these inclosures were cause thereof, or any other thinge els, it were pity but they might be remooved."

Knight. "Since yee have plenty of all thinges, of corne, and cattell, (as yee say) then it should not seeme this dearth should be longe of these inclosures; for it is not for scarcenesse of corne that yee have this dearth, for (thanked bee God) corne is good cheape, and so hath bene these many yeares past continually. Than it cannot bee the occasion of the dearth of cattell, for inclosure is the thing that nourisheth most of any other: yet I confesse there is a wonderfull dearth of all thinges; and that do I, and all men of my sorte feele most griefe in, which have no way to sell, or occupation to lyve by, but onely our landes. For you all three, I meane you my neyghbour the husbandman, you maister mercer, and you goodman capper, with other artificers, may save your selves meetely well. Forasmuch as all thinges are deerer then they were, so much doe you aryse in the pryce of your wares and occupations that yee sell agayne: But we have nothing to sell whereby we might advaunce the pryce thereof, to countervalue those things that we must buy agayne."

Husband. "Yes, yee rayse the price of your landes, and yee take fermes also and pastures to your hands, (which was wont to bee poore men's lyvings, such as I am,) and have geven over to live onely upon your landes."

"On my soule yee say truth" (quoth the marchaunte:) and the capper also sayd no lesse; adding thereto, that it was never merry with poore crafts men, since gentlemen became grasiers; "for they cannot now a dayes (sayde he) finde their prentizes and servauntes meate and drynke, but it cost them almost double asmuch as did before time; wherefore, where many of myne occupation and other like, heretofore have dyed rych men, and bene able to leave honestly behynde them for theyr wyfe and children, and besides that leave some notable bequestes for some good deede, as to the making of brydges, and repayring of high wayes, all which thinges goe to wracke now every where. Also some were wont to buy land eyther for to helpe the poore beginners of th' occupations: yea, some time they had such superfluity, as they could, over such bequestes, leave an other portion to finde a pryste, or to founde a chauntry in some parishe church; and now we are skant able to live without debt, or to keepe fewe servaunts or none, except it be one prentiz or two. And, therefore, the journeymen (what of our occupations, and what of clothyers, and all other occupations being forced to be without worke,) are the most parte of these rude people that maketh these uprores abrode, to the great disquiet, not onely of the Queene's highnes but also of her people. And neede (as yee knowe) hath no booty."

Marchaunt. "It is true, yee knowe likewise what other notable acts men of myne occupation have done in this city. Before this yee knowe the hospitall at the towne's ende, wherein the freemen decaied are releaved, how it was founded not long agoe by one of our occupation; supposing therby that the city should be much releaved, which then was in some decay; and yet it decayeth still every day more and more, whereof it should be longe, I cannot well tell."

Knight. "Syr, as I knowe it is true that yee complayne not without cause, so it is as true that I and my sorte, (I meane all gentlemen) have as greate, yea and farre greater, cause to complayne then any of you have; (for as I sayd) nowe that the pryces of thinges are so rysen of all handes, you may better lyve after your degree then wee; for you may and do rayse the pryce of your wares, as the prises of vittayles, and other your necessaries doe ryse, and so cannot we so much; for though it bee true, that of such landes as come to our handes, eyther by purchase, or by determination and ending of such termes of yeares, or other estates, that I or mine auncestors had graunted them in time past, I doe eyther receyve a better fine than of olde was used, or enhaunse the rent thereof; being forced

thereto for the charge of my housholde, that is so encreased over that it was; yet in all my life time I looke not that the thyrde parte of my lande shall come to my disposition, that I may enhaunce the rent of the same; but it shalbe in men's holding either by leases or by copy graunted before my time, and still continuing, and yet like to continue in the same state for the most part during my life, and percase my sonnes: so as we cannot rayse all our wares as you may yours, and as me thinketh it were reason we did, and by reason that we cannot, so many of us (as yee know) that have departed out of the countrey of late, have bene driven to give over our houshoulds, and to keepe either a chamber in London, or to wayte on the court uncalled, with a man and a lackey after him, where he was wonte to keepe half a score of cleane men in his house, and xx. or xxiiii. other persons besides, every day in the weeke; and such of us as doe abide in the countrey still, cannot with two hundreth *li.* a yeare, keep that house that we might have don with CC. markes but xvi. yeares past. And thearefore we are forced either to minishe the third part of our housekoulde, or to raise the thirde part of our revenewes; and for that wee cannot so doe of our owne landes that is allreadye in the hands of other men, many of us are enforced either to keepe peeces of our owne landes when they fall in our owne possession, or to purchase some farme of other men's landes, and to store it with sheepe or some other cattell, to help to make up the decay of our revenewes and to mainetayne our oulde estate with all; and yet all is litle ynough."

Husband. "Yea, those sheepe is the cause of all these mischieves; for they have driven husbandry out of the countrey, by the which was increased before all kinde of victuals, and now all togeether sheepe, sheepe, sheepe. It was farre better when there were not onely sheepe ynough, but also oxen, kine, swyn, pig, goose, and capon, egges, butter and cheese: yea, and breade corne, and malte corne ynough besides, reared alltogether upon the same lande."

Doctor. Then the doctor that had leaned on his elbowe all this while musing, sat up and sayd, "I perceave by you all three, that there is none of you but have just cause to complaine."

Capper. "No, by my troth, except it be you, men of the church; which travaile nothing for your lyvinge, and yet have inough."

Doctor. "Yee say troth, in dede, we have least cause to complaine: yet yee know well, we be not so plentious as we have bene; the first fruits and tenthes are deducted of our livings, yet of the rest we might live well ynough, if we might have quietnes of minde and conscience withall. And albeit, we labour not much with our bodies (as yee say) yet yee know we labour with our mindes, more to the weaking of the same, then by any other bodily exercise we should do; as we may well perceve by our complexions, how wan our colour is, how faint and sickely be our bodyes, and all for lacke of bodily exercise."

Capper. "Mary, I woulde, if I were of the Queenes counsell, provide for you well a fine, so as you should neede take no disease for lacke of exercise; I would set you to the plough and carte; for the devill a whit of good yee doe with your studies, but set men together by the eares; some with this opinion and some with that, some holding this way and some an other, and that so stifly, as though the troth must be as they say that have the upper hand in contention; and this contention is not also the least cause of former uprores of the people, some holding of the one learning and some of the other. In my minde, it made no matter though we had no learned men at all."

Knight. "God forbid, neighbour, that it should be so: how should the prynce have counsailers then? how should we have christian religion taught us? how shoul we know the estats of other realmes, and houe conference with them of all contryes, except it were throug learning, and by the benefit of letters."

Doctor. "Care not therefore, goodman Capper, yee shall have few ynough of learned men within a while, if this world hold on."

Capper. "I meane not but I would have men to learne to wryt and read, yea and to learne the languages used in countreies about us, that we might write our mindes to them and they to us; yea, and that wee might reade the holy Scriptures in our mother tongue;

and as for your preaching (except yee agree better) it made no matter howe litle wee had of it, for of dyversity thereof cometh these diversities of opinions."

Doctor. "Then yee care for no other sciences at all, but the knowledge of tongues, and to wryte and reade; and so it appeares well that yee be not alone of that mynde; for nowe a dayes when men sendes their sonnes to the universities, they suffer them no longer to tary there, then they may have a litle of the Latin tongue, and then they take them away and bestow them to be clarkes with some man of lawe, or some auditor and receyver, or to be a secretary with some great man or other, and so to come to a lyvinge; whereby the universities be in maner emptied, and (as I thinke) will be occasion that this realme within a shorte space will be made as empty of wise and pollitique men, and consequently barbarous; and at the last, thrall and subject to other nations, whereof wee were lordes before."

Knight. "God forbid that we, that bee gentlemen, shoulde not with our pollicy in warre provide that we come not in subjection of any other nation; and the stoutnesse of Englyshe heartes will never suffer that, thoughe there were no learned men in the realme at all."

Doctor. "Well; an empyre or a kingdome is not so muche won, or kept by the manhode and force of men, as it is by wysedome and policy, which is gotten chiefly by learning: for wee see in all kindes of governaunce, for the most parte, the wyser sorte have the soveraygnty over the rude and unlearned, as in every house the most expert, in every city the wisest and most sage, and in every common-weale the most learned are moste commonly placed to governe the rest; yea, among all nations of the worlde, they that be polytique and civile doe mayster the rest, thoughe their forces be inferior to the other. The empyres of the Greekes and Romaines doe declare that; among whom, like as learning and wisedome was most esteemed, so the empyres were spread widest, and longest did continue of all other. And why should you thinke it straung that you might more be vanquished than the other were before time, that reckened themselves as stoute men as you be; yea, dwellers of this realme, as the Saxons last were by the Normands, and the Romaines by the Saxons afore that, and the Bryttons by the Romaines fyrst of all."

Knighte. "There may bee wyse men ynough, though they bee not learned. I have knowne diverse men very wise and politique, that know never a letter on the booke; and, contrary wise, as many other learned men that have bene very idiots in maner, for any worldly pollicy that they had."

Doctor. "I deny not that; but I say, that if such wyse men as yee speake of, had learninge to their wits, they had bene more exellent. And the other that yee call so simple, had bene foolyshe, if they had had no learninge at all. Exercyse in warres maketh not every man meete to be a captayne, though hee travayle in it never so longe; nor there is no other so apt for the warre, but with experience and use he is made more perfit; for what maketh olde men commonly more wise than the younger sorte, but their greater experience."

Knight. "Yea, experience helpeth much the wit of men, I confesse. But what doth learning thereto?"

Doctor. "If yee graunt mee, that experience doth help, then I doubte not but yee will graunt mee anon, that learninge doth also helpe much to the increase of wisedome: let that then be set for a sure grounde, that experience doth further wisdome; and take it, as it were, the father of wisedome, and memory to be the mother. For, like as experience doth beget wisdome, as a father; so memory nourisheth it, as a mother: for in vaine shoulde experience be had, if the same were not kept in remembraunce. Then if I can shew you, that both experience and also memory are holpen and furthered by learninge; then yee must needes graunt me, that learning furthers wit and increaseth it; yee, confesse the experience of an olde man maketh him wiser than the younge, because hee sawe mo things then the other. But an olde man seeth but onely things of his owne time, and the learned man seeth not onely his owne times experience, but also that befell in a great many of his auncestors; yea, since the worlde began. Wherefore, he must needes have more experience then the unlearned man, of what great age so ever he be; then so many

cases as he seeth in all that time to have happened, coulde not so well be remembred of any man, as it is kept in memory by wrytings; and then if the unlearned man once forget the thinge hee sawe, hee never lightly remembers it againe; where as, the learned man hath his booke alwayes, to call him to remembraunce of that hee should els forget. Therefore, as he that liveth a hundreth yeares, must needes have more experience then hee that liveth fifty; so hee that seeth the chaunces of the worlde, as it were, in a table paynted afore him of a thousand yeres, must needes have greater experience then he that liveth but a hundreth. Also he that travaileth many farre countryes hath more experience than other of like age that never goeth out of his native countrey. So he that is learned, seeth by cosmography, hystories, and other learnings, the right maner and usage of every countrey in the world; yea, of many moe then is possible for one man to travayle through, and of these that he travaileth, much better doth he learne there by small taryng, then the other (by longer experience) that are all together and wholly unlearned; and consequently, more wit, being in capacity and memory both els equipolent. And now I am forced to consider the marvaylous gyftes that we have by learning; that is, how learning supplyeth unto man the greatest lack that some wryters have complayned of to be in man kinde; that is, the brevity of age, the grossenesse and wayght of body: where in the first, diverse beastes, as hartes and many other; and in the last, all byrdes doe excell man; for where it is deemed man to live above a hundreth yeares or theare aboutes, by the benefite of learning, he hath the commoditye of the life of a thowsand yeares; yea, two or three thowsandes; by reason hee seeth the events and occurents of all that time, by bookes. And if he should have lived him selfe by all that space, then coulde he have had nothinge els to his commodity but that experience of things; the rest had bene but travayle: which experience he hath nowe by letters, and without any travayle in manner at all, and without the daungers that he might him selfe have bene in, if hee had lived by all that space. As to the other poynte, that wee be not so agill and light as fowles and byrdes of the ayre bee, as that wee might sturre from on place to another; wee have the commodity, through learning, that wee should purchase by such peregrinations, as well as wee should if wee might flee from one countrey to another like byrdes, and yet with lesse travayle and daunger. May wee not, through cosmography, see the situation, temperature, and qualities of every countrey in the worlde; yea, better and with lesse travayle then if wee might flee over them our selves? for that that many other have learned through their great travayles, and daungers, they have left to us to be learned with ease and pleasure. Can wee not allso, throughe the science of astronomy, knowe the course of the planettes above; and theyre conjunctions and aspectes, as certaynely as if wee were amonge them: yes, surely that wee may, for tell mee: how came all the learned men heare to fore to the exacte and perfit knowledge thereof: came they not to it by conference and marking of circumstances, (yes, in deede) so that out of their writings we learned it: and to the knowledge whereof by sight onely wee could never attayne, though wee were as agill as any byrde.

What is there els profitable or necessary for the conjunct of man's life heare in earth, but in learning it is taughte more perfectly and more compleate, than any man can learne onely by experience all dayes of his life: no not so much as your feate in warre, sir knight; no nor your feate, good husbandman; but that either of them are so exactly taught and set forth in learning, as that neither of you both (though yee be never so perfect in the said feates,) but might learne many poyntes moe than ever yee saw before, by experience in either of them; as you sir Knight, in Vigetius; and you good husbandman, in Columella."

Knight. "I say agayne, might wee not have that in our English tongue, and reade them over, though we never went to schole?"

Doctor. "Yea, well ynough; and yet shoulde yee bee farre from the perfect understanding of them, except yee had the help of other sciences; that is to say, of arithmetique, in disposinge and ordering your men; and geometry, in devising of engines to winne townes, and fortrasses, and of brydges to pass over; in the which Cæsar excelled

other, by reason of the learning that hee had in those sciences, and did wonderfull feates which an unlearned man coulde never have done; and if yee had warre over the sea, howe coulde yee knowe towardes what coastes yee be sea-dryven, without knowledge of the latitude of the place by the poale, and the length by other starres; and you, good husband, for the perfection of the knoweledge of husbandry, had neede of some knowledge in astronomy, as under what aspect of the planets and in the entry of what signe, by the sunne and moone it is time to eare, to dounge, to sowe, to reape, to set, to graffe, to cut your wood, your timber; yea, to have some judgment of the weather that is like to come for inning of your corne, and grasse, and houseinge of your cattell: yea, of some part of phisick called Veterinaria, whereby yee might knowe the diseases of your beastes, and heale them. Then, for true measuringe of land, had yee not neede of some knowledge in geometry, to bee a perfit husband. Then for building, what carpenter, or mason, is so cunning or expert, but hee might learne more by readinge of Vitruvius and other wryters of architecture; that is to say, the scyence of building: and to passe over the sciences of logicke and retorique, whereof the first travayleth about the discuscion of the true reason from the false, the other about the perswasion of that is to be set forth to the people, as a thinge to them profitable and expedient, whereof a good and perfit counsaylor might want neyther: well, tell mee what counsayl can bee perfit, what common weale can bee well ordered uprighte, where none of the rulers, or counsaylors, have studied any philosophy, specially the parte that teacheth of manners, (the other part of phylosophy I passe over now, which teacheth of natures and is called physicke;) what part of the common weale is neglected by phylosophy morall? doth it not teache first how every man shoulde governe him selfe honestly? Secondly, how he should guide his family wisely and profitably? And thirdly, it sheweth how a cyty or a realme, or any other common-weale should bee well ordered and governed, both in time of peace, and also warre. What common weale can bee without either a governer, or counsaylors, that shoulde bee expert in this kinde of learning; this confirmeth the poynt that wee now talke of: if men experte in this science were consulted and followed, the common weale shoulde bee ordered as fewe should have cause to complayne: therefore, sayd Plato, that divine philosopher, that happy is that commonweale where either the prince is a phylosopher, or where a philosopher is the prince."

Knight. "I had weened before, that there had bene no other learninge in the world, but that these men had that be doctors of divinity, or of the lawe, or of phisicke: whereof the first had all his cunning in preaching, the second in matters of the spirituall lawe, and the third in phisicke and in looking on diseased men's water; mary, yee tell me now of many other sciences very necessary for every common weale, which I never heard of before: but eyther there be fewe of these doctors that can skill of them, or els they disclose but litle of their cunning."

Doctor. Of truth, there be so fewe of them that can skill of these sciences nowe a dayes; and of those there be too fewe of them that are esteemed any thing the more for their knowledge therein, or called for to any counsell. And therefore, others seeing these sciences nothing esteemed or set by, they fall to those sciences that they see in some pryce; as to divinity, to the lawe, and to phisicke: though they cannot bee perfit in any of these without the knowledge of the sciences above touched; and therefore it is ordayned by universities, that first men should bee bachelers and masters of artes, ere they should come to divinity: and these artes bee the seven liberall sciences, as grammer, logique, rhetorique, arithmetique, geometry, musicke, and astronomy; and now they skip over them and fall to divinity by and by, before they have gotten or purchased them any judgment through the foresayd sciences, which maketh them to fall to these diversities of opinions that ye speake of: for all beginners in every science be very quicke and overhasty in geving their judgment of thinges, (as experience teacheth every man) and then, when they have once uttered their judgmentes and opinions, they will see nothing that will sounde contrary to the same, but eyther they will construe it to their owne phantasy, or utterly deny it to be of any authority. Pythagoras, to his scholers that came to learne

his prophane sciences, commaunded silence for seven years; that by all that space they should be hearers onely, and no reasoners: and in this divine science every boye that hath not red scripture past halfe a yeare, shalbe suffered not onely to reason and enquire of things, (for that were tollerable) but to affirme newe and straunge interpretacions upon the same, never heard of before. What ende of opinions can there bee while this is suffered? Also Plato forbad any man to come to his schoole that was ignoraunt in geometry: and to this highe schoole of dyvinity he that knoweth not his grammer, much lesse any other science, shall be admitted at the first; I say not to learne, for that might bee suffered, but to judge: and there commeth in the thinge that the same Plato sayeth to bee an onely cause sufficient to overthrowe a whole commonweale where it is used; that is, when they take on them the judgment of things to whom it doth not apertayne; as youth, of thinges belonginge to olde men; children, over their fathers; servaunts, over their maisters; and private men, over their majestrates: what ship can bee longe safe from wracke, where every man will take upon him to bee a pylate? what house well governed, where every servaunt will bee a maister and a teacher? I speake thus much of the commendation of learning; not onely because I heard my freind heere (the Capper) set litle by learninge, but also that I see many nowe a dayes of his opinion, which care nothinge for any other knowledge, but onely that they may wryte and reade, and learne the tongues: whom I can resemble well to those men that esteemeth more the barke then the tree, the shale more then the kyrnell: wherefore, they seeme to take bright sunne from the earth, that would take away learning from us: for the same is no more necessary for the increase of all thinges on earth, then is learninge for the increase of civility, wisedome and policy amonge men. And asmuch as reasonable men doe excell all other creatures by the gyft of reason, so much excelleth a learned man any other, through the polishing and adorning of reason by these scyences."

Knight. "Of my fayth, I am glad it was my chaunce to have you in my company at this time; for of a wise man, a man may alwayes learne. But mee thought yee sayde lately to my neighbour the Capper, that wee should have learned men few ynough within a while if the world did continue. What ment yee thereby, and what should be the cause thereof?"

Doctor. "I shewed you, all ready, one great cause of the same; that was, where I shewed you that most men were of that opinion, that they thought learning ynough to write and reade: another cause is, that they see no preferment ordered for learned men, nor yet any honour or estimation geven them like as hath bene in time past. But rather the contrary, the more learned, the more troubles, losses, and vexations they come unto."

Knight. "God forbid, how so?"

Doctor. "Mary, have you not seene howe many learned men have bene put to trouble of late within this xx. or xxx. yeares, and all for declaring their opinions in thinges that have rysen in controversie: have you not knowne when one opinion hath bene set forth, and who so ever sayd against that, were put to trouble: and shortly after, when the contrary opinion was furthered and set forth, were not the other that prospered before, put to trouble for saying their mindes against this latter opinion: and so neither of both parties escaped, but eyther first or last hee came to bee bit, of whether side soever hee were; except it were some weather wise fellowes, that coulde chaunge their opinions as the more and stronger part did chaunge theirs: and what were they that came to these troubles, the singularest fellowes of both parties: for there came no other to the concertacion of these things, but such, who seeing in steede of honour and preferment, dishonour and hinderaunce, recompensed for a reward of learning: will any either put his childe to that science that may bring him no better fruite than this? or what scholer shall have any courrage to study to come to that ende? the rarity of scholers, and solitude of the universities, doe declare this to be truer then any man with speach can declare."

Marchaunt. "Then I perceave, every man findeth himselfe greeved at this time; and no man goeth cleare, as farre as I can perceave: the gentleman that hee cannot lyve on his landes, onely as his father did before; the artifficers cannot set so many a worke, by

reason all maner of victayle is so deere; the husbandman, by reason his lande is deerer rented then before: then we, that bee merchaunts, pay much deerer for every thing that commeth over sea: which great derth (I speake in comparison of former times) hath bene alwayes in a maner at a stay, ever after that basenesse of our English coyne, which happened in the later yeares of Kyng Henry the Eyght."

Doctor. "I doubt not but if any sorte of men have licked themselves whole, yee bee the same: for what oddes so ever there happen to bee in exchaunge of thinges, yee that bee marchaunts, can espy it straight: for example, because yee touched somewhat of that coyne, as soone as ever yee perceive the price of that enhaunsed, yee by and by (what was to bee wonne therein beyonde sea) raked all the olde coyne for the most parte in the realme, and founde the meanes to have it caryed over, so as litle was lefte beehinde within this realme of such olde coyne in a very shorte space, which in my opinion is a great cause of this dearth that hath bene since, of all things."

Knight. "How can that be; what maketh it to the matter what sorte of coyne we have among our selves, so it be currant from one hand to another; yea, if it were made of leather?"

Doctor. "Yea, so men commonly say, but the truth is contrary; as not onely I coulde prove by common reason, but also the proofe and experience hath already declared the same: but nowe wee doe not reason of the causes of these griefes, but what states of men bee grieved in deede by this dearth of things; and albeit I heare every man finde him selfe grieved by it in one thinge or other, yet considering that as many of them as have wares to sell, do euhaunse as much in the pryce of thinges that they sell, as was enhaunsed before in the prices of things that they must buy; as the marchaunt if hee buy deere, hee will sell deere againe: so these artificers, as cappers, clothiers, shomakers, and farmers, have respect large ynough in sellinge their wares to the price of victayle, wooll, and iron, which they buy. I have sene a cap for xiiii. pence as good as I can get now for ii. shillings sixe pence: of cloth yee have heard how the price is rysen. Now a payre of shooes cost twelve pence, yet in my time I have bought a better for sixe pence. Now I can get never a horse shooed under ten pence or twelve pence, where I have also seene the common pryce was sixe pence. I cannot therefore understande that these men have greatest greife by this common and universall dearth, but rather such as have their lyvinges and stypendes rated at a certaynty; as common laborers at eight pence a day, journeymen of all occupations, serving men to forty shilings a yeare: and gentlemen whose landes are set out by them and their auncestors, either for lyves or for terme of yeares; so as they cannot enhaunce the rentes thereof though they would, and yet have the pryce enhaunsed to them of every thing that they buye. Yea, the prince, of whom wee speake nothing of all this while, as she hath most of yearely revenewes and that certayne, so should shee have moste losse by this dearth, and by the alteration specially of the coyne; for like as a man that hath a great number of servaunts under him, if he would graunt that they should pay him pinnes weekely, where before they payde him pence, I thinke he should be most looser himselfe; so wee bee all but gatherers for the prince, and of that which commeth to us, wee have but every man a poore livinge; the cleare gaynes commeth for the most part to the prince. Now if her highnes doe take of us the overplus of our gettinges in this base coyne, I reporte me to you, wether that will go as farre as good money in the provision of necessaries for her selfe and the realme. I thinke plainely no; for though her grace might within this realme have thinges at her owne price, as her grace cannot indeede without great grudge of her majestie's subjects; yea, since her majesty must have from beyonde the seas many thinges necessary, not onely for her grace's houshold, and ornaments aswel of her person and family, as of her horses; (which, percase, might bee by her grace somewhat moderated;) but also for the furniture of her warres, which by no meanes can be spared; as armor of all kindes, artillery, ankers, cables, pitch, tarre, iron, steele, (yea, I judge farther) some handgunnes, gunne poulder; and many other thinges moe then I can recken, which her grace sometimes doth buy from beyonde the seas, at the prices that the straungers will set them at: I

passe over the enhaunsment of the charges of her grace's houshoulde, which is common to her grace with all other noble men; therefore (I say) her majestie should have most losse by this common dearth, of all other: and not onely losse, but daunger to the realme and all her subjects, if her grace should want treasure to purchase the saide provision and necessaries for warre, or to finde souldiers in time of neede; which passeth all the other private losses that wee speake of."

Capper. "Wee heare say, that the queene's majestye's mint maketh up her losses that way, by the gaines which she hath by the mint an other way; and if that be to shorte, shee supplieth that lacke by subsidies, and impositions of her subjects; so as her grace can have no lacke, so longe as her subjects have it."

Doctor. "Yee say well there, so long as the subjects have it; so it is meete the queene shoulde have, as long they have it: but what and they have it not; for they cannot have it, when there is no treasure left within the realme; and as touchinge the mint, I coumpte that profit much like, as if a man woulde take his woode up by the rote to make the more profit thereof at one time, and ever after to lose the profit that might growe thereof yearely; or to pull the wooll of his sheepe by the roote. And as for the subsidies, howe can they be large, when the subjects have litle to departe with: and yet that way of gatheringe treasure is not allwayes most safe for the prynce's suerty; and wee see many times the profits of such subsidies spent in the appeasing of the people that are mooved to sedition, partely by occasion of the same."

Knighte. "Nowe that it was our chaunce to meete with so wise a man as yee be, Maister Doctor, I would wee did go thorough with the whole discourse of this matter: and as hetherto wee have ensearched the very sores, and grieves that every man feeleth; so to try out the causes of them, and the causes once knowne, the remedy of them might be soone apparent; and though we be not the men that can reforme them, yet percase some of us may come in place where wee may advertise other of the same, that might further and helpe forward the redresse of these thinges."

Doctor. "A God's name, I am content to bestowe this day to satisfie your pleasurs, and though this communication (percase) should doe no great good, yet it can doe no harme, I trust, nor offend no man; sith it is had betwene us heere a parte, and in good maner."

Knight. "No, what man should be angry with him that were in an house, and espied some faulte in the beames, or rafters of the same, and would ensearch the default, and then certifie the good man of the house thereof or some other dwelling therein, aswell for his owne savegarde as for others? But forasmuch as wee have thus farre proceeded as to the findinge out of the griefes, which as farre as I perceave standeth in these poyncts; that is to say, dearth of all things in comparison of the former age (though there be scarsenes of nothinge), desolation of countryes by inclosures, desolation of townes for lacke of occupations and craftes; and division of opinions in matters of religion, which haleth men to and fro, and maketh them contend one against another. Now let us goe to the garden under the vyne, where having a good, freshe, and coole sitting for us in the shadow, there wee may proceede farther in this matter at leasure. And I will bespeake our supper here with myne host, that wee may all suppe together." "A God's name (quoth every one of the rest of the company) for wee are weary of sitting here so long." And so wee all departed to the garden.

The Second Dialogue, wherein the causes or occasions of the sayd griefes are encreased.

WHEN we had walked up and downe in the sayd garden a prety whyle, I thought long, till I had heard more of the sayde Doctor's communication; for hee seemed to mee a very wise man; not after the common sort of these clarkes which can talke nothing but of the faculty that they professe; as if they be devines, of divinity; lawyers, of the lawe; and phisitions, of phisicke onely: this man spake very naturally of every thinge, as a man

universally seene, that had joyned good learning with good wit: and therefore I desired him and the rest of our saide companions to resorte againe to the matter that wee left at, and first to discourse and search out what should be the causes of the saide common and universall dearth of all thinges, (in comparison of the former age) saying to the Doctor thus. "I marvayle much, maister Doctor, what should be the cause of this dearth; seeing all thinges are (thankes bee to God) so plentifull. There was never more plenty of cattell then there is nowe of all sortes; and yet there is scarsity of things which commonly make dearth. This is a marvaylous dearth, that in such plenty commeth, contrary to his kinde."

Doctor. "Syr, it is (no doubt) a thinge to be mused upon, and worthy of inquisition: let mee heare every one of your opinions, and than yee shall heare myne."

Husband. "I thinke it is longe of you gentlemen, that this dearth groweth; by reason yee enhaunse your lands to such a height, as men that live thereon must needes sell deare againe, or els they were never able to make their rent."

Knight. "And I say, it is long of you husbandmen, that wee are forced to rayse our rents; by reason, wee must buy so deare all thinges that wee have of you; as corne, cattell, goose, pigge, capon, chiken, butter and egges. What thinge is there of all these but that yee sell it nowe dearer by the one halfe then yee did within these xxx yeares: Cannot you, neighbour, remember that within these xxx yeres I could in this towne buy the best pigge or goose that I could lay my hand on for foure pence, which now costeth twelve pence; a good capon for threepence, or fourpence; a chiken for i*d.* a hen for ii*d.* which now costeth mee double and triple the money: it is likewise in greater ware, as biefe and mutton.

Husband. "I graunt that: but I say you and your sorte, men of landes, are the first cause heereof, by reason you rayse your landes."

Knight. "Well, if yee and your sorte will agree thereto, that shalbee holpen: undertake that you and your sorte will sell all thinges at the price yee did xxx yeares agoe, and I doubt not to bringe all gentlemen to lette unto you their landes at the rent they went at xxx yeares past: and that the fault is more in you that bee husbandmen, then in us that bee gentlemen, it appeareth by this; all the landes of the realme are not enhaunsed, for some have takings therein, as leases, or copies not yet expyred, which cannot be enhaunsed though the owners would; and some noblemen and gentlemen there bee, that when their landes be at their disposition, yet they will enhaunce nothing above the olde rent, so as a greate parte of the landes of the realme stand yet at the olde rent: and yet, neverthelesse, there is none of your sorte at all, but selleth all things they have dearer then they were wont to doe by the one halfe. And yet these gentlemen that doe enhaunse their rentes, doe not enhaunse it generally to the double: though I confesse that some of us that had landes either gieven us by the king's highnesse, that belonged heretofore to abbeyes, and priories, (and were never surveyed to the uttermost before,) or otherwise descended to us, have enhaunsed any of them above the old rent: yet all that amounteth not to halfe the landes of the realme."

Doctor. "How say yee? hee sayeth well to you nowe; will yee sell your wares as yee were wont to doe, and hee will let you have his lande at the rent yee were accustomed to have it?"

When the husbandman had pawsed a while, hee sayd,

Husband. "If I had the price of every thing that I must pay for besides, likewise brought downe, I could be content: els not."

Doctor. "What thinges bee those?"

Husband. "Mary, iron for my plough, harrowes, and cartes; tarre for our sheepe; shooes, cappes, linnen and wollen cloth for my meany;[5] which if I should buy neverthelesse as deare as I doe nowe, and yet sell my wares good cheape; though my rent were

[5] [*Meinie*, a family, household, or retinue of servants, from the old French *mesnie*. Vide Glossary to Villehardouin, edit. 1657; fol.]

thereafter abated, except the other thinges aforesayd might bee abated in pryce together, I could never lyve."

Doctor. "Then I perceave, yee must have the pryce of other things qualified as well as the rent of your land, ere yee can aford your ware good cheape."

Husband. "Yea, (but, sir) I thinke if the lande were brought downe, that the pryce of all thinges would fall withall."

Doctor. "Graunt that all the landlords in this realme woulde with one assent agree that theyr landes should bee in theyr tenaunts handes, at like rent as they were at xxx. yeares agoe; yee sayd afore, yee coulde not yet sell your wares as good cheape as yee might xx. yeares past, because of the pryce that is raysed in other thinges that yee must buy: and if ye would say that those men should be driven againe to sell those wares that yee buy, first better cheape, and then yee will sell yours thereafter; I pray you how might they be compelled to doe so? they be straungers, and not within obedience of our soveraigne lady, that doe sell such wares, as iron, tarre, flaxe, and other: then consider mee, if yee cannot so compell them, whether it were expedient for us to suffer straungers to sell all their commodities deere, and wee ours good cheape: if it were so, than it were a greate enryching of other countreyes, and impoverishinge of our owne; for they should have much treasure for theirs, and have our commodities from us for a very litle: except yee could devise to make one pryce of our commodities among our selves, and another outwardes, which I cannot see how it may bee."

Knight. "Nay, I will make my neighbour heere another reasonable offer, if hee refuse this: let my tenauntes rent bee increased as your payment is increased after the rate; and yet I am contented."

Husband. "What meane yee by that?"

Knighte. "I meane this: yee sell that yee were wont to sell aforetime for xx. groates, now for xxx. let my rent bee increased after that proportion and rate, that is for every xx. groates of olde rente x. shillinges, and so as the pryce of your wares riseth, and yet I doe but keepe my land at the olde stent."

Husband. "My bargayne was, to pay for my holde, but vi. poundes xiii. shillinges iiii. *d.* of yearly rent; and I pay that truely, yee can require no more of mee."

Knight. "I cannot much say agaynst that; but yet I perceave I shallbe still a loser by that bargayne, though I cannot tell the reason why: but I perceive yee sell dearer that yee live on, and I good cheape that which is my living: helpe mee, mayster Doctor, I pray you; for the husbandman driveth mee to the wall."

Doctor. "Mary, but mee thinketh touching the matter yee did reason of, you drave him to his shiftes; that is, to confesse that this dearth riseth not at your hand. And though hee doe defend him selfe for his paymente to you by a colour of lawe, yet hee seemeth to confesse thus much, that the lawe compelleth you to take litle for your land, and that there is no lawe to restrayne him, but hee may sell his wares as deere as he listeth. It is enough for your purpose that yee tooke in hand to prove, that this dearth rose not first at your hands: but whether (the pryces of thinges increasing as they doe) it were reason yee did rayse your wares, (which is your lande) or to bee payde after the olde rate when yee did sette your land; if yee bee compelled to pay for your provision after the newe rate. Wee will talke of that hereafter; or let that bee considered of other wise men: but now let us see, if the husbandman were forced to sell his thinges good cheape, whether all thinges should bee well then. Our Englishe coyne being supposed to be base, and of no such estimation in other countreies as within our owne realme (as for the most parte it hath beene) before that it was restored by our noble prince which now raygneth: put the case this, that this husbandman should bee commaunded to sell his wheate at viii.*d.* the bushell, rye at vi.*d.* barely at iiii.*d.* his pig and goose at iiii.*d.* his capon at iiii.*d.* his henne at i.*d.* ob. his wooll at a marke the todde, biefes and muttons after the olde pryces in time past have beene: hee hath then enough to pay his landlord, as hee had in time past; his landlord agayne hath as much rent as hee was wonte to have; and the same when the price is so set, will goe as far for the sayd wares, whereof the pryces be

thus set, as so much of olde coine, paide after the olde wont would have done; all this is yet well; heere is yet neither lord nor tenaunte grieved; well let us goe farther. The husbandman must buy iron, salt, tarre, pitch, and suppose hee should bee also forced to reare up flaxe on his owne, and that pryces of cloth both linnen and woollen, and leather were set after the rate. The gentleman must buy wynes, spyces, silkes, arkes, armour, glasse to glaze his house withall: iron also for tooles, weapones, and other instruments necessary, as salt, oyles, and many other diverse thinges, more then I can recken without summe: whereof they may in no wise want, as iron, and salt; for of that which is within the realme of both, is not halfe sufficient for the same: oyles, tarre, pitch, and rozyn, whereof wee have none at all, and without some other of the said commodities wee could live but grosly and barbarously; as, without wynes, spyces, and silkes; these must be brought from beyonde the seas: shall wee buy them as good cheape after the rate? A man would thinke, yes: for when straungers should see that with lesse money then they were wont to take for these wares, they may buy as much of the commodities of this realme as they were wont afore with more money, they will bee content to take the lesse money when it goeth as farre as the more went before, and so sell their wares as good cheape: (as for an example) if they sell now a yard of velvet for xx.s. or xxii.s. and pay that for a todde of wooll, were it not as good for them then to sell their velvet at a marke a yard so they had a todde of wooll for a marke?"

Knighte. "I would thinke so; for thereby hee should be at no more losse then hee is now. And so the like reason may serve for iron, wynes, salt, spice, oyles, pitch, tarre, flaxe, waxe, and all other outwarde commodities."

Doctor. "If I should aske you this question, whether they should bee compelled by a lawe to sell theyr wares so or no: what could yee say?"

Knight. "It maketh no matter, whether it were so or no, and I think they cannot, because they be out of the prince's dominion, and at liberty whether they will bring any thing to us or no; but seeinge they may have all thinges heere, as good cheape at that price they sell for lesse money, as they had before for the greater price, they will willingly bring their wares and sell them so."

Doctor. "Thereof I doubt, upon the former supposition of our base coyne; for I thinke they would sell still at the highest as they doe now, or bring nothinge at all to us. For yee must understand, they come not alwayes for our commodities, but sometimes to sell theirs heere, (knowing it heere to be best vendible,) and to buy in other countreyes other commodities where the same is best cheape; and some times to sell in one parte of the realme their wares that bee there most desired, and to goe to some other parte of the realme for the commodities that be there most abundaunt and best cheape; or partly of our countrey and partly of another: and for that purpose coyne universally currant is most commodious, specially if they entend to bestowe it in any other place then where they were unladen of their marchaundize. Now, if our coyne were not so alowed in other places as it is heere, the straunger should be at greater losses if he should take our coyne for his wares, so as he had leaver[6] bring his wares to other places where hee might have coyne currant in all places for it, that he might bestowe when and where he list. If they would looke but for our wares for theirs; thinke yee that they would not study to bring us such wares or stuffe as should be best cheape with them, and most deare with us?"

Knight. "Yea, no doubt; that is the policy of all marchaunts."

Doctor. "What stuffe is that trowe you?"

Knighte. "Mary, glasses of all sortes, paynted clothes, and papers, orenges, pippens, cherries, perfumed gloves, and such like tryfles."

Doctor. "Yee say well; they will percase attempt us with such, and such thinges as are good cheape with them; it costeth but their labours onely and their people's, which els should be idle: yet these thinges be somewhat after the price in other places vendible as well as heere. But when wee feele the lacke of iron, steele, salt, hempe, flaxe, and such

[6] [Rather]

other, such light wares as yee speake of will not be desired heere, but rejected, and these other looked for: what other things els will they bring trowe you?"

Knight. "Percase, yee meane silkes, wynes, and spyces."

Doctor. "No, not that; for those bee in good price els where."

Knight. "What then should they have to utter to us, that is best cheape with them, and deerest with us?"

Doctor. "Brasse; for it should goe with them but for brasse in dede, and therefore good cheape, and heere with us a great part for silver, and therefore deere with us, and that they would bringe unto us."

Knight. "How, in brasse pots, pannes, and other vessel of brasse?"

Doctor. "Not so: no man would take such stuffe but for brasse in deede."

Knighte. "How then?"

Then the Doctor tolde me, that

Doctor. "It was in coyne made beyonde sea like in all thinges to our coyne, which they brought over in heapes, and when they see that esteemed heere as silver, they bringe that for our commodities; as, for our woolles, felles, chese, butter, cloth, tinne, and ledde, which thing every man will be glad to sell for the most they can get: and beinge offered of straungers more of our coine then they may get within the countrey, they will sell them to straungers rather then us, with whom the price is set: then straungers may aforde their coine good cheape, for they make it them selves; and the stuffe is good cheape that they make it of; and so they will geeve thereof for our sayde commodities as much as yee will aske. Then, though they made not such coyne themselves, yet seeing they must pay more for our wares, or els no man would bring them to them, when hee may have as much at home of his neighbours, the straungers must needes have a consideration of that in the price of the sayd outwarde marchaundize that they sell, and also holde them deerer. And thus by the one way they may exhauste our chiefe commodities, and gieve us brasse for them; where with wee cannot buy such other like necessary commodities againe, as wee shoulde want, if they were not plenty within our realme. Much like the exchaunge that Homer sayeth Glaucus made with Diomedes, when he gave to his man his *golden* harnesse for *brasen*. But the other way they must needes bee brought to sell theire wares deerer to us, and then if this husbandeman and gentleman, and so all other within this realme should be compelled to sell their thinges good cheape, and yet buy all thinges deere that cometh frome beyonde the sea, I cannot see how they should longe prosper; for I never knewe him that bought deere and sould good cheape, and use it any long space, to thrive."

Knight. "There may be searchers made for such coyners as yee speake of comming in, and punishments devised therefore; and for goinge forth of victayles also, that none shall passe this realme."

Doctor. "There may be no devise imagined so stronge, but that yee may bee deceaved in both those points; as well in such coyne brought in, as in victailes caried forth: for many heades will devise many wayes to get any thinge by; and though wee bee envyroned with a good poole (that is the sea) yet there is to many posterns of it to gett out and in, unwares of the maister. Whosoever hath but a prety house with any family of his owne, and but one gate to go forth and come in at, and the maister of the house never so attentive, yet somewhat shalbe purloined forth: much more out of such a large realme as this is, havinge so many wayes and posterns to goe forth at and come in. And yet if straungers should bee content to take but our wares for theirs, what shoulde let them to advaunce the prices of theire wares, though oures were good cheape unto them; and then shall wee be still losers, and they at the winning hand with us, while they sell deere and buy good cheape; and consequently enrych themselves and impoverishe us. Yet had I leaver advaunce our wares in price, as they advaunce theirs, (as wee nowe doe) thoughe some bee loosers thereby, but yet not so many as should bee the other waye. And yet, what businesse shoulde there bee in making of prices of every trifle, for so it woulde bee, if the price of any one thinge bee abated by commaundemente: and therfore I cannot perceave that it maye bee remedied by either of you both (I meane you, gentleman, and

you, good husbandman) for if it rose at either of your hands, so it might be remedied likewise at the same, by releasing the thing againe at either of your handes that was the cause of this dearth. But if either you should release your rente, or you the price of your victayle to the olde rate, yet that coulde not compell straungers to bringe downe the price of theirs, as I have sayde: and so longe as their commodities be deere, it were neither expedient, nor yet could yee (though yee woulde) make your commodities good cheape, except yee can devise a waye how to live without them and they without you, which I thinke impossible; or else to use exchaung of ware for ware, without coyne, (as it was before coyne was founde) as I reade in the time of Homer it was, and also the civile lawe doth affirme the same; which were very combersome, and would require much cariage of ware up and downe, where nowe, by the benifit of coyne, a man may by those tokens fetch the wares that hee lacketh a far-of, without great trouble of cariadge; and hard were it readily to finde all wares that the one hath to pay the other, of equall value."

Husband. "If neither the gentleman nor I may remedy this matter, at whose hands lieth it to bee holpen then?"

Doctor. "I will tell my mynde therein herafter; but first let us boulte out the cause of this dearth. And therefore let mee learne, what other thing should be the cause thereof."

Capper. "Mary, these inclosures and great pastures are a great cause of the same. Whereby men do turne the erable[7] lande beinge a living for diverse poore men before time, nowe to one mans hand, and where both corne of all sorte, and also cattell of all kinds were reared aforetime, now there is nothing but onely sheepe. And in the steede of C. or CC. persons that had their living thereon, now bee there but three or foure sheepherds and the maister onely, that hath a living thereof."

Doctor. "Yee touch a matter that is much to be considered; albeit, I take not that to bee onely the cause of this dearth at this time; but this I thinke in my minde, that if that kinde of inclosing doe asmuch increase in xxx. yeares to come, as it hath done in xxx. yeares past, it may come to the great desolation and weaking of the strength of this realme, which is more to be feared then dearth; and I thinke it to bee the most occasion of any thinge yee spake yet, of these wilde and unhappy uprores that hath bene among us; for, by reason of these inclosures, many subjectes have no grounde to live uppon, as they had before time, and occupations be not alwayes set a worke all a like; and therefore the people still increasinge, and their livings diminishing, it must nedes come to passe that a great part of the people shalbe idle and lacke livinge; for hunger is a bitter thing to beare. Wherefore, they must needes whan they lacke, murmur agayne them that have plenty, and so stirre these tumultes."

Knighte. "Experience should seeme to prove playnely that inclosures should bee profitable and not hurtfull to the common weale: for we see the countryes, where most inclosiers be, are most wealthy; as Essex, Kent, Northamptonshyre, &c. And I have hearde a civilion once say, that it was taken for a maxime in his lawe (this saying[8]) that which is possessed of many in common, is neglected of all: and experience sheweth that tenaunts in common be not so good husbandes as when every man hath his parte in severalty: also I have heard say, that in the most countreyes beyonde the sea, they knowe not what a common grounde meaneth."

Doctor. "I meane not of all inclosures, nor yet all commins, but onely of such inclosures as turneth common and erable fields into pasture, and violent inclosures of commins without just recompence of them that have right to commen therein: for if lande were severally enclosed, to the intent to continewe husbandry thereon, and every man that hath right to commen, had for his portion a piece of the same to himselfe inclosed, I thinke no harme but rather good should come thereof, if every man did agree thereto: but yet it woulde not be sodaynely done; for there be many poore cottages in England, which having no lands of their own to live one, but their handy labour, and some refreshing uppon

[7] [Arable.]

[8] *Quod in communi possidetur, ab omnibus negligitur.*

the sayde commens, which if they were sodaynely thrust out from that commodity, might make a great tumulte and a disorder in the commonweale; and percase also, if men were suffred to inclose their grounds under the pretence to keepe it still in tillage, within a while after they woulde turne all to pasture, as wee see they doe nowe, too fast."

Knighte. "If they finde more profit thereby then otherwise, why should they not?"

Doctor. "I can tel why they should not, wel ynough; for they may not purchase themselves profit by that which may be hurtfull to other: but how to bring them that they would not so doe, is al the matter; for so long as they finde more profit by pasture then by tillage, they will still inclose, and turne erable land to pastures."

(Quoth the knight.) "That well may be restrained by lawes, if it were thought most profitable for the common weale; but all men doe not agree to that poynte."

Doctor. "I wot well, they doe not; and therefore it were hard to make a lawe therein: so many as have profit by that matter resisting it. And if such a lawe were made, yet men studying still of there most profit, woulde defraud the lawe by one meane or other."

Knight. "I have heard oftentymes much reasoning in this matter, and some in maintenaunce of these inclosures would make this reason; every man is a member of the commonweale, and that which is profitable to one man may be profitable to another, if he would exercise the same feate. Therefore, that which is profitable to mee and so to another, may be profitable to all, and so to the whole commonweale; as a greate masse of treasure consisteth of many pence, and one peney added to another and so to the thirde and fourth, &c. maketh up a greate somme; so doth each man added one to another make up the whole body of a common weale."

Doctor. "That reason is good, adding some what more to it; true it is, that that thing which is profitable to each man by himselfe, so it be not prejudicial to any other, is profitable to the whole commonweale, and not other wise: or else stealing or robbing which percase is profitable to some men, were profitable to the commonweale, which no man will admit. But this feate of inclosing is so, that where it is profitable to one man it is prejudiciall to many; therefore I thinke that reason sufficiently aunswered."

Knight. "Also, they will laye forth another reason, saying; that that which is our owne commoditves should bee alwayes advaunced as much as might be, and these sheepe's profit is one of the greatest commodities wee have, therfore it ought to bee advaunced as high as it may bee."

Doctor. "I coulde aunswere that argument with the like reason as I did the other: true it is, we ought to advaunce our owne commodity as much as wee can, so it bee not to as much more the hinderaunce of our other commodities. Or else, where as the breede of coneyes, deere, and suchlike is a commodity of this realme; yet if wee shoulde turne all our erable grounde to nourishe that commodity, and give up the plough and all other commodities for it, it were a great folly."

Knight. "They will say agayne, that all groundes bee not meete for sheepe."

Doctor. "It is a very ill grounde, but either it serveth to breed sheepe, or to feede them uppon: and if al that is meete either for the one, were turned to the mayntenaunce of sheepe and none other thinge, where shall wee have our other commodities growe?

Knighte. "All cannot doe so, though some doe."

Doctor. "What should let them all to do that which they see some do; yea, what should better encourage them thereto, then to se them that do it be come notable riche men in short time by the doing thereof. And then, if every man should do so, one following the example of another, what should ensew thereof but a meere solitude and utter desolation of the whole realme; furnished onely with sheepe, and sheepardes in steed of good men: whereby it might be a pray to the enemyes that first would set upon it: for then the sheepe-maysters and theire sheepherds could make no resistaunce to the contrary."

Knight. "Who can let them to make their most advauntage of that which is their owne?"

Doctor. "Yes mary, men may not use their owne thinges to the damage of the com-

monweale: yet for all this that I see, it is a thinge most necessary to bee provided for, yet I cannot perceve it shoulde bee the only cause of this dearth; for this inclosinge and greate grasinge, if it were occasion of that dearth of any thing, it must bee of corne chiefly; and nowe these many yeares past, we had corne good cheape inough. And the dearth that was then most, was of cattell, as biefes and muttons; and the broode of these are rather increased then diminished, by pastures and inclosinges."

Knighte. "Why should men be then so much offended with these inclosures?"

Doctor. "Yes, and not without great cause; for thoughe these many yeares past (through the great bounty of God,) we have had much plenty of corne, whereby it hath beene good cheape; one acer bearinge as much corne, as two most commonly were wont to do: yet if these yeares had chaunsed to be but meanely fruitfull of corne, no doubt, we should have had a great dearth of corne, as wee had of other thinges: and then it had bene, in a maner, an undoing of the poore commens. And if hereafter, there shoulde chaunce any barren yeares of corne to fall, wee should bee assuered to finde as greate extremity in the price of corne from that it was wont to bee, as we finde now in the prices of other victayle. And specially if wee have not ynough to serve within the realme, which may happen hereafter more likely then in time past, by reason that there is much lande since turned to pasture; for every man will seeke where most advauntage is, and they see there is most advauntage in grasing and breeding, then in husbandry and tillage by a great deale. And so longe as it is so, the pasture shall ever incroch upon tillage, for all the lawes that ever can be made to the contrary."

Knight. "And how thinke yee that this might be remedied then?"

Doctor. "To make the profit of the plough to be as good, rate for rate, as the profit of the grasier and sheepe-maister is."

Knighte. "How coulde that be done?"

Doctor. "Mary, I conjecture two manner of wayes; but I feare me, the devises shall seeme at the first blush so displeasaunt unto you, ere yee consider it throughly, that yee will reject them ere yee examyne them: for we talke now, to have things good cheape; and then if I should mencion a meane that should make some thinges deerer for the time, I should bee anon rejected, as a man that spake against every man's purpose."

Knighte. "Yet say your minde, and spare not; and though your reason at the first seeme unreasonable, yet we will heare whether yee can bring it to any reasonable ende."

Doctor. "Remember what we have in hand to treate of, not how the prices of thinges onely may bee broughte downe; but howe these inclosures may bee broken up, and husbandry more used: of the prices of thinges we shall speake heere after."

Knight. "Wee wil remember well that."

Doctor. "What maketh men to multiply pastures and inclosures gladly?"

Knighte. "Mary, the profit that groweth thereby."

Doctor. "It is very true, and none other thinge. Then finde the meanes to doe one of these two thynges that I shall tell you: and yee shall make them as glad to exercise tillage, as they doe nowe pastures."

Knight. "What be those two thinges?"

Doctor. "Mary, either make as litle gaynes to growe by the pastures as there groweth by the tillage: or els make that there may growe as much profit by tillage as did before by the pastures; and then I doubt not, but tillage shall be aswell cherished of every man as pasture."

Knight. "And how may that be done?"

Doctor. "Mary, the first way is, to make the wooll to be of as base pryce to the breeders thereof, as the corne is; and that shall be, if yee make a like restraint of it for passing over sea, unwrought as yee make of corne: another is, to increase the custome of wooll that passeth over unwrought. And by that the price of it shalbe abated to the breeders, and yet the price over sea shal be never the lesse: but that which is increased in the price thereof on straungers shall come to the queene's highnesse, which is as profitable to the realme as though it came to the breeders, and might relieve them of

other subsidies. Thus farre as touchinge the bringing downe of the price of woolles: now to the inhaunsinge of the price of corne, to be as good to the husbandman as wooll should be; and that might be brought to passe, if yee wil let it have as free passage over sea at all times, as yee have now for wooll."

Marchaunt. "By the first two wayes, men woulde send lesse wooll over sea then they doe nowe; and by that way the queene's custome should be dyminished: by your latter way, the pryce of corne should be much enhaunsed, wherewith men would be much grieved."

Doctor. "I wot wel, it would bee deere at the first; but if I can perswade you that it were reasonable it were so, and that the same could bee no hinderaunce to the realme universally, but greater profit to the same, then I thinke ye would be content it shoulde be so: and as touchinge the queene's custome, I will speake afterwarde."

Marchaunt. "I graunt, if yee could shewe me that."

Doctor. "I will assay it, albeit the matter be somewhat intricate, and as I shewed you before, at the first vew would displease many: for they would say, woulde yee make corne deerer then it is, have wee not dearth enough els with out that? Nay, I pray you finde the meanes to have it better cheape if it may bee, it is deare enough already; and such other like reasons would bee sayd. But now, let the husbandman answere such againe. Have not you grasiers raysed the price of your woolles, and felles; and you marchaunt-men, clothiers, and cappers, raysed the price of your marchaundize and wares, over[9] it was wont to bee, in manner double? Is it not as good reason then that wee should raise the price of our corne: what reason is it you should bee at large, and we should be restrayned? Eyther let us all be restrayned together, or els let us bee all at like liberty. Ye may sell your wooll over sea, your felles, your tallow, your cheese, your butter, and your leather, (which ryseth all by grasing) at your pleasure, and for the deerest peny yee can get for it; and wee shall not sell out our corne except it bee at x*d* the bushel or under; that is as much to say, as wee that be husband men shall not sell our ware except it be for nothing, or for so litle as wee shall not be able to live thereon. Thinke you, if the husbandman here had spoke these wordes, that he did not speake them somewhat reasonable?"

Husband. "I thanke you, with all my hart; for ye have spoken in the matter more then I could doe my selfe, and yet nothing but that is most true. We felt the harme, but wee wist not what was the cause therof: many of us sawe well longe agoe, that our profite was but small by the plough, and therefore diverse of my neighbours that had in time past, some two, some three, some four ploughs of their owne, have layde downe, some of them part, and some of them all their teemes; and turned either part or all their erable ground to pasture, and thereby have waxed very riche men. And every day some of us incloseth some part of his ground to pasture; and were it not, that our grounde lyeth in the common fieldes entermingled one with another, I thinke also our fieldes had bene enclosed of common agreement of all the towneship, longe or this time. And to say the very truth, I that have enclosed litle or nothing of my grounde, coulde never be able to make up my lord's rent, were it not for a litle herd that I have of neate, sheepe, swyne, geese, and hennes, that I do reare upon my grounde. Whereof, because the price is somewhat round, I make more cleare profit then I doe of all my corne; and yet I have but a very bare living, by reason that many thinges doe belong to husbandry which bee now exceedinge chargeable, over they were in time past."

Capper. "Though this reason of maister Doctor's here doth please you well that be husbandmen, yet it pleaseth us that be artificers nothing at all; which buy most both breade-corne, and malt-corne for our peny: and whereas ye, maister doctor, say, that it were as good reason that the husbandman should reyse the price of his corne, and have as free vent of the same over sea, as we doe and have of our wares, I cannot greately deny; but that yet I say, that every man hath neede of corne, but they have not so much of other wares."

[9] [*i. e.* Above, beyond.]

Doctor. "Therefore the more necessary that corne is, the more be the men to be chearished that reareth it: for if they see there bee not so much profit in usinge the plough, as they see in other feates; thinke ye not that they will leave that trade, and fall to another that they see more profitable? As yee may perceive by the doings of this honest man's neighbours, which have turned there erable lande to pasture, because they see more profit by pasture then by tillage. Is it not an old saying in Latin, *Honos alit artes*; that is to say, profit or advauncement nourisheth every facultie; which sayng is so true, that it is alowed by the common judgement of al men. Wee must understand also, that all thinges that should bee done in a common weale, bee not be forced or to be constrayned by the straight penalties of the lawe; but some so, and some either by allurement and rewardes rather. For what lawe can compell men to be industrious in travayle or labour of body, or studious to learne any science or knowledge of the mynde? to these thinges they may be well provoked, encouraged, and allured; if they that be industrious and paynefull bee rewarded well for their paines, and bee suffered to take gaynes and wealth as rewardes of their laboures; and so likewyse, they that be learned be advaunced and honoured accordinge to their forwardnes in learning: every man will then study either to bee industrious in bodely labour, or studious in thinges that pertaynes to knowledge. Take these rewards from them, and go about to compell them by lawes thereto, what man wil plough or digg the ground, or exercise any manuall art wherein is any paine: or who will adventure over seaes for any marchaundise, or use any facultie wherein any perill or daunger should be, seing his reward shalbe no more then his that sits still? But yee wil percase aunswere me, that all their reward shal not be taken away, but part of it. Yet then yee must graunt me, that as if all these rewardes were taken from them, all these faculties must decaie; so if part of that reward be minished, the use of these faculties shall minish withall, after the rate, and so they shal be the lesse occupied, the lesse they be rewarded and esteemed. But now to our purpose: I thinke it more necessary to devise a meane how husbandry may be more occupied rather then lesse: which I cannot perceive how it may be brought to passe, but as men do se the more gaines therein, the gladder they will occupie that feate; and this to be true (that some things in a common weale must be forced with paines and some by rewards allured) may appeare, by that which the wise and politique senatour Tully wryteth;[10] saying, that it was the wordes of Solon, which was one of the seven wyse men of Greece, and of those seven the onely man that made lawes, that a common weale was holden up by two things chiefely; that is by reward and payne: of which words, I gather, that men should be provoked to do good deedes by rewardes and preferments; and to abstaine from ill doinges by paines. Trowe you, if husband men be not better chearyshed or provoked then they be, to exercise the plough, but that in processe of time so many ploughes wil be layd downe, (as I feare me there be allready), that if one unfruitefull yeare shall happen amonge us, (as commonly doth once in seven yeares,) we should then not onely have dearth but also skarcenes of corne, that we should be driven to seeke it from outwarde parties, and pay deare for it."

Knight. "How would yee have them better chearished to use the plough?"

Doctor. "To let them have more profit by it then they have; and liberty to sell it at all times and to all places, as freely as men may do other things: but then (no doubt) the price of corne would rise specially at the first, more then at length; yet the price would provoke everie man to set the plough in the grounde, to till waste grounds: yea, and to turne the lands that is now enclosed for pasture to erable; for every man will the gladder follow that, wherein they see the more gaines, and thereby must nedes ensue, both greater plenty of corne within the realme, and also much treasure should be brought into the realme, by reason thereof. And besides that, plenty of all other victuall encreased amonge us."

Knight. "That would I faine heare you declare howe?"

[10] *Tullius in Ep. ad Atti.*

Doctor. "Ye have heard that by this free vent and sale of corne, the husbandman's profit is advaunced: then it is shewed, that every man naturally will follow that, wherein he sees profit ensue; therefore, men wil the gladder occupy husbandry, and the more doe occupie husbandry, the more plenty of corne must nedes be: And the more plenty of corne there is, thereof the better cheape: And also the more will be spared over that, which shall suffice for the realme. And then, that may bee spared in a good yeare, shall bringe us againe either corne, or els the commodities of other countreis necessary for us. Then the more husbandry there is occupied, the more universall breede should be of all victuals, of neate, sheepe, swine, geese, hennes, capons, and chickens: for al these are reared much on corne."

Knight. "If men shoulde sell, when a good seasonable yeare is, all that is overplus when the realme is served; what shoulde wee doe if a barren yeare shoulde happen, when no store of corne is left of the good yeare before?"

Doctor. "Fyrst ye muste consider that men will bee sure they will keepe inoughe to finde themselves within the realme, ere they sell any forth of the same: and having libertie to sell at their pleasure, doubte yee not, but they had lever sell their corne two pence or three pence in a bushell better cheape within the realme, then to bee at the charge of cariage, and perill of adventure, in sending it over and sell it dearer; except it be for much more gaines. And thus men beinge provoked with luker, wil keepe the more corne, looking for a deare yeare in the countrey, whereby must needes be great store: and though they did not so, but should sell over sea all that they might spare, over that serves the realme, when the yere is plentifull; yet by reason that through the meanes aforesaid moe ploughes are set aworke, then would suffice the realme in a plentifull yeare; if a scarce yeare should fal after, the corne of so many ploughes as in a good yeare would be more then enough, in an unfruitefull yeare, at the leaste would be sufficient to finde the realme; and so should the realme be served with enough of corne in a scarce yeare, and in a plentiful yere no more then inough; which might be sold over for great treasure, or greater commodities; where now in a plentifull yeare we seeke to have but asmuch as may suffice the realme. Then if a scarse yeare should happen, we must needes lacke of our owne to serve, and should be dryven to buy from beyond the sea; and then, if they were as envious as wee bee, might not they say, when we requyred any corne of them, (that seing they could get none from us when we had plenty,) why should they let us have any corne when wee have scarsitie? Surely, common reason would, that one region should helpe an other when it lackes: and therefore God hath ordeyned that no countrey should have all commodities, but that which one lackes, an other brings forth; and that the one countrey lacketh this yeare, another hath plenty thereof commonly the same yeare; to the intent, men may knowe that they have neede one of another's helpe, and thereby love and societie to growe among all men the more. But here we would doe as though we had neede of no other countrey on earth, but to live all of our selves; and as though wee mighte make the market of all things as wee list our selves. For though God his bountifull unto us, and sends us many greate commodities, yet wee coulde not live without the commodities of others. And for example, of iron and salte, though wee have competently thereof, yet wee have not the thirde parte to suffice the realme; and that can in no wise be spared if yee wil occupy husbandry: then tar, rozyn, pitch, oyle, and steele, wee have none at all; and for wynes, spyces, lynnen cloth, silkes, and coloures, though we might live indifferently without them, yet far from any civility should it be: as I deny not, but many things wee might have heere sufficiently that wee buy now from beyond sea; and many things wee might spare wholly: whereof, if time will serve, I shall talke more here after. But nowe to returne to the first poynte I spake of before: to bee one of the meanes to bring husbandry up; that is by basing [11] the estimation of wooll, and felles. Though I take not that way to bee as good as the other; for I doe not allowe that meane that may base any of our com-

[11] [Debasing, depreciating.]

modities, except it bee for the inhaunsing of a better commodity: but if both commodities may bee inhaunsed together, (as by the last devise I thinke they might be,) I allowe that way better, neverthelesse where as you, (brother mercer,) shewed afore, that either by restraining of wooll and other commodities, till they were equal within the realme after the rate of the corne; or by inhaunsing the custome of wooll and other the sayd commodities, till the price beside the custome of the sayd commodities were brought like to the corne in proportion; the quene's custome shoulde bee diminished, I thinke not so; for the one way, as much as she shoulde have for the more wooll at litle custome ventred over, so much should we have for the lesse wooll at a greater custome ventred. And the other way, as much as her Grace should lose by her custome of wooll, so much or more should her Grace winne by the custome of clothes, made within the realme. But one thing I doe note by this later devise; what, if they should take place, we must doe, that is, if wee keepe within us much of our commodities; wee must spare many other things that we have now from beyonde sea, for wee must alwayes take heede that wee buy no more of straungers then we do sell them; for so we should impoverish our selves, and enrich them. For hee were no good husband that had no other yerely revenewes but of his husbandry to live on, that would buy more in the market then he selles againe. And that is a pointe that wee might save much by our treasure in this realme, if wee would. And I marvell no man takes heede to it, what number first of trifles comes hether from beyond the sea that wee might either cleane spare, or els make them within our realme, for the which wee either pay inestimable treasure every yere, or els exchaunge substantiall wares and necessary for them, for the which we might receave great treasure. Of the which sort I meane as well looking glasses as drinking, and also to glaze windowes, dialles, tables, cardes, balles, puppettes, penners, inkehornes, toothepickes, gloves, knives, dagges, owches, brouches, agglettes, buttons of silke and silver, earthen pots, pinnes and pointes, hawkes' belles, paper both white and browne, and a thousand like thinges that might either be cleane spared, or els made within the realme sufficient for us: and as for some thinges, they make it of our owne commodities and send it us againe; whereby they set their people a worke, and doe exhauste much treasure out of this realme: as of our woll they make clothes, cappes, and kersies; of our felles they make Spanish skins, gloves and girdels; of our tinne, saltsellers, spoones and dishes; of our broken linnen clothes and ragges, paper both white and browne. What treasure (think yee) goes out of this realme for every of these thinges? and then for all together, it exceedes myne estimation. There is no man can be contented now with any other gloves, then be made in Fraunce or in Spayne; nor kersie, but it must bee of Flaunders die; nor cloth, but French or Fryseadowe; nor ouche, brooch, or agglet, but of Venice making, or Millen;[12] nor dagger, swearde, knife or gyrdle, but of Spanish making, or some outward countrey; no, not as much as a spurre, but that is fetched at the Millener. I have heard within these xl. yeares, when there were not of these haberdashers that selles French or Millen cappes, glasses, knives, daggers, swordes, gyrdels, and such thinges, not a dosen in all London: and now from the tower to Westminster alonge, every streate is full of them, and their shoppes glitter and shyne of glasses as well drynking as looking; yea, all maner of vessell of the same stuffe: paynted cruses, gaye daggers, knyves, swordes, and gyrdels; that it is able to make any temperate man to gase on them and to buy somewhat, though it serve to no purpose necessarie. What neede they beyonde sea to travaile to Perowe[13] or such farre countreies, or to trie out the sandes of the ryvers of Tagus in Spaine, Pactolus in Asia, and Ganges in India; to get amonge them after much labour small sparkes of gold, or to digge the deepe bowels of the earth for the mine of silver or golde; when they can of vile claie not farre sought for, and of pryple stones and ferne rootes, make good golde and silver, more then a great many of silver and golde mines would make. I thinke not so litle as a hundreth thousand poundes a yeare is fetched of our treasure, for thinges of no valure of themselves, but onely for the labours of the workers

[12] [Milan.] [13] [Peru.]

of the same, which are set a-worke all on our charges. What grosnes of wits be we of, that se it, and suffer such a continual spoyl to be made of our good and treasure by such meanes; and specially that will suffer our owne commodities to goe and set straungers a worke, and then to buy them againe at their handes: as of our woll they make and die kersies, friseadowes, broade clothes, and cappes beyonde sea, and bryng them hether to bee solde againe: wherein I pray you note what they doe; they make us pay at the ende for our owne stuffe againe. Yea, for the straungers custome, for their workemanshippe, and colours; and lastely, for the second custome, in the retourne of the wares into the realme again: whereas, by working the same within the realme, our owne men should be set a-worke at the charges of straungers, the custome should be borne all by straungers to the Queene, and the cleare gaines remaine within the realme."

Knight. "If yee ponder such thinges and other, which goeth over sea yerely from us for the same, yee speake to litle by as much againe; but one thinge I have marked that albeit it is true, that though straungers buy their woll deare, and pay twise custome, (that is both at going out of the wooll, and when it retournes in clothes or cappes,) yet the same shalbe better cheape then that which is made within the realme, whereof that should come, I would faine knowe."

Doctor. "Whether it come of our sloth, or of our chargeable fare, or of our idlenes (which we Englishmen use, percase, more then other nations,) I knowe not: yet it were better for us to paie more to our owne countreymen for these wares, then to straungers lesse; for how litle gaines so ever goeth over, it is lost to us cleare; but how much so ever the gaines is that goeth from one of us to another, it is all saved with in the realme: and a like reason, as you make now heere, once a booke-seller made mee when I asked him, why we had not white and browne paper made within the realme aswell as they had made beyond the sea? Then he aunswered mee, that there was paper made a while within the realme: at the last the man perceived that made it, that he could not aforde his paper as good cheape as it came from beyond the sea, and so he was forced to lay downe making of paper: and no blame in the man; for men will geve never the more for his paper because it wes made here: but I would eyther have the paper staied from comming in, or so burdened with custome, that by that time it came hether, our men mighte aforde their paper better cheape, then straungers might do theires, the customes considered."

Knight. "There ye speake a thinge that the Queene's atturney would not agree unto; for if such ware were made within the realme, then the Queene's custome should be lesse, by reason that litle or no such wares should come from beyond the sea."

Doctor. "If the Queene's atturney did regard, as well the profit that should come after, as that which is present afore the eyes, hee would agree to this well inough, for by this meanes inestimable treasure should be saved within the realme; and then it could not growe to the profit of the subjects, but it must needes growe also to the profite of the Queene; for the wealth of the subjectes, is the profit of the queene: and in mine opinion they doe not beste provide for her Grace's profite, that procureth onely a presente commoditie; but rather that commodity that may longest endure without griefe of her subjects."

Knight. "You would have a lawe made, that no such ware should be brought from beyond the sea, to be soulde heere, of such things as could be made heere, as wel as there."

Doctor. "Yea forsooth, so would I wishe."

Knight. I was once in parlyament, when such a thinge was mooved, but onely for cappes, that none made beyond sea should bee sould heere within the realme; and then it was aunswered by a greate wise man, that it was to bee feared least it touched the league made betwene the prince's highnesse, and some forraigne prince. What thinke you then would have bene said, if yee would have moved a lawe to be made of our wooll, our tynne, our led, and hydes, beyond sea, should have bene sould heere?"

Doctor. "I cannot tell whether that should touch the league or no, nor whether any

such league be: but I say to you, that I think it a marvaylous league that shoulde set us to make lawes to binde our owne subjects, that might be profitable to them: and if there were any such league, I had leaver it were broken then kept, which being broken shoulde doe us good, and being kept should doe us harme; and I suppose that when wee enter any league, the same is ment to be for our weale, and not for our hinderaunce; wherefore that league would not be esteemed that might hinder our common weale."

Knight. "What, if they would make a like lawe beyonde the sea, that wares made within this realme should not bee soulde there; as they made of late, when wee devised a lawe that no wynes shoulde bee caried hether in straunger's bottomes."

Doctor. "Yet should they be enforced rather to dissolve their law then we ours; for our stuffe is necessary for them that is made here; as cloth, leather, beire, tallow, butter, cheese, pewter vessel, &c. Theirs bee to us more to serve pleasure then necessity; as tables, cardes, perfumed gloves, glasses, gally pots, dyalls, orenges, pippens, and cheries: yee, their chiefe commodities might be better spared of us, then retayned of them; as wynes, silkes, spices, yron, and salt. I would to God wee woulde followe but the example of a poore haven towne that I heard of it to do of late, heere in the marches of Walles, called Carmarthen; when there came a certayne vessell thether out of England all laden with appells, which aforetime was wont to brynge them good corne, the towne commaunded that nonne shoulde buy the sayd appells upon a great payne; and so the bote stoode so long in the haven without sale or vent, till the appells were putrified and lost. And when the owner demaunded of the bayliffe of the towne, why he had stayed his sale and vent; the bayliffe aunswered againe, that the sayd vessell came thether to fetch the best wares they had in the countrey, as fryzes, brode clothes, and wooll; and insteede thereof hee should leave them in their countrey but appells, that should be spent and wasted in lesse then a weeke: And sayd, bring unto us corne or malt, as yee were wont to doe, (whereof they countrey hath need,) and yee shall be welcome at all times; and yee shall have free vent and sale thereof in our porte: Thinke yee that the cities of London, Southampton, Bristowe, Chester, and other moe, might they not learne a good lesson of this poore Welch towne in this doing? Might not they say, when shippes full of orrenges, pippens, or cheries come in; that if they would agayne take plummes, damozins, and strawberries for them, they shoulde have free exchaunge; and when they bring in glasses, puppets, rattles, and such like thinges, they should have like trifles for them, if any such were to bee had within this realme; as there bee many: but if they come for our woolles, for our clothes, kerseyes, corne, tinne, ledde, yea our golde and silver, and such substantiall and necessary thinges; let them bring in againe, flax, tarre, oyles, fyshe, and such like: And, not to use them as men doe litle children, geve them an appell for the best jewell that they have about them. And thus wee are empoverished of our treasure, and chiefe commoditie, and cannot perceave it; such is the finenesse of straungers' wits, and the grosnes of ours: yet it were more tollerable if wee did no more but chearishe their devises that be straungers; but we have in times past devised our selves many other wayes, to our owne impoverishment, and to exhaust our treasure. And now I must come to that thinge that you, (brother Mercer,) touched afore; which I take to be the chiefe cause of all this dearth of thinges (in comparison of former times) and of the manifest impoverishinge of the realme, and might in short time have ben the destruction of the same, if it had not bene the rather remedied; that is, the basing, or rather the corrupting of our coyne, and treasure; whereby we devised a way for the straungers, not only to buy our gold and silver for brasse, and to exhaust this realme of treasure; but also to buy our chiefe commodities in maner for naught: yet it was thought this should have beene a meane not onely to bryng our treasure home, but to bring much of theirs; but the experience playnly declared the contrary, so that it were but a very dullerde's parte now to be in any doubt thereof."

Knight. "Forsooth, and such a dullerd am I indeede, that I cannot perceave what hinderance it should be to the realme to have this mettall more then that, for our coyne; seeing the coyne is but a token to goe from man to man, and when it is stricken with the

princes seale to be currant, what maketh it the matter what mettall it be made of; yea, though it were but leather or paper."

Doctor. "You say but as most sort of men doe say, and yet they bee farre wide from the trueth, as men that doe not consider the thinge groundly: for by that reason, God would never send dearth among us, but the prince might quickely remedy it; as if corne were at a crowne a bushell, the prince might provide crounes enowe for him selfe and also his subjects, made of brasse to pay for the same; and so to make it as easy for him and his subjectes to pay a crowne of such mettall for a bushell, as it should be for them now to pay a penny for the same: and as the pryce of corne doth rise, the prince might raise the estimation of his coyne after the rate, and so keepe the coyne alwayes at one estate in deede, though in name it should seeme to rise. As for example, suppose wheate this yeare to be at a grote a bushell, and the next yeare at two grotes; the prince might cause the grote to be called viii*d.* and if the bushel rose to xii*d.* the bushel, he might raise the estate of the grote to xii*d.*; and so whether it were by making of coyne of other mettalles then be of pryce receaved among all men, or by enhaunsing the price of the olde coyne made in mettalles of estimation, the prince might, (if your reason were true) keepe alwaies not onely corne, but also all other victualls and necessaries for mans life, alwayes at one price in deede, though in terme they should vary. But yee may see dayly, by experience, the contrary hereunto: for when God sendeth dearth either of corne or of other things, there is neither emperor nor king can help it; which they would gladly doe if they might, as well for their owne ease, as for their subjectes, and might soone doe it, if your reason afore touched might take place: that is, if either they might make coyne of what estimation they would, of vile mettalls; or els enhaunce the value of coines made in mettalls of price, to what summe they would. Yet a man at the first blush woulde thinke that a prince in his realme might doe this easily, and make what coyne he would to be currant and of what estimation it pleased him; but he that so thinketh, marketh but the termes, and not the thinges that are understanded by them; as if a man made no difference betwene vi. grotes that made an ownce of silver, and xii. grotes that made in all but an ounce of silver: by the grote of the first sorte, the sixth parte of an ounce, and by a grote of the other sorte is the twelfth part of an ownce of silver understanded; and so there must be as much difference betwene the one grote and the other, as is betwene two and one, the whole thing and the halfe; though either of both be called but under one name, that is a grote: we must consider, though gould and silver be the mettals commonly wherein the coyne is stricken to be the tokens for exchaunge of thinges, betwene man and man; yet it is the wares that are necessary for man's use, that are exchaunged indeede, under the outward name of the coyne: and it is the raritie and plenty of such wares, that makes the price thereof hier or baser. And because it were very combrous and chargeable to cary so much of the wares that we have aboundance of, to exchaunge for the wares that we want alwayes, both for the weight of our wares, and also for that they could not be caried so farre without perishing of the same; nor proporcioned so even, as there should be always, neither more or lesse brought of our wares, then were equivalent with other wares that we receive: therefore were the mettalles of gold and silver devised,[14] as wares of little weight; most in value, and least combrous to cary; and least subject to detriment or hurt in the cariage thereof: And may be cut and devided in moste pieces and portions, without any losse, to bee as the *mean* in wares to exchaunge all other wares by. And if the thing were to be new devised, necessity would cause us to devise the same way againe. For put the case, there were no use of money amonge us, but onely exchaunge of wares for wares; as somtimes I do read hath ben;[15] we might at a time have such plenty of things in our realme; as for example, of corne, wolles, and felles; cheese and butter, and such other commodities as were sufficient for us, and there shoulde remaine with us such great store, that wee could not spend it in our needes, nor keepe it longe without perishing: Would

[14] *Aristo. lib. 5. Eth.* [15] *Hom. F. de emptione et vendicatione. li. 1.*

not we be glad to exchaunge that abundance of thinges, that could not abyde the longe keeping, for such wares that woulde abyde the keeping; which we might exchaunge againe for such wares, as I rehearsed; or any other as necessary, when scarsity of the same should happen amonge us? Yea, verely wee shoulde study to have in that exchaunge such wares as would go in least romth,[16] and continue longest without perishing, and be caried to and fro with least charge, and be most currant at all times, and at all places. Is not gold and silver, the thinges that be most of that sorte; I meane most of value, most light to be caried, longest able to abide the keping, aptest to receive any forme, marke, and moste currant in all places, and most easely devided into many pieces with out losse of the stuffe? In some of these poynts I confesse precious stones do excel both silver and gold, as in value, or lightnesse of cariage; but then, they may not be devided without perishing of the substaunce; nor put agayne together, after they be once devided; nor many of them abide so many daungers, without perishing of the matter; nor yet receive any marke or stampe easely, nor be so universally estemed: therefore, they be not so meete for instruments of exchaunge, as silver and golde be; or els they for their pieces and lyghtnesse of cariage, might be. And because gold and silver have all these commodities in them, they are chosen by common assent of the whole world, that is knowen to be of any civility,[17] to be instruments of exchaunge to measure all things by, most apte to be either caried far or kepte in store, to receive for thinges, whereof we have abundance and to purchase by them agayne other thinges which wee lacke, when and where we have most neede. As for example, if there were no coyne currant, but exchaunge of thinges, (as I sayd sometime there was) set this case, that a man had as much corne in one yere as he could not well spend in hys house in foure yeares after, and perceived that hee myghte not keepe it so longe, or till a deare or skarse yeare shoulde come, and if he did, much of it shoulde perish or all: were it not wisedome for him then to exchaunge the overplus of that corne, for some other ware that might be longer kept, without daunger of wast, or deminishing; for the which he myghte at all times have either corne againe at his neede, or some other necessarie thinge? Yea, no doubt, if there were no use of silver or golde, he would have tinne, brasse, or leadde or such other like thing, that would abide the keeping with least detriment; and would desire to have that thinge most, that were in least weight, most in value, and in leaste daunger of wearing or perishing, and moste universally received; wherein gold and silver excelles all other mettalles."

Knight. "What makes these mettalles to bee of more value then other?"

Doctor. "No doubt, their excellencie above other mettalles both in pleasure and use; partly, the rarity of them."

Knight. "What be these qualities? If yee prayse the gold for his weight or plyablenes, led doth excel it in these pointes: if yee commend his colour, sylver, by many men's judgementes (whose colour resembleth the daylyght for his clerenesse) passeth him. And herroldes preferre it in armes, because it is furthest of seene in the fielde; nor never seemes other colour but his owne, be it never so farre of: where all other shall seeme blacke farre of, and so loose the strengthe of theyr owne."

Doctor. "As much as the led approcheth the golde in that point I speake of weight and pliablenes, it is cast behinde it in other qualities farre more commenable; as in colour it either passeth silver, by some other men's judgementes, because it resembles the colour of the celestiall bodies, (as the sunne and starres being the most excellent thynges that commeth under the view of the bodely sences of man,) or it is equivalent to it in armes. I know not how much it is esteemed; well, I wote, prynces blase their armes most with that colour; whether it bee for excellency of the same, or for that they love the mettall it is made of so wel, I cannot tel. But now to esteeme theyr other qualityes, golde is never wasted nor consumed by fire: yea, the more it is burned, the more puerer it is: which ye can say of none other mettalles. Then it weares not lesse by occupying, it defyleth not the thing it toucheth, as silver doth, with which ye may draw lynes, whych is a

[16] [Room.]

[17] *Publica mensura. Aristo. Eth.*

declaration that the stuffe falleth away; albeit, wryters do marvell that it should draw so black a line, being of that brightnes and colour it self. Then there is no rust nor scurfe that diminisheth the goodness, or wasteth the substaunce of gold; it abides the freating, and licours of salt and vinegar, without damage, which weareth any other thing: it needes no fire, ere it be made golde, as others require; it is golde as soone as it is founde; it draweth without wooll, as it were woll;[17] it is easily spred in leaves of marvailous thinnes: yee may adorne or guild any other mettals with it; yea, stones and timber: it is also nothinge inferiour in commodity of making vessels or other instrumentes to silver; but rather puerer, cleaner, and more sweete to kepe any liquor in. Next him approcheth silver in commendations, as in clennes, beauty, sweetenes, and lightnes. And it serves not onely to make vessels and other instruments, but it is also sponne, but not without woll, as golde may bee; though they could not doe it aforetime, but with gold onely, as I have hearde; church vestures were made onely of gold then, and now of late of this silver, being spon with silke and guilte, they counterfeite the olde excesse of clothe of golde and tyssue. Now to speake of other mettalls, yee see what uses they serve for, whych if these were away, should bee more esteemed. Then I toulde you the raritye commends the sayd mettals of golde and silver, yet more then this. For as they do excel in qualities, so dame nature seemes to have layde them up in a further warde, then her other giftes; to shew us that all fayre things be rare, and that the fayrest thinges as they be hardest to be attained, so they be most to be esteemed. If a glasse (as Erasmus sayth wel) were as rare as silver, it should be as deare as silver; and not without cause: who could glase a window with silver so as he might keepe out the injury of the weather, and yet neverthelesse receive the commodity of the light through the same to his house, as with glasse he might? And so I might commend other things for their use, afore gold or silver, as iron and steele; with whom yee may make better tooles for many necessary uses, then with gold or silver: but for the uses that we talke of, silver and golde do clearely excel al other mettals. I passe over that matter. Thus I have shewed some reason, why these mettals of golde and sylver are growen in estimation above other."

Knight. "Why doe kynges and princes stricke these mettalles and other with a coyne? but because they would have that coyne of what value so ever it be, to beare the estate that the coine pretendeth; which they did in vaine, if they could make the mettal that beareth that, to be neither better nor worse in estimation. Then I had as liefe have smal gadds or plats of silver and gold, without any coyne at al, to go abroade from man to man for exchaunge."

Doctor. "Surely the time was so (even amonge the Romaynes, when neither brasse, silver, nor golde was coined:) but were esteemed onely by the weight. And thereof to this day remayneth these vocables of coynes, as *Libra, Pondo, Dipondius*; as *Solidus, Denarius*;[18] wordes of waightes, that afterward were geven to coynes pretending the same weights. Also the common officers that waighed these rude mettals were called *Libri pendes*, whereof we have mencion made in the civile lawe; but because in great traffique and assembly of buyers and such, it was tedious to tary for the weighing of these mettalles, and trying; it was thought good that the princes should strike those mettals with several markes, for the variety of the weights they were of, to assure the receivor, the same to be no lesse then the weight it pretended.[19] As for playner example, they strake the pounde weight with the marke of the pound, and the ounce with the marke of the ounce; and so after the variety of the weights of other pieces variable markes: whereby began the names of coynes, so that the people needed not to bee troubled with the weighing and trying of every piece, beinge assured by the marke of the prynce, that every piece contayned the weight that was signified by the marke set on every one. The prynces credite was then such amonge their subjects, as they doubted nothinge therein. As soone as they attempted to doe otherwise, that is, to marke the halfe pound with the marke of the pound, and the halfe ounce with the marke of the ounce, a while their credite made

[17] [Sic.] [18] *Plini lib.* 33. *Cap.* 3. [19] *Inst. de test. ord.* § 1.

those coynes currant: As I read among the Romaynes practized more then once; but assoone as it was espied, the two pieces of halfe pounds went no farther then the one piece of a whole pound went before. And at length, as much as they wonne at the first, they lost at the last, in payment of their rentes, customes, and duties. And so the nearer east, the further from west; and they consequently lost their credite: much like as I have knowne certain townes in England to have done, which were wont to make their clothes of a certayne bredth and length, and to set their seales to the same; while they kept the rate truly, straungers did but looke on the seale, and receave theyr ware, wherby these townes had great vent of theyr clothes and consequently prospered very well: Afterward, some in these townes not contented with reasonable gaines contynuall, and desiering more, devised clothes of lesse lengthe, bredth, and goodnesse, then they were wont to bee, and yet by the commendation of the seale to have as much money for the same as they had before for good clothes; and for a time they gat much, and so abased the credite of theyr predecessors to theyr singuler luker, which was recompenced with the losse of theyr posterity. For after these clothes were founde faulty, for all their seales; they were not onely never the better trusted, but much lesse for theyr seale; yea, though their clothes were well made: for when theyr untruth and falshoode was espied, then no man woulde buy theyr clothes, till they were ensearched and unfoulded, regarding nothing the seale: and yet because they founde them untrue in some parte, they mistrusted them in other: and so would geve lesse for those clothes, then for any other lyke, having no seales to the same; whereby the credite, of the said townes was lost, and the townes utterly decayed. Dyd yee not see that our coyne was discredited immediately upon the alteration of it, in the late yeares of King Henry the eyghte; specially among straungers, whych ever before desiered to serve us afore all other nations, at all our needes, for the goodnes of our coyne? And then they would let us have nothing from them, but onely for our commodities; as wooll, felles, tallow, butter, cheese, tynne, and ledde; and where, before time, they were wont to brynge us for the same, either good golde or silver, or els as necessary commodities agayne; then they sent us eyther such trifles as I spake of before: as glasses, gally pots, tennice balles, papers, gyrdels, brouches, buttons, dyalles, and such light ware, that standeth them in no charge or use; or els (if it be true that I have heard, and as I tolde you in your eare before) they sent us brasse for our treasure of golde and silver; and for our sayd commodities, I warrant you, yee sawe no golde nor silver broughte over unto us, as it was before used; and no marvayle: to what purpose should they bring silver or golde thither, whereas the same was not esteemed? Therefore, I have heard say for a truth, (and I beleeve it the rather to bee true, because it is likely,) that after that our coyne was based and altered, straungers counterfeited our coyne, and founde the meanes to have greate masses of that transported hether, and here uttered it well for our olde golde and silver, as also for our chiefe commodities; which thinge I reporte mee unto you, what inconvenience it might bring unto this realme, if it were suffered, in a small compasse of time?"

Knight. "There be searchers that myght let[20] that matter well ynough, if they be true; both for staying of such false coyne to come in, and of our old coyne to goe forth."

Doctor. "I sayd so, to the man that tolde mee the same tale that I tolde you even now: And he answered me, there were many wayes to deceave the searchers, if they were never so true; as by putting of the sayde coyne in their shippes' balast, or in some vesselles of wyne or other lyquor, transported either unto us or from us. Then every creake in this realme hath not searchers: And if they had, they bee not such saintes as would not bee corrupted for money. Besides this, was there not made proclamations that the olde coyne, specially of golde, should not be currant here above such a pryce? was not that the rediest way to drive a way our golde from us? every thing will goe where it is most esteemed, and therefore our treasure went over in heapes."

Knight. "I believe well, that these were meanes to exhaust the olde treasure from us,

[20] [Hinder.]

which yee have rejected: but how it should make every thing so deare among our selves since the time, (as yee sayd it doth) I cannot yet perceave the reason."

Doctor. "Why, doe yee not perceive that by reason hereof, wee payde dearer presently for every thing that we have from beyonde the sea, then wee were wont to doe before?"

Knight. "That cannot be denied?"

Doctor. "By howe much thinke you?"

Knight. "By the thirde parte, well maner of things."

Doctor. "Must not they that buy deare, sell deare agayne theyr wares?"

Knight. "That is true, if they intend to thrive: for he that selleth good cheape and buyeth deare, shall never thrive."

Doctor. "You have your selfe declared the reason, why things within the realme proved after that time so deare: for wee must buy deare all things bought from beyond the sea; and therefore wee must sell agayne as deare our things, or els wee make ill bargaynes for our selves. And though that reason maketh it plaine, yet the experience of the thing maketh it playner: for where yee say that every thing bought beyond the sea, is commonly dearer by the third parte then it was; do yee not see the same proportion raysed in our wares if it be not more?"

Knight. "What losse have wee by this, when wee sell our commodities as deare as wee buy others?"

Doctor. "I graunte to one sorte of men, I accompt it no losse: yea, to some other a gayne more then any losse; and yet to some other sort a greater losse then it is profit to that other: yea, generally to the utter impoverishing of the realme, and weaking[21] of the Queene's majestie's power exceedingly."

Knight. "I pray you, what be those sorts that yee meane: And first of those that yee thinke should have losse thereby?"

Doctor. "I meane al these that lives by buying and selling: for as they buy deare, they sell thereafter."

Knight. "What is the next sort that yee say would win by it?"

Doctor. "Mary, all such as have takinges, or fearmes, in theyr owne manurance at the olde rent; for where they pay after the olde rate, they sell after the new: that is, they pay for theyr lande good cheape, and sell all things growing thereof deare."

Knight. "What sorte is that, which yee sayde should have greater losse hereby, then these men had profit."

Doctor. "It is all noblemen, gentlemen, and all other that live either by a stented rent or stypend; or doe not manure the ground, or doe occupy no living or selling."

Knight. "I pray you, peruse these sortes as yee did the other, one by one, and by course."

Doctor. "I will gladly. Firste the noblemen, and gentlemen, lyve for the most part on the yerely revenues of their lands and fees, geven them of the prynce. Then ye know, he that may spend now by such revenues and fees CCC.li. a yere, may not keepe no better port then his father, or any other before him, that could spend but nigh CC.li. and so yee may perceive it is a great abatement of man's countenaunce, to take away the thirde parte of his living; and therefore gentlemen doe study so much the increase of their lands and enhaunsing of their rentes, and to take fearmes, and pastures to their owne handes, as yee see they doe; and all to seeke to maintayne their countenaunces as their predecessors did, and yet they came shorte there in. Some other seeing the charges of householde encrease so much, as by no provision they can make it can bee holpen, geve over their housholdes, and get them chambers in London, or aboute the courte, and there spend their time; some of them with a servaunt or two, where he was wont to keepe thirty or forty persons daily in his house, and to doe good in the countrey, in keeping good order and rule among his neighbors. The other sorte be even servingmen, and men of warre, that having but their olde stented wages, cannot finde themselves there with as they might aforetime, without rauin or spoile. And ye know xii.*d.* a day now will not go so far as

[21] [Weakening.]

viii. pence would aforetime: And therefore yee have men so evill willing to serve the prince now a dayes, from that they were wont to bee. Also where xl. shillinges a yere was honest wages for a yeoman afore this time, and xx. pence a weeke borde wages was sufficient, nowe double as much will skante beare their charge."

Knight. "That is longe of theyr excesse, aswell in apparell as in fare; for now a dayes servingmen goe more costely in apparell, and looke to fare more daintely, then their maisters were wont to doe, in times past."

Doctor. "No doubt, that is one great cause of the greater charge of householde. For I know when a servingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in sommer, and a frise coate in winter; and with a plaine white hose made meete for his body; and with a piece of biefe, or some other dishe of sodden meate, all the weeke longe. Now he will looke to have, at the least for sommer, a coate of the finest cloth that may be gotten for money, and his hosen of the finest kersey, and that of some straung die; as Flaunders die, or French puke; that a prince or great lord can weare no finer, if he weare cloth. Then their coates shalbe garded, cut, and stitched; and the breches of their hose so drawen with silke, that the workmanship shall farre passe the pryce of the stuffe. And thys thing is not restrained, as it should be, but rather cherished of the maisters; one striving with the other, who may bee most proude, and whose retinue may goe most lavish and gay for a time of showe; whereas, through such excesse they are fayne all the rest of the yere to keepe the fewer servauntes. And so in excesse of meates, they fare at some tymes in the yeare, that in the whole yeare after they keepe eyther no houses at all; or if they doe, it shalbe very smal. Like excesses aswell in apparell as in fare were used in Rome a litle before the declination of the empyre, so as wyse men have thought it was occasion of the decay thereof. And therefore Cato, and diverse wyse senatours at that time, would have had lawes made for restrainte of such excesses; and for that through the insolencie of some, that maintained the contrary, the same were not duly executed, much pride ensued there, and of pride division; and, through devision, utter desolation of the common weale. I pray God, this realme may beware by that example! specially London, the head of the empyre, where such excesses (by reason the wealth almost of thys realme is heaped up there, as the corne of a field into a barne) be most used: for in other parties commonly of thys realme, the lawe of necessity keepes men in a good case for exceeding either in apparell or fare. I thinke wee were as much dread or more of our enemies, when our gentlemen went simply, and our servingmen plainely, without cuts or gards, bearing their heavy swordes and buckelers on their thighes, in sted of cuts and gardes, and light daunsing swordes: and, when they rode, carying good speares in theyr hands in stede of white rods, which they cary now more like ladies or gentlewemen then men; all which delicacyes maketh our men cleane effeminate and without strength."

Knight. "We may thanke our longe peace and quiet within the realm, that men be not forced to ride so strong. It was a troblous world, as well within the realme as without, when men went and rode, as you do speake."

Doctor. "What can you tell what time or how sone such a world may come again. Wise men do say, that in peace men must looke and provide for warre; and in warre again, for peace. If men might be alwaies sure of peace, then needed no man to keepe men at all. But sith it is otherwise, and that the iniquitie of men is such, as they cannot bee longe wythoute warre: and that we recken, heere in Englande, our chiefe strength to be in our servingmen and yeomen, it were wisedome to exercise them in tyme of peace, somwhat wyth such apparell, fare and hardenes, as they muste needes sustayne in time of warre; then the same shall bee no novelty to them when they come to it: and theyr bodies shall bee strong and harder to beare that, that they were somewhat accustomed withall afore. Let this that I say be of no credite, if delicacie and tendernes was not the most occasion of the subduing of the greatest empyres that were."

Knight. "Surely, ye say very wel; and that which soundeth to good reason, I must needes alowe that I have found true my selfe; for my men are so tenderly used in time of peace, that they can not away with any heavy armour in time of warre, but either

shirts of maile or coates of linnen ragges, which a shotte may perhaps deceyve us. Then what saye you by our buildinges, that wee have here in Englande of late dayes, far more excessive then at any time heretofore. Doth not that impoverish the realme, and cause men to keepe lesse houses?"

Doctor. "I say, that all these thynges be tokens and ornamentes of peace, and that no doubte is cause of lesse housholdes; sith the buildings and trimming of those houses spendes away that, that should be otherwise spent in houshold. But it doth not empoverish the realme at all, for all the expences of buildings; for the most part is spent amonges our selves, and amonges our neighbours and countreymen; as amongs carpenters, masons, and labourers; except men will fall to guilding or peinting of these houses: for in that much treasure may be spent, and to no use. Also the areses,[22] verderers, and tapistry workes, wherewith they bee hanged commonly, conveieth over into Flaunders and other straunge countreyes (where they be had from) much of our treasure."

Knight. "Syr, yet I must remember you of one thing more, which men do suppose to be a great occasion of the spendinge of the treasure abroade: and it is, where there is comen to the crown of late yeares much lands by reason of monasteries, colleges, and chauntres dissolved; which men suppose hath bene the cause two maner of waies, that there is lesse treasure abroade in the realme. One is, because the revenues of the sayd places dissolved, heretofore, were spent in the countrey, and went from hand to hande there, for vittayle, cloth and other thinges; and now are gone to one place out of the countrey. Another is, that divers men whych had any ryches or wealth, uttered the same, to buy perselles[23] of the sayd dissolved landes lying commodities[24] for them; whereby, one way and other, the whole riches of the countrey is sweeped away."

Doctor. "Truth it is also, that it wringed the countrey abroad for the time, and had kept it so still, if the kynge's majestye had not dispersed the same lands abroad among them in the countrey againe: but after that his Highnes departed with a great deale of those possessions, part by gift and part by sale; treasure hath and will encrease againe abroad, asmuch as ever it was, if it be not letted by other meanes: so that I take that to be no great cause of the dearth that we have; for the soyle is not taken away, but the possession thereof is onely transferred from one kinde of persons to another."

Knight. "Then to retourne to the matter of the coyne, where wee left. I have heard your conceipte, how the alteration thereof, with our realme, did some men no harme; as buyers and sellers: some other it dyd good unto, as farmors that had lande at the olde rent: and some other, as gentlemen, men of warre, servaunts and all other lyving by any rated or stented rent or stipend, were great losers by it. But I heard you say, it was so much withall to the losse of the prynce, that it might be to the great perill of the whole realme, in processe of time. I mervayle how it shoulde bee so; for I heard wise men say, that the queene's highnesse' father did winne inestimable great summes, by the alteration of the coyne?"

Doctor. "So it was, for the time; but I liken that gaines to such as men have, when they sell away their lands; to have the greater some at one time, and ever after to loose the contynuall increase [of] what should grow therof. For you knowe, al the treasure of this realme, must once in few yeares come to the prynce's handes, by one meanes or other; and from thence, it should goe abrode againe to the subjects. As all springes runneth to the ocean sea, and out of it are they spred abroad againe: then as they came into the kings coffers at the first in good mettall, they came forth in such as you have heretofore seene. And albeit, it seemeth at the first viewe to empoverishe but the subjects only, at length it empoverisheth also the prynce: and then if the prince should want in time of warre, specially, sufficient treasure to pay for armor, weapons, tacklinges of shippes, gunnes, and other artillary necessary for the warre, and could by no meanes have of the subjectes wherewith to buy the same, what cause should the realme be in? Surely, in very evill; and therefore these coynes and treasure be not without cause called of wyse men, *nervi bellorum* (that is to say) the synowes of warre. And that is the greatest

[22] [Arrasses.] [23] [Parcels.] [24] [Commodious?]

daunger that I doe consider, shoulde growe for want of treasure to the prince and the realme. For though a prynce may have what coyne he will, currant within his realme, yet the straungers cannot be compelled to take them. And I graunt, if men might live within themselves, all together, without borowinge of any other thing outwarde, we might devise what coyne we woulde: but since wee must have neede of other and they of us, wee must frame our things not after our owne phantasies, but to followe the common market of all the worlde; and wee may not set the price of things at our pleasure, but follow the price of the univerall market of the world. I graunt also that brasse hath bene coyned ere this; yea, and leather in some places. But ever I reade, that was at an extreme neede; which thinge is not to bee followed as an example, but to be eschewed as longe as possible may be. And if our treasure be farre spent and exhaust (as it hapened in the later yeares of Kinge Henry the Eight) I could wish that any other order were taken for the recovery of it, then the depraving of our coines; which serveth the prince but a litle while, for some present shifte, and hindred him a longe time afterwardes. I am perswaded that within our realme treasure might bee soone recovered by these two meanes: first, if we forbad the bringing in and selling of so many trifles as I before rehersed to be brought us from beyond the sea, and that nothing made beyond the sea of our owne commodities should be sould heere: And secondly, if we forbad that none of our commodities shoulde passe unwrought over sea, which being wrought here and soulde over, should bring in infinite treasure in shorte time."

Knight. "Mary, and there yee bee contrary to the opinions of many a great wise man; which thinke it better that all our wooll were sould over so unwrought, then any clothiers shoulde be set a worke withall, within this realme."

Doctor. "That were a straunge thing in myne opinion, that any man shoulde thinke so; and what should moove them to be of that opynion, I pray you?"

Knight. "I will tell you. They take it, that all insurrections and uproares, for the most parte, do rise by occasion of these clothiers: for when clothiers lack vent over sea, then is a great multitude of these clothiers idle: and when they be idle, then they assemble in companies, and murmur for lack of living; and so picke one quarrell or other, to stirre the poore cominalty, that bee as idle as they, to a commotion. And sometimes, by occasion of warres, there must needes bee some stay of clothes; so as they cannot have alwayes lyke sale or vent: at every which time, if the sayd clothiers should take occasion of commotion, they thinke it were better that there were none of them in the realme at all; and consequently that the woll were utterred unwrought over sea, then to have it wrought here."

Doctor. "So it may seeme to them, that considereth one inconvenience, and not another. Surely, whosoever hath many persons under his governaunce, shall have much a doe to governe them in quietnesse; and he that hath a greate family shall have sometimes trouble in ruling of them. It were but a meane pollicy, eyther for a prynce to deminishe hys number, for a maister of a house to put away hys servaunts, because he would not have any trouble with the governaunce of them: he that would so doe, might be well resembled to a man that should sell his land because he would not bee troubled with the accompt of it. I thinke it meete, that we did not onely encrease the feate of clothing, but also intend divers other mo feates and occupations, wherby our people might bee set a-worke, rather then take away any occupation from them; specially such as clothinge is, that settes so many thousandes a woorke, and enryche both towne and countrey. Where it is occupyed in Venice, as I have heard, and in many other places beyond sea, they rewarde and chearish every man that bryngs in any newe arte, or misterye, whereby the people might be set a-worke, with such thinges as shoulde both finde their workemen, and also bring some treasure or other commodity into the countrey. And shall we, contrary wise, labour to destroy our best and most profitable trade, which is by clothing? I would know what thinge els might bringe us treasure from straunge parties, or wherewith shoulde so many of our people be set a-worke, as have nowe their lyvings by clothing; if that occupation were layde downe?"

Knighte. "Mary, wee might have treasure ynough from outward parties for our

woolles, thoughe nonne were wroughte within the realme: and as for an occupation, to set our clothiers a-worke, they mighte bee set to the plough and husbandry; and that should make husbandry to be the more occupied, and grasing lesse; when all these people that nowe doe occupy clothing, should fall to husbandry."

Doctor. "As to the first that yee sayd, that wooll is sufficient to bring in treasure: if it were (as it is not in deede) yet that feate were not for the weale, nor for continuaunce of the realme. For when every man would fall to breede sheepe and to increase wooll, and so at length all other occupations should bee set a-side, and breedinge of sheepe onely occupied; then yee knowe that a fewe sheepe-maisters would serve for a whole shyre: and so in processe of time the multitude of the subjects should be worne away, and none lefte but a fewe sheepherds, which were no number sufficient to serve the prince at neede, or to defende this realme from enemies. As to the other parte of your tale, whereby yee woulde that these clothiers shoulde fall from that occupation to husbandry; how coulde so many added to them that occupy husbandry already, get their lyvinge by the same, when they that bee husbandmen nowe, have but a small lyvinge thereby? And if yee woulde say to mee, that they shoulde have at all times, free vent and full sale of their corne over sea, then commeth the same inconvenience in that ye thought to avoide before, by putting them from clothing. For some yeres it should happen, either for warres or by reason of plenty in all partes beyond the sea, that they should have no vent of their corne, and then be dryven to be idle; and consequently, for lacke of living, to assemble together, and make like uproares as ye spake of before.

"They have in Fraunce more handy craftes occupied, and a greater multitude of artificers, then we have here by a greate deale; and for all that, they have made many greate sturres and commotions there before this, yet they will not destroy artificers: for they know that the highest prynces of them all, without such artificers, could not maintaine their estate. Doe not all theyr toules, customes, taxes, tallages, and subsidies, chiefely growe by such artificers? What king can maineteine his estate with his yearly revenues onely growing of his landes? For, as many servaunts in a house well set a-worke, gaines every man somewhat to their maister: so doth every artificer in a realme ech gaine somewhat, and altogether, a great masse to the king and his realm every yeare it bringeth."

Knight. "And now, because we are entred into communication of artificers, I will make this division of them. Some of them doe but convey money out of the countrey; some other, that which they get, they doe spend againe in the countrey; and the third sorte of artificers, is of them that doe bring in treasure into the countrey. Of the first sort I recken all mercers, grocers, vintners, haberdashers, milleners, and such as doe sell wares growing beyond the sea, and do fetch out our treasure for the same; which kinde of artificers as I recken them tollerable, yet not so necessary in a common weale, but they might be best spared of all other. Yet if we had not other artificers to bringe in as much treasure as they doe eary forth, we should be greate loosers by them. Of the second sorte bee these shoomakers, tailours, carpenters, masons, tylers, bouchers, brewers, bakers, and vittailers of all sortes; which like as they get their living in the countrey, so they spend it; but they bring in no treasure unto us. Therefore, we must chearish well the third sort: and those be clothiers, tanners, cappers and worstedmakers, onely that I knowe, which (by their misteries and faculties) do bring in any treasure. As for our wolles, felles, tinne, ledde, butter and cheese, these be commodities that the ground beares, requyring the industrye of a fewe persons; and if wee shoulde onely trust to such, and devyse nothing els to occupy our selves with, a few persons would serve for the rearing of such thinges, and few also it would finde; and so should our realme be but like a grange, better furnished with beastes then with men; whereby it mighte be subjecte to the spoile of other nations: aboute whych is the more to be feared and eschued, because the countrey of his owne kinde is apte to bringe forth such thinges as bee for encrease of cattell, then for such thinges as be for the nourishment of men. If Pomponius Mela be to be beleeved, which descrybing thys ilande sayeth thus: *Plana, ingens, et ferax; sed eorum, quæ pecora, quàm homines benignius alant:* that is to say, it is playne, large,

and plentifull. But of these things that nourisheth beastes more kindely then men; so many forestes, chases, parkes, marshes, and waste groundes, being more here, then most commonly elswhere, declare the same not to bee all in vayne, that hee affyrmes. It hath not so much erable grounde, vynes, olyves, fruites, and such as bee both most necessary for the foode of men. And as they requyre many hands in their culture, so they finde most persons foode; as Fraunce and diverse other countries have. Therefore, as much grounde as is here apte for these things, would be tourned as much as may be to such uses as may finde moste persons. And over that, townes and cities would be replenished wyth all kinde of artificers; not onely clothyers, (which is as it were our naturall occupation,) but with cappers, glovers, paper-makers, glasiers, paynters, golde-smithes, blacke-smithes of al sortes, coverlet-makers, needle-makers, pinners, and such other; so as we should not onely have inough of such thinges to serve our realme, and save an infinyte treasure that goeth now over for many of the same; but also might spare of such things, ready wrought, to be solde over, whereby we should fetch againe other necessary commodities or treasure. And this shoulde both replenish the realme of people able to defende it, and also save and winne much treasure to the same. Such occupations alone do enrich divers countreyes that be else baren of them selves.

" And what riches they bringe to the countries where they be well used, the countrey of Flaunders and Germanie do well declare; where through such occupations, it hath so many, and eke so wealthy cities, that it were almost incredible so litle grounde to sustaine so much people. Wherefore, in my minde they are far wide of right consideration, that would have either none or els lesse clothing within this realme, because it is some time occasion of busines and tumultes, which commeth for lacke of vent. There is nothing every way so commodious or necessary for man's use, but it is sometimes by ill handling occasion of some dipleasure; no, not fier and water, that be so necessary as nothing can be more."

Knight. " Yea, master Doctor, we stand not in like case as Fraunce or Flaunders that yee speake of: if they have not vente one way, they may have it another way allwaies; for the firme land is rounde about them in maner. If they bee at warre with one neyghbour, they will bee friendes with another, to whose countreyes they may sende theyr commodities to sell."

Doctor. " So may wee bee; if wee were so wyse, to keepe one friende or other alwayes in hande. Who will bee so mad, being a private man, but hee will be sure to doe so. Let wyse men consider, what friendes this realme hath had in time past: and if they bee nowe lost or intercepted another way since, let us purchase other for them; or els geve as litle occasion of breache with our neyghbours as may bee. The wyse man as I remember, sayth in Ecclesiastes: *non est bonum homini esse solum.*"

Knight. " Also in Fraunce they have diverse bandes of men in armes, in diverse places of the realme, to represse such tumults quickely, if any should arise. If wee had the like heere, wee might bee boulde to have as many artificers as they have."

Husband. " God sworbote, that ever wee shoulde have any such tyrauntes come among us: for, as they say, such will in the countrey of Fraunce take poore men's hennes, chikens, pigges, and other provision, and paye nothinge for it, excepte it bee an ill turne; as, to ravishe hys wyfe, or his daughters for it."

Marchaunt. " And even in like manner (sayd the maurchaunt man adding thereto, that hee thought) that woulde rather bee an occasion of commotions to bee stirred then to bee quenched. For (as hee sayd) the stomaks of Englishe men woulde never beare to suffer such injuries and reproches, as hee heard that such used to doe to the subjects of Fraunce; which, in reproche, they call pesaunts."

Knight. " Mary, the prynce might restrayne them well ynough, for doing outrages upon great paynes."

Doctor. " What, if it were skant in his power to do? The Romaines had sometimes such men of armes in diverse places for defence of the empyre; it was thought, that at length it overthrewe the same. Julius Cæsar doth that declare: and many times after

that, when the emperors died, the men of warre erected what emperor they lysted: sometime of a slave or a bondman, contrary to the election of the senate of Rome, being chiefe counsaylors of the empyre, till the whole empyre was cleane destroyed: it is not for commotions of subjects, that Fraunce also keepeth such: but the state and necessity of the countrey, which is environed about with enemies, and neither sea nor wall betwene them; against whose inrodes and invasion they mayntayne those men of warr of necessity. They would faine laye them downe, if they durst for feare of their neighbours. And some wyse men among them have sayd and written, that the same men of armes may bee the destruction of their kingdome at length. And beside that the largenesse of our dominion, or situation of the same towarde other countreyes, doth not require such men; nor yet the revenewes of this realme is able to make up the like number with Fraunce. And then if we should make a lesse number, wee should declare ourselves inferiour in power to Fraunce, to whom wee have bene hitherto counted superiour in successes, through the stoutenesse of our Englishe hartes. And therefore, I would not have a small sore cured by a greater griefe, nor for avoydinge of populer sedition, (which happeneth very seldome and soone quenched,) to bring in a continuall yoake and charge, both to the prince and the people."

Knighte. "You say well; and so as I can say no more against your sentence; but yet I would wishe you saying coulde satisfie other men as well as it doth mee."

Doctor. "Well, it is nowe tyme to make an ende. I have troubled you heere with a tedious and longe talke."

Knight. "I could be content to be troubled longer of that sorte."

Marchaunt and *Capper.* "And so coulde wee, though it were all this day, but for troubling of your selfe, gentle maister Doctor."

Knighte. "Yet the most necessary poynte which we spake of is yet behinde; that is, how these thinges may be remedied: And therefore we will not goe from you, till wee have hearde your advice herein."

Doctor. "A God's name, I will shewe my phantasie in that part: But let us first goe to supper."

And so wee went together to our supper, where our hoste had prepared honestly for us.

The Third Dialogue; wherein are devised some remedies for the same griefes.

Knight. After wee had well refreshed ourselves at supper, I thought long til I had knowne the judgement of mayster Doctor, about the remedies of the thinges above remembred; how he thought they might bee best redressed, and with least daunger or alteration of things. And therefore I sayd unto him thus: "Since yee have declared unto us (good maister Doctor) our diseases and also the occasions thereof, we pray you leave us not destitute of convenient remedies for the same. You have perswaded us full, and wee perceave it well our selves, that wee are not now in so good state as wee have bene in times past. And you have shewed us probable occasions that hath brought us to that case; therefore now wee praye you shewe unto us, what mighte remedye these our griefes."

Doctor. "When a man doth perceave his griefe, and the occasion also of the same, hee is in a good way of amendment. For knowing the occasion of the griefe, a man may soone avoide the same occasion; and that being avoyded the griefe is also taken away. For as the phylosopher sayth: *Sublata causa tollitur effectus.* But let us briefly recount the griefes, and then the occasions thereof; and thirdly, goe to the inquisition of the remedies for the same. First, this universall dearth, in comparison of the former age, is the chiefest griefe that all men complaines most on. Secondly, Inclosures, and turnyng of erable grounde to pasture. Thyrdly, decayinge of townes, towneshippes, and villages; and last, devision and diversitie of opinions in religion. The occasions or causes of these, although I have before diversely declared, after the diversitie of men's myndes

and opinions, yet heere I wyll take out of the same; but only such as I thinke verely to be the very just occasions in deede. For as I shewed you before, divers men diversly judge this or that to be the cause or occasion of thys or that gryefe; and because there may be divers causes of one thinge; and yet but one pryncipal cause that bryngeth forth the thinge to passe; let us seeke oute the cause; omitting all the meane causes, whych are driven forward by the least oryginall cause. As in a presse[23] going in at a straight, the formost is driven by him that is nexte hym, and the next by him that followes him, and the thyrd by some violent and stronge thinge that dryves hym forwarde, which is the first and pryncipall cause of the puttynge forwarde of the rest afore him: If he were kept backe and staied, al they that goe afore would stay withal. To make this more plain unto you: as in a clocke there be many wheeles, yet the first wheele being styrred, it dryveth the next; and that the thyrd, &c. till the last, that moves the instrument that stryckes the clock. So in making of an house, there is the mayster that would have the house made, there is the carpenter, and there is the stuffe to make the house with al: the stuffe never stirres, till the workeman do set it forward; the workeman never travailes, but as the maister provoketh him with good wages; and so he is the pryncipall cause of thys house making. And this cause is of the learned called efficient: as that, that bryngeth the pryncipal thing to effect. Perswade this man to let this buildyng alone, and the house shall never come to passe; yet the house can not bee made wythout the stuffe, and workemen, and therefore they be called of some, *causæ sine quibus non*; and of some other, *Materiales*, and *Formales*; but all commeth to one purpose. It is the efficient cause, that is, the pryncipall cause; without removing of which cause, the thing itself cannot be remedied. And because that it was graffed in every man's judgement, that the cause of any thing being taken awaye, the effecte is taken away withall: Therefore, men tooke the causes of these thynges that we talke of wythout judgement, not discerning the pryncipall cause from the meane causes; that by taking away of these causes that bee but secondary as it were, they were never the neare to remedy the thing they went about. Much lyke the wyfe of Ajax,[24] that lost her husband in the shippe called Argos, wished that those firre beames had never bene felled in Peleius wood, whereof the sayd shippe was made; when that was not the efficient cause of the loosing of her husbande, but the wild fire cast in the said shippe, which did set it a fyre. Such causes as they be, be called remote, as it were to farre of: so they bee also idle and of no operation of themselves, without some other to set them a worke. And, percase, I (whyle I degresse so farre from my matter) shalbe thought to goe as far from the purpose; yet to come to our matter, and to apply thys that I have sayde to the same. Some thinkes this dearth beginnes by the tenaunt, in selling his wares so deare; and some other by the lord, in reysing his land so high: And some by these inclosures: And some other by the reysing of our coine or alteration of the same. Therefore, some, by taking some one of these things away (as theyr opinion served them to be the pryncipall cause of this dearth,) thought to remedye this dearth; but as the tryall of the thyng shewed, they touched not the cause efficient pryncipall; and therefore, theyr devise tooke no place: and if they had, the thinge had ben remedied forthwith; for that is proper to the pryncipal cause, that as soone as it is taken away, the effect is removed also.[25] Yet I confesse, al these thinges rayseth together with this dearth, that every of them should seeme to be the cause of it: neverthelesse that is no good proofe that they should bee the causes of it, no more then was the steeple made at Dover, the cause of the decay of the haven of Dover; because the haven began to decay the same time, that the steeple began to be builded. Nor yet, though some of these because of the other in deede, yet they be not all the efficient causes of this dearth. But as I have sayd before, of men thrusting one another in a thronge, one dryving another, and but one first of al, that was the chiefe cause of that force; so in this matter that we talke of, there is some one thing that is the oryginall cause of these causes that be as it were secondary, and makes them to be the causes of other. As I take the reysing of al prises of victuals at the husbandman's hand, is cause of the raysing of the rent of his land. And the gentle-

[23] [Crowd.] [24] *Cic. top. Lib. 5.* [25] *Sublata causa tollitur effectus.*

men fall so much to take fearmes to theyr hands, least they bee driven to buy theyr provision to deare; that is a great cause againe, that inclosure is the more used: For gentlemen, havinge much land in their hand, and not being able to wielde all, and see it manured in husbandry, (which requyreth the industry, laboure, and governaunce, of a greate many of persons,) doe converte moste of that lande to pastures, wherein is requyred both lesse charge of persons, and of the which, neverthelesse, commeth more cleare gaines. Thus one thyng hanges upon another, and sets forwarde one another; but one first of all is the chiefe cause of all this circuler motion and impulsion. I shewed, ere while, that the chiefe cause was not in the husbandman, nor yet in the gentleman: Let us see whether it were in the Marchaunt man. It appeareth by reason, that all wares bought of him are dearer now far then they were wont to be; the Husbandman is dryven to sel his commodities dearer: now that the matter is brought to maister Marchaunt, how can yee avoyde the cause from being in you."

Marchaunt. "Sir, easily ynough; for, as wee sell now dearer al things then wee were wont to do; so wee buy dearer all thinges of straungers: and therefore let them put the matter from us, for we will disburden our selves of this fault."

Doctor. "And they be not here to make aunswere; if they were, I woulde aske them why they sell their wares dearer nowe then they were wont to doe?"

Marchaunt. "Mary, and to that I hearde many of them aunswere ere this, (when they were asked that question,) two manner of wayes. One was, they selled in deede no dearer then they were wont to do: saying for proofe thereof, that they would take for theyr commodities, as much and no more of our commodities then they were wont to do. As, for our tod of woll they would gieve asmuch wyne, spice, or silke, as they were wont to geve for so much. Yea, for an ounce of our silver or golde, as much stuffe as ever was geven for the same. And their other answere was; that if we reckened they did sell their wares dearer, because they demaunded moe pieces of our coyne for the same then they were wont to do, that was not their fault they saide but oures, that made our pieces lesse or lesse worth then they were in times past. Therefore, they demaunded the moe pieces of them for their wares: saying, they cared not what names wee woulde gieve oure coynes; they would consider the quantity and right value of it, that they were esteemed at, every where through the world."

Knight. "Then I would have answered them there of this sorte. If they came hether but for our commodities, what made it the matter to them, what quantity or value our coyne were? If so they might have as much of our commodities for the same as they were wont to do? If they came againe for our silver and golde, it was never lawfull, nor yet is expedient, they should have any from us. Wherefore, I would thinke that was no cause why they should sell theyr wares dearer then they were wonte to doe."

Doctor. "Then he might have aunswered againe, that it chaunsed not alwayes together, that when they had wares which we wanted, we had againe al those wares that they looked for: And therefore, they havinge, percase, more wares necessary for us, then we had of such wares as they looked for; would be glad to receive of us such stuffe currant in most places, as might buy that they looked for else where, at their pleasure: And that they will say was not our coyne. And as for our lawes of not transporting over sea any gold or silver, they passed not thereof, so they mighte have the same once conveyed them: as they had many waies to have it so, which I have before remembred. Finally, hee might say that we had not in deede our coyne in that estate our selves, that by the name they pretended; but esteemed both the value and quantity of the stuffe it was made of. For if they had brought unto us halfe an ounce of silver, wee would not take it for an ounce; nor if they brought us brasse mingled with silver, we woulde not take it for pure silver; and if wee woulde not take it so at their handes, why shoulde they take it otherwise at ours? Then they saw no man heere, but woulde rather have a cup of silver then of brasse; no, not the maister of our mints, though they would otherwise perswade, the one to be as good as the other. Wherfore, seing us esteeme the one in deede better then the other, (as all the world doth beside,) why should they not esteeme

our coine after the quantity and value of the substaunce thereof; both after the rate it was esteemed amonge us, and also every other where? And so as in moe pieces now, there is but the value that was in fewer pieces afore; therefore, they demaunded greater number of pieces, but yet the like value in substance that they were wont to demaund for their wares. Now, let us see whether now goeth the cause of this matter, from the straungers. For me thinkes he hath resonably excused himselfe and put it from him."

Knight. "By your tale, it must bee in the coyne, and consequently in the kinge's highnes, by whose commaundement the same was altered."

Doctor. "Yea, percase, it goes further yet: yea, to such as were the first counsailours of that deede, pretending it should bee to his highnes' greate and notable commoditye, which if hys grace mought have perceived to have ben but a momentain[26] profit, and continuall losse, both to his highnes and also his whole realme; hee, with his people, might have ben easly revoked againe from the practise of that simple devise. But as a man that entendeth to heale an other by a medicine that he thinketh good, though it proove otherwise, is not much to be blamed: no more was the kinge's majesty in any wyse, (in whose time this was don, which is not to be supposed to have intended thereby any losse, but rather commoditye to himselfe and his subjects) to be herein reprehended; albeit the thing succeeded beside the purpose."

Knight. "Then yee thinke plainely, that this alteration of the coine was the chiefe and principall cause of this universall dearth."

Doctor. "Yea, no doubt; and of many of the sayd grieves that we have talked of, by meanes it beinge the oryginall of all; and that beside the reason of the thing, being plaine inough of it self: also experience and proofe doth make it more playne. For, even with the alteration of the coyne began this dearth; and as the coyne appayred, so rose the prices of thinges with all: and this to be true, the few pieces of olde coyne which afterward remained, did testifie: for yee should have for any of the same coyne as much of any ware, either outward or inward, as ever was wont to be had for the same. For as the measure is made lesse, there goeth more number to make up the tale; and because this raysed not together at all men's handes, therefore some hath greate losses, and some other greate gaynes thereby; and that made such a generall grudge for the thinge, at the firste time. And thus, to conclude, I thinke this alteration of the coine to have ben the first originall cause, that straungers first sould their wares dearer to us; and that made all farmors, and tenaunts, that reared any commodity againe, to sell the same dearer. The dearth thereof made the gentlemen to rayse their rents, and to take farmes to their handes for their better provision; and consequently, to inclose more groundes."

Knight. "If this were the chiefest cause of the dearth; as of very good probability (by you, maister Doctor,) heeretofore alleaged, it should seeme to be; how commeth it to passe (where as you say, if the cause be removed, the effect is also taken away) that the pryces of all thinges fall not backe to theyr olde rate; whereas now, long sithence, our English coyne (to the great honour of our noble princesse which now raigheth (hath bene again throughly restored to his former purity and perfection?"

Doctor. "In deede, sir, I must needes confesse unto you (although it may seeme, at the first sighte, to discredite my former sayinges in some parte) that notwithstanding that our coyne at this present day, yea and many yeares past, hath recovered his aunciente goodnesse; yet the dearth of all thynges, which I before affirmed to have proceded of the decay therof, to remayne and continue still amongst us. Wherefore, as your doubte herein, moved very aptly, and to the purpose, is well worthy the consideration; so doe I accompte it of such difficulty, that perhaps it would not be thought to stande wyth modesty, to undertake without farther study, presently to dissolve the same."

Knight. "Syr, I pray you for this time, omit the pleadinge of modesty. I understand

[26] [Momentary.]

wel ynough by your former talke, that you are not unprovided of sufficient store, without farther deliberation, to satisfie us withall, in greater matters (if neede were) then these."

Doctor. " Well, I am content (because you wyll have it so) to yeelde to your importunity. I will utter franckely unto you myne opinion herein; but under protestation, that if you like it not, yee reject it; imparting likewise with mee, your owne phantasies and judgementes in the same. I fynde, therefore, two speciall causes in myne opinion; by meanes of the which, notwithstanding the restitution made in our coin, the aforesayd dearth of things (in respect of the former age) remayneth yet among us. The first is, that whereas immediately after the basenesse of our coyne in the time of kyng Henry the Eight, the prices of all things generally, among al sorts of people, rose: it must needes happen here withal (as yee know) that our gentlemen which lived onely upon the revenues of their lands, were as neare or nearer touched (as is before proved) with the smarte hereof, then any other of what order or estate so ever. Thys, therefore, being taken as most true, the gentlemen desirous to mayntaine theyr former credite in bearing out the porte of theyr predecessors, were driven of necessity, as often as whensoever any leases devised for terme of yeares, by themselves or their auncestors, were throughly expyred, and fel into theyr handes, not to let them out agayne for the most part, but as the rents of them were farre racked beyond the old: yea, this rackynge and hoyssing up of rentes hath continued ever since that tyme, untill this present day. Hereupon the husbandman was necessarily inforced, whereas his rent was now greater then before (and so continueth unto this day) to sel his victayles dearer, and to continue the dearth of them: and likewise other artificers, withall to maintaine the like proportion in theyr wares; wherefore, as this dearth at the fyrst time (as I said before) sprange of the alteration of the coyne, as of his firste and chiefest efficient cause; so doe I attribute the continuance of it hitherunto and so forwarde, partely to the racked and stretched rentes which have lasted, yea, and increased ever since that time hetherunto, and so are like to continue I know not how long. Now if we would, in these our dayes, have the olde pennyworthes generally restored among us agayne: The restoring of our good coine, which allredy is past, (and before the improved rentes would only of it selfe have been sufficient to have brought this matter to passe,) will not serve in these our dayes, except withall the racked rentes bee pulled downe; which possibly can not be, without the common consent of our landed men throughout the whole realme. Another reason I conceive, in this matter, to be the great store and plenty of treasure, which is walking in these parts of the world far more in these our dayes, then ever our forefathers have sene in times past. Who doth not understand of the infinite summes of gold and silver, which are gathered from the Indies and other countries, and so yearely transported into these costes? As this is otherwise most certaine, so doth it evidently appeare by the common report of all auncient men living in these daies. It is their constant report, that in times past, and within the memory of man, he hath beene accounted a rich and welthy man and well able to keepe house among his neighbors, which all things discharged, was clearely worth xxx. or xl. *li.* but, in these our daies, the man of that estimation, is so farre in the common opinion from a good house-keeper, or man of wealth, that he is reputed the next neighbor to a begger. Wherefore, these ii. reasons seemed unto me to contain in them sufficient probability for causes of the continuaunce of this generall dearth."

Knight. " Yea, but (sir) if the increase of treasure be partly the occasion of this continued dearth; then, by likelyhoode, in other our neighbors' nations, (unto whom yearly is convaighed great store of gold and silver,) the pryces of victayles, and other wares in like sorte, raysed according to the increase of their treasure."

Doctor. " It is even so; and therefore to utter freely mine opinion (as I accoumpt it a matter very hard, for the difficulties above rehersed, to revoke or call backe agayne all our Englishe wares unto their old prices: so doe I not take it to be eyther profitable or convenient for the realme, excepte wee would wishe that our commodities should bee

uttered good cheape to straungers, and theirs on the other side deare unto us; which could not be without great impoverishing of the common-weale, in a very shorte time."

Knight. "Now that you have so well touched the occasion of this dearth, and what is to be hoped or wished of the same, so fully that I am well satisfied withall: I pray you shewe me the remedies of these great inclosures, whereof al the realme complaineth of so much, and hath complayned long upon. For you have well perswaded, how it is a meane of greate desolation of this realme, and that is longe of the great profit that men have by pasture, over that they have by tillage that they turne so much to pasture. Now I woulde fayne heare, how it might bee remedied againe: for I have hearde this matter of long time, and often reasoned upon aswell in parliament, as in counsayles, and yet small remedy found therefore that tooke effect."

Doctor. "If I then, after so many wise heades as were in those parliaments and counsayles, would take upon me to correct (as they say) *Magnificat*; and to finde a remedye for this thinge, which they could never doe; I might bee reckened very arrogant."

Knight. Yet tell your phantasie therein; for though you misse of the right meane to reforme that, it shall bee no more shame for you to doe so, then it was for so many wise men, as yee speake of, to misse."

Doctor. "You say truth; and since I speak nothing in this part, that I would have taken as it were for a law or determined thing, but as a certayne motion for other wise men to consider, and to admit or reject, as to their better reason shall seeme good; therefore, as yee have boldned me already with your patience to say thus farre, I will not spare to declare my minde in this. But still I must keepe my grounde that I spake of; that is, to try out the effectuall cause of these inclosures; and then by taking away of the cause, to redresse the thinge."[27]

Knight. "I pray you doe so; for to mee it seemes very reasonable that ye say; and agreeable to that I heard a good phisition tell mee once, when I was sicke of an ague: when I asked him, why he gave me purgations that made me yet weaker then I was, being weake inough allredy; saying, hee had more neede to gieve me thinges that should make me stronger. Then he answered me, that choler was the cause of my sicknes, and that hee gave me those purgations to avoyde this humour; which being the cause of my disease once taken away, the sicknes should bee ridde from me withall. And, therefore, I pray you, use your accustomed order in this matter, and tel the cause of these inclosures."

Doctor. "I shewed you before, in our communication in the garden, the thinges that I thought to be the cause thereof, and partly the remedy of the same."

Knighte. "So did other men among us tell theyr fansie as then; but now, we pray you, tell which of all those causes ye take for the necessary and efficient cause of this matter."

Doctor. "To tel you plaine, it is avarice that I take for the principall cause thereof: but can we devise that all covetousnes can be taken from men? No, no more then we can make men to be without wealth, without gladnes, without feare, and without all affections: what then? we must take away from men the occasion of their covetousnes in this part: what is that? the exceeding luker that they se grow by these inclosures more then by their husbandry. And that may be done by any of these two meanes that I will tell you. Either by the minishing of the luker that men have by grasing; or els by advaunsing of the profite of husbandry, til it be as good and as profitable to the occupiers as grasing is: for every man (as Plato saith[28]) is naturally covetous of luker. And that wherein they see most luker, they will most gladly exercise. I shewed you before, that there is more luker by grasing of x. acres to the occupier alone, then is in the tillage of xx. And the causes thereof be many; one is, that grasing requires small charge and small labor, which in tillage consumes much of the mens gaines; though it

[27] *Sublata causa tollitur effectus.* [28] *Omnes sunt lucri cupidi.*

be true that the tillage of x. acres brings more gaines generally, amonge the maister and all his mainy, then the grasing of xx. acres. Another great cause is, that whatsoever thing is rered upon grasing hath free vente, both over this side and also beyond the sea, to be sold at the highest penny. It is contrary of all thinges reared by tillage; for it requires both great charge of servaunts and of labor. And also, if any good cheape be of corne, it paieth scant for the charge of the tillage. And then, if the market doe arise either within the realme or without, the poore husband shalbe so restrained from selling his corn, that he never after shall have any joy to set his plough in the ground, which maketh every man forsake tillage and fall to grasing, which bringeth in all these inclosures."

Knight. "Now what remedy for that?"

Doctor. "Mary, as for the first poynt; that is, touching the unequal charges of tillage and grasing; that can not be holpen in all pointes, by reason the nature of both reapes the contrary. Therefore the Latine tongue calles the one, (that is pasture) *pratum*; that is as much to say as, *paratum*, ready. But the other thinge might be remedied; that the husbandman might have asmuch liberty at all times to sel his corn either within the realme or without, as the grasier hath to sell his, which would make the husbandmen more willing to occupy theyr plough: And other, seeing them thrive, would turn theyr pasture to tyllage. And though it enhaunse the market for the time, yet woulde it cause much more tillage to be used, and consequently more corne; which in time of plentye within this realme, might bringe in much treasure, and in time of scarsity would suffice for the realme; as I shewed you before. And thus with luker they should bee entysed to occupy the plough; yea, and with other privileges. I have red, that in this realme sometime there was such a lawe, as a man that had trespassed the lawe of misadventure, mought have taken the plough-tayle for his sainctuary. Also that occupation was had so honourable amonge the Romains, that one was taken from houlding the plough to bee Consull in Rome, who after his yeare ended, thought no scorne to resort to the same feate againe. What occupation is so necessary or so profitable for man's life as this is? Or what mistery is so voyd of all craft as the same is? and how litle it is regarded: yea, how much is it despised: that many in these daies repute them but as villains, pesaunts, or slaves, by whome the proudest of them have their livings. So that I marvaile much there is any (seing such a vility and contempt of the thing) will occupy the feat of husbandry at all: for as honour nourisheth all sciences, so dishonor must needes decay them. And therefore, if ye will have husbandry encreased, ye must honor and cherish it, that is to let them have honest gaines thereby; and since that gains shall come into youre countrey, why should you be offended therewith. Another way is, to abate the commodity of grasing; as when any taxe is requisite to be graunted to the prince, if lands be chargeable thereto, to charge one aker of pasture asmuch as two of erable. Or els, to burden wolls and fells, and such things as are reared by grasing that passe to the partes beyond the sea unwrought, with double tallage over any corn transported; and by enhaunsing the profite of tillage, and abasing of the profite of grasing, I doubt not but husbandry would be more occupied, and grasing much lesse: And therby, these inclosures to be broken up. Also there is one thing of old time ordeined in this realme, which being kept unaltered would helpe hereunto also: that is, where men are enter[29] comminers in the common fields, and also have their portions so entermedled one with another, that though they would, they could not enclose any part of the sayd fields so long as it is so. But of late, divers men, finding greater profite by grasing then by husbandry, have founde the meanes either to buy their neighbors' partes round aboute them, or els to exchaunge with them so many acres in this place, for so many in another, whereby they might bringe all theyr landes together, and so inclose it. For the avoiding whereof, I think, verely, that it was so of olde time ordeined, that every tenaunt had his lande not all in one parcell of every field, but enterlaced with his neighbor's landes, so as here should

[29] [*i. e.* Intercommoners.]

bee three acres; and then his neighbour should have as many, and over that; he, other iii. or iiii. and, so after the like rate, be the most partes of the copy-holdes, that I doe know, in this countrey; which I thinke good were still so continued, for avoyding of the sayd enclosures. And thus farre as touching that matter."

Marchaunt. " Now, that you have well declared your opinion in these matters of the common dearth and enclosures, I pray you tell us your minde, what should be the occasion of the decay of the good townes of this realme, and of all bridges, highwayes, and hospitalles, and how the same may be remedied and releeved againe. For, that these husbandmen and dwellers of the countrey, finde not so great lacke in the fieldes abroade, but citizens and burgeses finde as much within theyr walles."

Doctor. " Since I have begon to take upon me to tell my phansie in all these things, I will goe through. In mine opinion, the good occupations heretofore used in the sayd townes, were occasion of theyr wealth in times past, and the laying down of those occupations againe, is the cause of the decay of the same townes. Wherefore, if such occupations may be revyved againe in the same, they would recover theyr former wealth againe."

Marchaunt. " I beleeve that well, that the decay of the occupations was the decay of these townes: but what, I pray you, was the occasion of such decay of the occupations?"

Doctor. " I will tell you: while men were contented with such as were made in the market townes next unto them, then were they of our townes and cities well set a-worke: as I knewe the time when men were contented with cappes, hattes, gyrdels, and poyntes, and all manner of garmentes made in the townes next adjoyning; whereby, the townes were then well occupied and set a-worke, and yet the money payd for the same stuffe remayned in the countrey. Now, the poorest younge-man in a countrey cannot be content with a lether gyrdle, or lether poyntes, knives or daggers, made nigh home. And specially, no gentleman can be contente to have eyther cappe, cote, dublet, hose, or shyrte, in his countrey, but they must have this geare come from London; and yet many thinges hereof are not there made, but beyond the sea: whereby the artificers of our good townes are idle, and the occupations in London, and specially of the townes beyond the seaes, are well set a-worke even upon our costes. Therefore, I would wish some stay were devised, for comming of so many trifles from beyond the sea; and specially of such things as might be made here among our selves, or els might bee either all spared, or els lesse used amonge us: as these, drinking and looking glasses, paynted clothes, perfumed gloves, daggers, knives, pinnes, pointes, agletes, buttons, and a thousande other thinges of like sorte. As for silkes, wines, and spice, if there came lesse over, it made no matter. But specially, I would that nothing made of our commodities, as wolles, felles, and tinne, should be brought from beyond the sea to be solde here; but that all those should be wrought within this realme: were it not better for us that our owne people were set a-worke with such thinges then straungers? I am sure xx. thousand persons might be set a-worke within this realme, that are set a-worke beyond sea, with those thinges that now be made beyond the sea, and might be made here: (might not the prince bee glad of any ayde, whereby hee might finde x. M. persons through the whole yeare, and burden his treasures with never a penny thereof?) I think these things might be wrought here, not onely sufficient to set so many a worke and serve the realme, but also to serve other parts; as all kinde of cloth and kersey, worsteds, coverlets, and carpets of tapestry, caps, knit sleeves, hosen, peticotes, and hattes: then paper both white and browne, parchment, velam, and all kinde of leather ware, as gloves, poyntes, gyrdels, skins for jerkins: and of tinne, all maner of vessell; and also all kinde of glasses, and earthen pots, tennice balles, cardes, tables and chesses; since we will needes have such things. And daggers, knives, hammers, sawes, chesells, axes, and such things made of yron: might not wee bee ashamed to take all these things at straungers' hands, and set such a multitude of their people a-worke as I spake of now, whose finding and wages we doe beare now? where all this profit might bee saved within the realme, where it should not goe from us, but returne to us againe from whence it came. And in settinge up of these

occupations, I would have them most preferred and cherished, that bring most commodity and treasure into the countrey; as yee must consider three sortes of occupations: one that carieth out the treasure; the second sort, that as it carrieth none forth of the countrey, so it bringeth none in, but that it getteth it spendeth in the countrey; the third bringeth in treasure to the countrey. Of the first sorte are vintners, milleners, haberdashers; these galley men, mercers, fustian sellers, grocers, and pothecaries, that selleth us any wares made beyond the sea; for they doe but exhaust the treasure of the realme. Of the second sort are victaylers, inhoulders, bouchers, bakers, brewers, taylors, cordwinders, sadlers, carpenters, joyners, masons, blacke smythes, turners, and hoopers; which like as they convey no money out of the countrey, so they bringe none in: but where as they get it, they spend it. Of the thyrd sort bee these clothiers, cappers, worstedmakers, pewterers, tanners; which bee all that wee have of any arte which I can nowe recken, that brings into the realme any treasure. Therefore, these artes are to bee chearished, whereas they be used; and where they bee not, they would be set up, and also other sciences moe; as making of glasses, making of swords, daggers, knives, and all tooles of iron and steele: also making of pinnes, poynts, laces, thred, and all maner of paper, and parchment. I have heard say that the chiefe trade of Coventry[30] was heretofore in making of blew threde; and then the towne was riche even upon that trade in manner onely: and now our thredde comes all from beyond sea. Wherefore, that trade of Coventry is decaied, and thereby the towne likewise. So Bristow had a great trade by making of poyntes, and was the chiefe misterie that was exercised in the towne. And albeit these be but two of the lightest faculties that are, yet were there two great townes cheyfly mainteined by these two faculties above rehearsed. I heard say in Venice (that most florishing citie at these daies of al Europe) if they may here of any cunning craftes man in any faculty, they will finde the meanes to allure him to dwell in their citye: for it is a wonder to see what a deale of money one good occupyer doth bringe into a towne; though he himselfe doth not gaine to his owne commoditye but a poore lyving. As for example, what money one worstedmaker bringes into the towne where he dwelles, and how many have lyvings under him, and what wealth he brings to the towne where he dwels, truly I can not sufficiently declare: for by a few worstedmakers, that same townes they have are growen to great wealth and ryches. So of clothing and capping. But where other cities do allure unto them good workemen, ours will expell them out: as I have knowen good workemen, as well smythes as weavers, have comen from straunge parties[31] to some cityes within this realme, entending to set up theyr craftes; and because they were not free there (but specially, because they were better workemen then were any in the towne) they coulde not bee suffered to worke there. Such incorporations had those misteries in those townes, that none might worke there in their faculty, except they did compounde with them first."

Capper. "And doe you thinke it reasonable, that a straunger should bee as free in a city or towne, as they that were prentises there? then no man would bee prentice to any occupation, if it were so."

Doctor. "I sayde not, that they shall have commonly lyke liberty or fraunchise; but as one crafte makes but one particuler companie of a towne or city, so I would have the weale of the whole city rather regarded, then the commodity, or fraunchise, of one craft or misterry: for though commonly none should be admitted there to worke but such as are free; yet when a singuler good workeman in any mistery comes, which by his good knowledge might both enstructe them of the towne, being of the same faculty, and also bringe into the towne much commodity beside; I woulde, in that case, have private liberties and privileges gieve place to a publique weale, and such a man gladly admitted for his excellency to the freedome of the same towne, without burdening of him with any charge for his first entry or setting up. Yea, where a towne is decayed and lackes artificers to

[30] [Coventry-thread, before the year 1581 was nearly proverbial, for the excellence of the blue with which it was dyed; but the art has been long lost.]

[31] [Parts.]

furnish the towne with such craftes, as were either sometimes exercised well there, or might bee, by reason of the situation and commodity of the same towne; I woulde have such craftesmen allured out of other places where they bee plenty, to come to those townes decayed, to dwell; offering them theyr freedome, yea, theyr house rente free, or some stocke lent them, of the common stocke of such townes: and when the towne is wel furnished of such artificers, then to stay the comming in of foreners. But while the towne lackes enhabitauntes of artificers, it were no policy for the restauration of the towne to keepe of any straunge artificers: for the most parte of all townes are mainteyned by craftes men of all sortes, but specially by those that make any wares to sell out of the countrey, and brynges therefore treasure into the same; as clothiers, cappers, worstedmakers, hatmakers, poyntmakers, pinners, painters, founders, smythes of all sortes, cutlers, glovers, tanners, parchment-makers, gyrdlers, poursers, makers of paper, thredmakers, turners, basketmakers, and many other such. As for the mercers, and haberdashers, vintners and grocers, I cannot see what they doe to a towne, but fynde a livinge to v. or vi. housholdes; and in steade thereof, empoverish ten times as many. But since men wil needes have silkes, wine and spice; it is as good that men do spend theyr money upon such in their owne towne, as to be dryven to seeke the same further. As for the rest of the artificers, like as I said before, even as they take no money out of the countrey, so they bryng none in; as taylours, shoemakers, carpenters, joyners, tylers, masons, bouchers, vittailers, and such like. Also, an other thinge I recken woulde helpe much to relieve oure townes decaied: if they would take order that al the wares made there, should have a speciall marke; and that marke to be set to none, but to such as be truely wrought. And also that every artificer dwelling out of all townes (such as cannot for the commodity of their occupations, be brought to any towne to enhabite, as fullers, tanners, and clothiers) should bee limitted to bee under the direction of one good towne or other; and they to sell no ware, but such as are first approved and sealed by the towne that they are lymited unto. And by these two meanes; that is to say, fyrste by staying of wares wrought beyond sea, which might be wrought within us, from comming in to be sold. Secondly, by restraining of our wolles, tinne, felles, and other commodityes, from passing over unwrought: And thirdly, by brynging in (under the correction of good towns) artificers dwelling in the countreies; making wares to be sole outward, and these wares to be viewed and sealed by the towne seale, before they shoulde bee solde: I woulde thynke oure townes myght be soone restored to theyr auncyent wealth, or farre bettered if they would follow this."

Knight. "Now wee pray you, go to the last matter ye spake of; how these diversities of opinions may be taken away, which troubles the people very sore, and makes great sedition and devision among them; and in maner makes debate beetwene neighbour and neighbour, the father and his son, the man and his wyfe, which is yet more to bee feared, then all other the foresayd losses of wordly goods. For if wee were never so poore, and did neverthelesse agree amonge our selves, wee shoulde lycke our selves hoale againe in short space."

Doctor. "Yee say truth: 'with concord weake things do encrease and waxe big;' And contrarywise, 'with discorde strong thinges waxe weake.'[31] And it must needes be true that truth it selfe sayth, 'Every kingdome devided in it selfe shalbee desolate.' Wherefore, I cannot forbeare to shewe you my poore opinion, how so great a mischiefe as this is, may bee avoyded out of this our common weale: and stil I will use one trade, as in seeking out the oryginall cause; and by takinge awaye of that, to shew the remedye. I take the chiefe cause hereof, aswel the sinnes of them that be the ministers of Christ's holy word and misteries, as of you that bee the flocke. And first, of ours that have swarved altogether, from their due course, order, and profession to all kinde of liberality; not onely to the basenes of lay-men, but far inferiour to them in pride, covetousnes, and such. Wherefore, yee lay-men, seeing in us no excellency in our maners in deede, thinke us unworthye to bee your leaders and pastors; or to whose doctryne yee should

[31] *Concordia quæ res crescunt discordia maximè dilabuntur.*

gieve credence, whom yee see in lyving far discrepant from the same. And therefore ye take upon you the judgment of spirituall thinges, to whom it doth not appertain. As one inconvenience draweth ever another after him; for so long as the ministers of the church, were of those maners and conversation agreeable with theyr doctryne; so long all men, yea the greatest prynces of the worlde, and the wysest men, wer content to beleve our doctrine, and to obey us in things concerning the soule: and since we fel from the perfection of life, we grew out of credit, and the holy doctrine of Chryst suffered slaunder by our sinfull living. So, we have gieven the fyrste occasion of this evil; and yee have taken it as an instrument to worke this scysme withal. And though both do evil therin, yet the remedy ought to begin at the roote of this mischief, which I take to bee in the ministers and pastors spirituall. And, to be playne with you, and no more to dissemble oure owne faultes, then I have done yours; except wee reforme ourselves fyrst, I can have no great trust to see this generall scysme and devision in religion utterly taken away: it may percase, with authority be for a time appeased; but never so as it sprynge not againe, except wee reforme oure selves fyrst."

Knight. "Mary, and I thinke yee have ben wel disciplined and corrected already, so as yee had good cause to bee reformed; as by taking much of your possessions from you, and in burdeninge of your benefices with subsidies, as well annuall, as proportional, and other wayes. What other reformation would yee have more."

Doctor. "Yea, no doubte wee have had beatinge inough, if that would have served; but some maisters with litle beating will teach theyr schollers better, then other with more strypes can doe: and agayne, some schollers will be reformed with lesse beating then other. So you and we doe now; you in beating inough, but litle teaching; and wee agayne, little regarding the strypes, doe learne as litle. For, notwithstanding these punishments that we have had, the reproches and revilinge and opening of our faultes, see how many of us have reformed our selves; yea, so much as in our outwarde duties, whereunto we are bound both by God's lawe, and our cannons lawes, and decrees: how many moe of us have resorted to our benefices to be resident thereon, which not onely by the sayd lawes, but also upon greate penalties wee are bounde unto by the lawes of this realme. How many, lesse now then before, have studied to heape benefice upon benefice, when wee bee scante able to discharge one of them? what better triall or examination is there nowe, in admittyng of ministers of the church? What more exacte searche is made by our bishops, for worthy men to be admitted to the cure of soules? What better execution of our cannons and decrees, doe our bishoppes, deanes, and archdeacons, in their visitations now, then they did before? Yea, what better hospitality, residence, or ministration, eyther of the word, or of their other duties, doe our prelates and byshops now, then they did before? doe they not lurke in theyr mansions and manour-places, far from theyr cathedral churches, as they were wont; and scant once a yeare will see their principall church, where they ought to be continually resident? be they not in a maner as unmeete for preaching the word of God as ever they were; for all these plagues that God sendes to them? But they are so blynded, that they cannot see wherefore they be thus punished, and construe it to be for other causes; as by the covetousnes of lay-men in desiringe theyr possessions, by a hatred conceived agaynste them, for not obteyning theyr purpose at men of the churches hand. Or for that they cannot abyde the correction of the church, or such other causes as they immagine with themselves: and thinke that the indignation against them shortly will slake of it selfe. But I pray God it doe not rather encrease, as I feare me it will, except we amend us the rather. How can men be content to pay the tenth of theyr goods which they gette with theyr sore labour and sweate of theyr browes, when they can not have for it againe neither ghostly comforte nor bodely? what layman will be any thing scrupulous to keepe those tythes in his owne handes, when hee sees us doe nothing more then hee for it? what credite will any man gieve to our doctrine, whom they see so light in lyving? what reverence will they gieve our personnes in whose manners they see no gravity? But to passe from these matters to others: there be most godly ordynaunces made by our lawes by auctority of counsayles generally, that all archdeacons should visite in person yearely theyr precinctes: the bishop every three

yeares to see the whole diocesse, what is to be reformed either privately or generally, that private faultes might be reformed forthwith, and the generall at the next synode, and therefore they have theyr procurations. Visite they doe not in person as they ought to doe, but by deputies, more for theyr procurations then for any reformation. The money is surely gathered, but the cause wherefore it was geven nothinge kept: the stipend is exacted, and the worke wherefore it was due, undone. Then is there another good ordenaunce and godly, absolved after the like sorte; where every bishop should yerely keepe a sinode in his diocesse of all evangelicall persons, and every archbishop a sinod for his whole province every thyrd yere, that if any thing occurred in the diocesse worthy reformation, it might be referred to the provinciall congregation, if it were either doubtfull to the bishop or could not be reformed without greater auctority then the bishoppes alone. Where bee these sinodes now kept? yet they receive every yere theire sinodals of the poore priests: of such good ordenance and godly, there is nothing kept but that which is their owne privat commodity, which be the procurations and sinodals; the other part wherefore that charge was laid is omitted, the burden remaineth, and the duty is taken away: yet better it were that both the one and the other were taken away, then to have the good parte taken and the worse to remaine. If they will say, that there needeth nowe a daies no such visitation nor synods; then there needed never none of them, for moe thinges to bee reformed among us were never then be now, nor reformation never more necessary. But our prelats would say, they dare make no lawes in such sinods for feare of penurye,[32] what neede any moe lawes made then they have already? what should let them to put these in execution that be already made? specially, since they have the aide of the temperal lawes thereto. Are there not statutes made in parliament for residence, and for restrayning of pluralitie of benefices? which had never neede to have ben made, if wee would have put our lawes in execution. Are not we worthy to have other men to correcte and reforme us, when we can not reforme ourselves? Is it marvaile that wee bee out of credence, when our life and conversation is contrary to oure owne lawes and profession; and that the religion of them suffereth slaunder offence and reproche, which through our defaults shalbe once required of our hands. Therefore, if we wil have this scisme taken away from Christe's church, let us first reform our selves, and put our lawes in execution; as in resorting to our benefices to keepe residence, and in contentyng our selves wyth one benefice a piece, and wyth the lyvinge that is appointed to us for our ministration, without devising of other extraordinary and unlawfull gaines. For what is more agreeable with reason, then a man to spende his tyme where he hath his lyving, and to do his office for that he hath the benefite of? And seeing every benefice is a man's living; and if it be not, it might be amended till it be a competent living, and every one requireth one man's whole charge: What reason is it that one man should have two men's livinges and two men's charge, where he is able to discharge but one? Then to have moe, and discharge the cure of never a one, is to farre agaynst reason. But some percase will say, there be some of us worthy a greater preferment then other, and one benefice were to litle for such a one. Is there not as many degrees, in the variety of benefices as there is in men's qualities? Yes forsooth, there is yet in this realme (thanked be God) benefices from M. markes to xx. markes a yeare of sundry values, to endow every man with, after his qualities and degree. And if a meane benefice happen to fal, let every man be contented therewith til a better fal. And if he be thought worthy of a better, let him leave the first and take the better; for the meanest benefice is a sufficient livinge for some man, which should be destitute of a living, if that benefice and other like should be heaped up together in great men's hands. Yea I doe knowe, that men which have such meane benefices be more commonly resident, and keepe better hospitality on the same, then they that have greater benefices. It is a common proverbe; 'Its meary in hall, whan beardes wags all.' Nowe looke throughe a whole diocesse, you shall not finde xx. persons resident that may dispende xl. *l.* a piece; nor for al the benefices in a diocesse, the fourth person resident over the same. What temperal office is so far abused as these be that be spirituall and of

[32] [Sic.]

greater charge? I pray God send our prelats eyes to see these enormities: for it shoulde seeme that they are so blinded that they cannot see them: And then I doubt not but all delayes set a part they will reforme them; and if they do not, I pray God send our majestrats temperall the minde to reforme these thinges with their seculer power. And to study for the reformation of them, rather then for theyr possessions, Christian princes beare not their swords in vayne: nor yet is it so straunge a thing to see Christian princes reforme the prelates that swarve from their duties.

"Thus far be it spoken, touching the reformation of them that be mynisters of the church. Now to speake of that is to be reformed of our parte that bee of the laytye, yee must understand, that al that geve themselves to the knowledge of any faculty, are commonly subject to eyther of two vices (as that great clarke Tully[33] doth report) the one is, to take these things that we knowe not, for things knowne, or as though we knewe them; for a voyding of which fault, men ought to take both good space and great diligence in consideration of things, ere they come to geve judgement of the same: the other vice, to bestowe too great a study and labour about obscure and hard thinges nothing necessary. Let us now consider and those faults be not among you at these dayes. Ye be all now studious to knowe the understanding of holy scripture: And well; for there can be no better desire, more honest, nor more necessary for any christian man: but yet, doe yee not see many younge men before they have either taken any longe time, or any good diligence in the consideration or study of scripture, take upon them to judge of high matters being in controversie, geeving to quicke assent eyther to their owne invencion, or to other men's; before they have considered what might be sayd to the contrary. And this fault is not onely seene in men studious of the knowledge of scripture, but also in younge students of all other sciences: shall ye not finde a student in the lawe of the realme, after he hath bene at the study of the lawe not past iii. yeares, more ready to assoyle you a doubtfull cause of the lawe, then either he himselfe or another, after that he hath studied the law xii. or xiiii. yeares. Yea, no doubt, so it is in a young grammarian, logitian, rethoritian, and so of al other sciences. Therefore Pythagoras forbade his schollers to speake the firste v. yeares that they came to him; which lesson I would to God yee would be content to observe, before yee gave any judgement in matters of holy scripture. And then I doubt not, but after vii. yeares reading, ye would (by collation of one place with another of scripture) finde a greater difficulty therein, then yee doe nowe; and bee more scrupulouse to geve an aunswere in high thinges then yee be now: and this harme commeth of rashe judgement in that part, that when a man hath once uttred his opinion in any thinge, he will thinke it a great shame for him to bee brought from that he hath once affirmed for truth. Therefore, what so ever he readeth after, he construeth for the mayntenaunce of his opinion; yea, and wil force that side, not onely with his wordes and perswasions, but also with that powre and authority that he hath, and will labour to bring other to the same opinion as many as he can; as though his opinion shoulde bee the more true, the moe favorers that he may get of the same. By such meanes if we seek but for the truth, that is not to bee judged to be alwayes on the best side that getteth the over hand by power, authority, or suffrages extorted: it is not like in the disceptacion and inquisition of the truth, as it is in a fight or a wrestling: for he that hath the over hand in these thinges hath the victory; and in the other, hee that is sometimes put to silence, or otherwise vanquished in the sighte of the worlde, hath the victory and conquest of truth, on his side. Since wee contend but for the knowledge of the truth, what shoulde wee devide our selves into factions and parties: but let the matter be quietly discussed, tryed, and examined,[34] by men to whom the judgement of such things appertayneth And provide, in the meane time, that neyther party do use any vyolence agaynst the other, to bringe them by force to this or that side, untill the whole or most part of them to whom the discuscion of such things appertayneth unto, doe freely consent and determine the matter. That is the onely way to descide such controversies; and since this

[33] *Cicero de offic. Lib. i.*

[34] [As Constantine the great did in the time of Arius.]

contencion must once have an ende, it were better take an end be times then too late, when percase more harme shal have ensued of this daungerous scisme, as hath already done in other parties even before our eyes. And in like thinges hath before this time bene seene, of such sort as it is too lamentable to bee remembred, what losse of christian men! what diminishing of the christian fayth! what continuall warres, hath the faction of the Arrians bene the occasion of! did it not seperate and sever at length all Asia, and Africke from the christian fayth? Is not the religion, or rather the wicked supersticion of the Turke graffed over this Arrian sect? did it not take his foundation thereof? As there is no dyvision more daungerous, then that which groweth of matters in religion; so it were most expedient and necessary to bee quikely remedied; which cannot bee done by any other way then by a free and generall counsel, that hath bene alwayes from the time of the apostles, who first tooke that remedy (even to their dayes) the onely way to quiet and appease all controversies in religion. And no doubt the Holy Ghost, as his promise is, wilbe presente in every such assembly, that is gathered together by no force or labor of any affection. But now wee will say, (thoughe wee would for our partes set a side parciality, and be indifferent and use no cohercion to get numbers and voyces that shoulde favour our partes,) who can promise that the byshoppe of Rome, and other prelates, would doe the same. Surely if yee did say so, yee sayd a great matter; for they be men and more subject to affections then yee be. But I shalbe bolde after my manner to tell my minde herein, aswell as in other thinges: I take all these matters that be now a dayes in controversie to be of one of these sortes; that is, either touching the profits and emolumentes of the prelates and mynisters of the church, or touching pointes of religion. As touching those articles that concerne religion, I would wishe that they had onely the discuscion thereof, which ought and have used alwayes to have the judgement of the same; and as touching the articles that concerne the profits of ecclesiasticall persons, I would have these left to the discuscion of the seculer powers, because it concerneth seculer thinges onely: where no man neede mistrust, but that the majestrates will provide an honorable living for that kinde of men that serveth so honorable a roume as the ministration of God's holy word and his sacraments. Furthermore, I woulde wishe in thinges touching the byshop of Rome and his jurisdition, that he should be set a part, and some other indifferent persons chosen, by christian princes, to direct or be presidentes in the counsayle while his matter is in handlinge, (if it please christian princes to houlde a counsayle with that whore of Babylon) for no man is meete to be a judge in his owne cause. Here I have but briefly touched the summes of things after my simple phantasie; referringe the alowing or rejecting of all or some of them to your better judgement."

Knight. "I am sorry that it is so late that wee must needes depart nowe."

Marchaunt, Husband, and *Capper.* "And so bee wee, in good fayth: but wee trust, ere you departe the towne, to have some communication wyth you agayne."

Doctor. "I will bee glad, if I tarry in the towne. But as yet truly I knowe not whether I shall remayne here beyonde too-morow morning, which if I do (in any thing that my simple judgement will reach unto you) you shall heare my farther opinion: in the meane time, I pray you so to thinke of mee as of one that if I have spoken any thing which may bee prejudiciall to the commonweale any way, I am ready to revoke it, and to yeelde to the judgement of any other man, that can shew how all these griefes, or the more part of them, may bee remedied by any other better meanes; for I know of many a thousande in this lande, I may worste speake in such a wayghty matter. And so here for this presente I take my leave of you all."

And thus wee departed for that time: but on the morrowe, when I knewe maister Doctor was gone out of the towne, I thought not meete this communication should bee lost, but remembred at the least in mine owne private booke; to the intent as opportunity shoulde serve, I might brynge forth some of his reasons in places where they might eyther take place, or be aunswered otherwise then I could. And therefore I have noted the sayd communication briefly of this sorte as you see.

The Father's Counsell; or certain usefull Directions, for all Young Persons, especially Elder Brothers, whose Portion it is or may be, in these perilous Daies, to be left in a fatherlesse or friendlesse Condition. By W. T.

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[Small Octavo, containing Forty-three Pages.]

This was written by William Tipping, the second son of Sir George Tipping, Knt. of Drayton in Oxfordshire. He was born in 1598, *and became a commoner of Queen's College, Oxon, in* 1614, *where he took a degree in arts. Afterwards he went to London, and spent some time in one of the inns of court; but (according to Wood) being theologically given, he returned to Oxford, where he lived many years for the sake of scholastical company and books. In the beginning of the civil war he sided with the presbyterians; was made one of the visitors of the University of Oxon, in* 1647, *and the next year master of arts. He gave way to fate at Waterstock near Oxford, Feb.* 2, 1648-9, *and was buried in the chancel there. Though born to a fair estate, he gave himself solely up to learning, piety, and charity. This, Wood records, with a few other particulars, in Athen. Oxon.* II. 119. *The present tract is reprinted from a copy among the King's pamphlets; and cannot fail of being deemed morally estimable by every reflecting mind.*

My Son,

GOD hath given thee thy being in a doleful age; thou livest in times streaming in blood, abounding in sin; and alas! therefore bloody, because sinful; and thine unhappiness is the greater (though perchance thy fear be the less) that thy blossom years render thee unsensible of the present misery. Life is now, to them that can judge of it, a sad and melancholy thing; death uncertain, yet at our doors; friends prove flaggy, and foes merciless; the world deceitful; distractions rage within us, and dangers without us, God's judgements round about us: and this is the temper of the times! And now, my son, how wilt thou demean thyself in this comfortless condition. To rest upon friends is but a fading shelter: alas! how many perils be there on all sides, to take them from thee. To rest on other means, they may prove but broken reeds, for where the enemy comes, he commonly sweeps clean, and leaves men almost as naked to the world, as nature brought them into it. Now where friends and human supports fail, what shall be thy refuge? Why, let David's charge to his soul, be the practice of thine. 'Put thy trust 'in God;' for God and a good conscience in sunshine days are the sweetest joys, and in the times of trouble the safest harbours; when storms arise and winds blow, and billows swell, and no haven appears, but blood and death riot in all places, yet even then an honest and sincere heart, which hath made its peace with God through Christ, is as safely harboured as Noah in his ark, when the waves surrounded him.

Now, my son, because it is not given me to know to what times or length of days God hath reserved thee, and for that it may possibly be thy portion to survive the calamities this present age groans under, and perchance in the mean time lose all those faithful

friends to whose counsels for thy education God and nature hath engaged thee; I thought it fit to leave thee, in supply of other helps, these ensuing directions.

First, Know this, and lay it up in the closet of your heart, as your dearest and chiefest meditation, that 'the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; a good understand-'ing have they that do thereafter; the praise of it endures for ever.'

For your carriage towards God, let it be even, close, and regular; walk fully with him, rest firmly on him; therefore, take special heed of spiritual distempers; to be sometimes hot, sometimes cold, sometimes luke-warm: but labour for stability in religion, as well as truth; for this will arm you against the breakings out of your corrupt heart, and against those diversities of temptations which the world and the devil will be sure to cast upon thee.

For your carriage towards men, and your ordinary demeanour in the general course of your life; see your dealings be fair, your words faithful, your heart sincere, your conversation lovely; let thy life speak thy religion, rather than thy discourse; be courteous towards all, but familiar only with the best; and make such your bosom-friends, in whose society you may happily either do or receive some good. This course will begin you a heaven upon earth, and keep your soul always in an improving condition.

Whatever your state of life shall be, whether conjugal or single, be sure to exercise your abilities, in some particular calling; I wish it may be in the ministry, this is the chiefest in my desires; and I pray God, it may prove the dearest in your affections! But I speak this in way of advice, not injunction; for the bent and ready inclination of your mind must much direct your choice in this particular; but however your genius frame, I here charge you, that as you tender the admonition of a father, to whose faithful instructions God hath obliged you, that you detest with a perfect hatred that specious but pernicious sin of idleness; yea, that you abhor and abandon it with as much indignation, as you would a poisonful serpent; for this destructive vice will render you displeasing to God, unprofitable to the world, unfruitful in your family, contagious to all men, scandalous to the best, and burthensome to yourself: believe it, God hath not placed man on earth, as the leviathan in the sea, to take his pastime therein; 'but man (saith Job) is 'born to labour; as the sparks fly upwards,' so naturally. And here, let no elder brother shelter himself under his fair estate, or plead the inheritance of his father, for his sloth; for Cain and Abel, though heirs of the whole world, had their employments: and the precept is general, reaching in all degrees of persons, 'of the sweat of thy brows shalt 'thou eat thy bread.'

As for the ordering of that estate wherewith God shall intrust you, (for you must remember you are but his steward) be frugal, but not base; circumspect, but not unjust; one penny in a pound ill gotten, may like a thief in the candle, eat out all the rest of your increase. Enlarge your heart in works of mercy towards others, as God shall be pleased to enlarge his hand of bounty towards you. This is the surest way to make your life more comfortable, and your estate more full. Let your hospitality be moderate and according to the measure of thy estate, rather plentiful than sparing, but not costly; for I never knew any grow poor by keeping an orderly table, but some consume themselves through secret vices, and then hospitality bears the blame. Be sure to banish drunkenness out of thy house, which is a swinish vice, and doth impair the health, both of body and soul; consumes much, and makes no show.

Let it be the business of thine heart, as well as of thine eye, to have religious exercises constantly performed in thy family twice in the day at least, if not oftener, besides thy private devotions; and that the same may be performed with such honour, regard, and reverence, as becomes so high a work, post not off that service to some ordinary servant, as is too commonly done (for who is sufficient for these things); but discharge it zealously, distinctly and understandingly, in thine own person. Take heed of carrying on these exercises in thy houshould as a set and imposed task only, as thinking when the prayers are ended the business is done. I tell thee, thou mayest speak much to God, and pray little: this business is the work of the inner man, and therefore what-

soever you do for God, do it with all your might: call in your will, understanding, affections, and all the faculties of your soul to give attention on this duty.

One thing more; if any sudden and unexpected accident have moved thy passions, and raised some tempests within thee; O! pray not to God in that temper, but approach thou to God, as God came to Elijah 'in a quiet and still voice, not in a whirlwind.' God is a God of love and peace, and therefore compose thy heart and becalm all distempers in thy mind, before thou presume of so high a majesty.

And here, my son, I must admonish thee of a necessary duty, the which indeed (shame to this enlightened and knowing age) is little known and less practised; that is, the catechizing and instructing of servants and children in the grounds of religion in private families, by the masters and governors thereof; which course were it more generally and effectually set upon, certainly God would be more glorified, his word and sacraments more reverently handled, and the people better edified than our former days have seen. I know well the duty of catechizing (the general neglect whereof the land hath cause to lament with tears of blood) doth properly belong to the pastoral charge; yet all masters of families are, or ought to be, like Abraham and Joshua, priests and prophets in their own houses, and help lay the foundation of religion in the people's hearts; that so by working together, the business might be advanced to a more glorious improvement. Were this necessary duty thoroughly pressed, and understandingly carried on, through all parts of this kingdom, then should we not to our scandal and scorn, see so many schisms in our church, so many disorders and fractions in the state, such diversities of opinions broached amongst us, such unmannerly and irreverent carriage in God's worship in many places. In a word, then should we not see so many thousand poor souls perish for want of knowledge; walking in the dark ways of their own seduced hearts, and acting all things as their lusts, or perchance some ignorant leaders, guide them. My son, according to thy place, power and parts, do thou thy duty in this particular, and stir up others in the prosecution hereof, as knowing that 'he which 'converts a soul from the error of his way, shall shine as the stars in the firmament.'

If it shall please God to bring thee to man's estate, use exceeding great care and caution in the choice of thy wife, if thy affections incline that way. And herein, in the first place, seek unto God to counsel thee, and he will direct thy path; you have his promise for it. 'In all thy ways acknowledge him, (saith Solomon) and he shall 'direct thy ways,' Prov. iii. 6. This advice is better known than well improved; often spoken, exceeding seldom done; but take you God's word for good security; believe it, the Psalmist's words are true, 'he never faileth them that seek him.' Psal. ix. 10. Now when you have consulted God, be industriously inquisitive into the disposition, inclination, stock, but especially the religion of the party commended to your choice, for it is heavy drawing in an uneven yoke, and however it be true, that parentage, parts, and portion are good ingredients in your match, yet these must not be the principles to guide your choice; let her be gracious rather than great; yet richly adorned, I mean 'all glorious within,' and then whatever imperfections shall arise from her nature, they will be her burthen as well as thine. Religion is the sweetest and strongest tie, and those that are so conjoined, nothing but death, nay, in truth, neither life nor death can part them.

If God shall be pleased to bless you hereafter with any children, be careful to present their blossom years, an unblameable example in your own life. For your personal demeanour and ordinary carriage amongst them will have a very powerful influence upon their dispositions; they being always exceedingly inclined to take in the habits either of virtue or vice from their parents' footsteps. And therefore if you find any natural infirmity (be it passion or any other innate quality,) to lie strong upon you, labour to bear down the strength thereof at all times, but especially in the presence of your children; least your actual breakings out, inflame their sparks, and cause those ill seeds to bud forth in them, which your nature hath settled in their blood. Certainly, much Christian prudence may be shewed in the education of children, by stopping the stream of their

inclinations in the bud, before they flow too high; and by seasoning their mind with religious principles before their corruptions are fortified in them; otherwise, it will prove true, *difficulter eradicatur quod rudes animi combiberunt.*

In your ordinary conversation among your children, be not so indulgently familiar as to make them forget their distance, nor so rigorously austere as to discourage them. I am persuaded, the foolish cockering of some parents, and the over-stern carriage of others, causeth more men and women to miscarry, than their own vicious inclinations.

Give your children a competent maintenance according to your ability, otherwise your life will seem their bondage; and what portion you shall leave them, they will thank death for it, not you. Bring them up in religion, learning, and obedience, and neglect not to settle them in some honest vocation; for if thou dost not employ thy children, the devil will. Better thy son were a basket-maker, than an idle drone.

As concerning the ordering of thy family, let that be like a city compacted in itself. Unity and unanimity are beautiful accommodations in every houshold, and where they are advanced and preserved inviolable, they facilitate domestical employments, causing them to be carried on with more alacrity and sweetness. In a word, where truth and peace, in any civil society, do kiss each other, and go hand in hand together, they usher in God's love; and do clearly evidence that God is in that place indeed; for it is God that makes men to be of one mind in a house: therefore, labour earnestly in thy family to make good the apostolical counsel, namely, "to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

Let thy friends and allies be welcome to thy table; grace them with thy countenance, and further them in all honest actions; for by this means thou shalt so double the bond of nature, as that thou shalt find them so many advocates to plead and apologize for thee, behind thy back. But shake off those glow-worms, (I mean parasites and sycophants,) who will feed and fawn upon thee in the summer of thy prosperity; but in adverse storms, will shelter thee no more than an arbour in winter.

Undertake no suit against a poor man, without receiving much wrong; for besides that thou makest him thy competitor, it is a base conquest to triumph where there is small resistance, and can be little gain; neither attempt law against any man, before thou be sure thou hast right on thy side, and then spare for neither money nor pains; for a cause or two so followed, and obtained, may free thee from suits a great part of thy life.

Carry thy mind equally poised through all conditions, that shall befal thee; if God be gracious to thee in a large dispensation of his blessings, be thankful, but not secure; perchance some storm may be near at hand, and it is wisdom in the midst of abundance to expect a change: or, on the other side, if God shall cast thee under a cloud, lay some pressure upon thee, be humble, but not discouraged; perchance, God will have the world become more better to thee, that himself may become more sweet.

Whatever thou wouldst judge best if thou wert now to die, the same think always best, even in thy most healthfullest condition; for howsoever a seduced heart doth deceive us, certainly that which is best at last is best at first too; and that is the happiest life which is ruled by dying principles.

When thou seest so much bustling and distemper in the world, cast with thyself, who would bottom his soul upon so base a foundation and uncertain hold, and be incited hereupon to look upwards, and labour with all thy might to get an interest in Jesus Christ; for union with him always draws safety and protection from him, and whosoever fears to offend him unfeignedly, he needs fear nothing else.

If a man be a diligent observer of his course of life, he shall seldom find himself free from all kind of offences; but one corruption shall trouble him much, if another be weakened; yea, and without much strength of grace, shall prevail against him; lusts will be violent and hardly take an answer; but, my son, though these unlucky birds light upon thy head, yet let them not lodge within thy heart; and, because every man hath his bosom sin, which doth more strongly and more oft besiege him, strive to find that out, and then keep the strongest watch where thou suspecteth the greatest battery.

When thou addressest thyself to any duty or employment whether be it spiritual or civil, never attempt any thing *hæsitante animo*; 'with a doubtful and divided mind;' but be always clearly satisfied in thy judgment of the lawfulness of that which thy heart or hand shall go about; otherwise, thy too late providence may procure thee long repentance. If the case be of that nature, that thou canst not wind thyself out; light thy candle at others, whom thou hast cause to think, by their place and parts, should see further than thyself. Certainly many Christians would find more sound peace within, did they seek themselves more abroad; I mean, if, in a prudential way, they did close in with some faithful pastor or friend, to be a constant councellor to them; and who, in cases of difficulty and above their reach, might give them aim and direction. But, alas! so strong is old Adam in us, that we oftentimes fear to ask advice, because we would not be taken off and unadvised from those things to which our corrupted hearts advise us: this is a cunning sleight of Satan, take thou heed of it; and in all thy undertakings, consider and consult, and then go on with cheerfulness, and thou wilt conclude with peace.

There is a common deceit of heart, possesseth many Christians in the hearing of the word, which because it suits so well with corrupt nature is hardly discovered by them. Many there are, who delight to feed altogether upon the mountains; high and lofty speculations exceedingly take them, but if the preacher carry on his endeavours in an humble and low sail, they find but cold acceptance. This is 'an evil under the sun,' and it is much amongst men; it is a plague in the heart, which wanton wits will one day mourn for. But thou, O my son, know, God never set up this glorious ordinance of preaching to woo the fancy, but to win the soul.[1] Abuse not, therefore, his loving kindness unto wantonness; but ever esteem that most pleasant to thy ear, which proves most fruitful to thy soul.

Judge not of thy present condition by the plentiful means of grace thou livest under, but by what thou feelest and what thou art; if the ordinances of God have wrought upon thy inward man, and thou findest the frame, temper, and disposition of thy soul renewed, then hast thou some comfortable evidence of a growing condition; but if there be no new creation wrought in thee; if thou continuest as proud as ever; as fruitless as ever, as profane as ever, then certainly the word of grace, though, in itself, it be the word of life, yet hitherto hath been but a dead letter unto thee; nay, thou art therefore worse, because thou shouldest be better: the light which thou hast received will but heighten thy sin, and add weight to thy punishment.

Many hear much, yet take in little fruits, because they write much, but use no after reckonings; and so, by this means, loose both their pains and profit; this is one of Satan's sleights, who when he cannot hinder the free passage of God's ordinances, labours to make them successless in their use. Take heed of this delusion. Shouldest thou note off half thy days, thou canst call nothing more thine own than what thou dost remember; nor will that further pleasure thee, than as it shall be digested into thy understanding, and affection, and practice. Mistake not; I speak not this to discourage thee in the practice of this particular, which I do highly commend, but to direct thee in thy use.

It may tend much to the advantage of thy soul, in thy Christian race, sometimes to run over the story of thy former vanities, and to study the several passages of God's providence over thee in the days of thy youth; as to meditate in such manner—'Had not the good hand of God restrained me, when the lust of my flesh and the pleasures of my eye were the only joy of my heart; alas! how easily might sin and Satan have then enthralled me, and my lust have become my law; but blessed be God who hath not given me over as a prey to my corruptions; he hath broken the snare, and my soul is delivered:

[1] [Much in accordance with the pulpit reproof of Cowper:

'Tis pitiful
'To court a grin, when you should woo a soul;
——————'And to address
'The skittish fancy with facetious tales,
'When sent with God's commission to the heart!' Task, book 2.]

therefore, whilst I live will I praise the Lord; yea, so long as I have any being, I will sing praises to my God!'

Thy whole life, whilst thou sojournest in this 'valley of tears' is nothing else but a dying condition, a continual progress unto death; it will be thy wisdom, therefore, without further procrastinations, to improve this golden, yet sliding opportunity to the best advantage of thy soul; as knowing thou sowest here that seed, the fruit whereof will hereafter in another world, either for good or evil, spring up to an everlasting harvest. And therefore, in all thy thoughts, words, actions, directions, and conclusions, let that precious rule of the prophet David be thy *vade mecum*, live and die with thee,—'Keep innocency and 'do the thing which is right; for that will bring a man peace at the last.' And since, that 'where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also;' therefore, where thy God is, there let thy treasure be.

All creature-comforts have their allays of bitterness, their ingredients of sorrows in them: they are but shadows and vanity, being laid in the balance to things above. Alas! what is all the riches thou canst here enjoy, to the gain of Christ; what thy honour, to the inheritance of the saints; what thy comforts, to the joy of the spirit; yea, what thy life, to that everlasting ever glorious being, whose joys shall never find either bounds or bottom. O! therefore, labour instantly, pray uncessantly, that thou mayest be able to feel and say—'The Lord is my portion, therefore can I lack nothing:' for he must needs have all things, who possesseth him that possesseth all things. Now that thou mayest have sound evidence in thy soul, that thy treasure is above thee; lay out all the strength of thy endeavours to gain a burning and flaming love towards God into thy soul; O! how happy Christians should we be, could we in David's words, with David's spirit, say—'Lord, I love thee dearly!' Indeed, we cannot love him fully; yet, in his gracious and sweet acceptance, we love him sufficiently, if we love him faithfully: And in what measure we love God we are sure in a far higher and more transcendent measure to be beloved of him. *Nemo diffidat se amari qui jam amat, quomodo enim amare pigebit qui amavit, nec dum amantes.*

The Poets' Knavery Discovered, in all their lying Pamphlets, wittily and very ingeniously composed; laying open the Names of every lying Libel that was Printed last Year, and the Authors who made them; being above three hundred Lies. Shewing how impudently the Poets have not only presumed to make extreme and incredible Lies, but dare also feign false Orders and Proceedings from the Parliament with many fictitious Speeches. Well worth the reading and knowing of every one, that they may learn how to distinguish betwixt the Lies and real Books. Written by J. B.

London, Printed for T. H. [1641?]

[Quarto, containing Three Leaves.]

This little piece may serve as a kind of Index indicatorius *to the political pamphlets of its day, several of which are to be found in the Harleian Miscellany.*

An Order from the House of Commons for the suppression of Pamphlets.

THE parliament having maturely considered of the manifold lies and ementitious pamphlets, that have been published to the great ignominy and dishonour of the state, did appoint a select committee for the restraint of all libels: and ordered, that all lying pamphlets should be suppressed, and nothing printed without license.

THE temporizing poets have broached such impudent scurrility, and ementitious pamphlets, out of the inexhaust mintage of their roving fancies, that the whole city is embroidered with nothing but incredible lies, that jars so much in the wearied ears of the world, that the scarce-breathing mandrake could not digest the same. These needy brains to purchase some commodious vails from the foamy vapour of a scurrilous humour, did strive to set their unconcocted wits to the highest pin, that lying and nonsense were the two coincident twins, that always distilled from the nasty dregs of their satyrical quills. One of these poetical satyrs though he was a *night-Walker*,[1] and in nocturnal darkness once escaped the compter, and another time Newgate, yet he was the arch-conduct of their harsh-tuned chorus: another did *Bray*[2] like an ass, and became his secondary, and although he yielded the precedency to the former, (for he was the most lying knave) yet he was not so nihilate a cipher, but that he challenged the second place in an arithmetical order to himself: Another *Harberd*[3] his frothy muse in the rheumatic exhalations of muddy taplash, which made his fancy so extremely dull, that when he writ any thing, every 'What-lack-you-sir,' or stationer's apprentice could conceive it to be Harbert's lie. Thus these three, like triple-headed Cerberus, nursed their viperous muses in Acharon, and

[1] A poet. [2] Another poet. [3] Another poet.

fomented them in Stygian gall, greedily biting the fame of every delinquent, whom they will not permit only to suffer quietly parliamentary justice, but they also will nettle them a-fresh with their goose-quill censure. Since the Earl of Strafford's death, there have been above three hundred lying pamphlets printed to my credible enumeration. First then, the 'Lord Lieutenant's Speech' fabulously fathered upon him in the Tower, but protested against by such eminent persons as accompanied him some time before his execution: his '*Ultimum Vale*;' his pitiful 'Elegies' fathered upon himself, his amorous 'Re-greet to Clorinda,' his 'Ghost,' and suppositious 'Dialogue between him and the Lord's grace of Canterbury,' 'Canterbury's Dream,' 'Lambeth Fair,' where such rascally stuff is employed to the consumption of paper, as the perusal of it would make an horse break his halter, as is vulgarly said: with his 'Recantation' penned by an Amsterdamian pedant; and his 'Potion'[4] lately ministred by an antimonian empiric, with his 'Tools,' composed by a company of fools, and his 'Last Will and Testament.' To see the metropolitan of a flourishing state thus opprobiously abused, is an insufferable thing, and ought not to be tollerated: yet if he be culpable and peccant, the law is sufficient to curb him, and he ought to suffer according to its censure; but to see his grave made before his eyes with lying libels, or to encounter with such extremes, as the blasting tongue of infamy, is an act of higher suffering than the just censure of the law may permit. Then many other of the clergy have been most ignominiously abused: as in the 'Articles against Dr. Beale, and Dr. Cosins, and Mr. Squire of Shoreditch,' they were all poetically feigned, and ementitious; wherein they were all highly impeached, as if the articles had been presented to the parliament, when they were mere fictitious, the 'Dialogue betwixt Dr. Cosins, and a fellow of his college,' 'The copy of a letter sent from the Lord Finch to him,' 'News from Sir John Suckling,' 'Four Letters sent from the Scotish commissioners to the parliament in England,' 'Mr. Seaker's Speech to the king at his royal arrival in Scotland,' and 'His majesty's answer to the same,' were all most shamefully feigned! which did not only derogate from his imperial sufficiency, but was also a high dishonour to his majesty. 'The Lord Balberino's speech,' 'The Marquiss of Hamilton's' and 'Ge-'neral Lashlay's [Leslie?] Speech in the Scottish Parliament' with 'the Duke of Lenox's,' were all fictitious and fabulous, and divers pamphlets published concerning some treachery that was there found out, were all lies. Then 'Sir William Parkin's,' and 'Sir Nathaniel Coppinger's speeches' in this parliament, with three other, very false. 'A gunpowder' and 'Wildfire plot in Ireland' were poetical, 'Ireland's complaint' and 'Petition' were both false. Yea, there are so many lies concerning Ireland printed, that my paper would be too little to describe them all; they amount to thirty-seven more lies in total. 'Doleful 'News from Edinburgh' since his majesties departure from thence, 'News from Newcastle,' 'Durham,' and 'Constantinople' were all lies. 'A Dialogue betwixt the king of France and Spain,' with 'The French and Spanish fleet arrived at Ireland,' were both false. 'The Scotish volunteers victory,' and 'A glorious overthrow of the rebels by the Scots,' with 'Sir Kenelm Digby's victory' were all fabulous. 'Fourteen orders from the house of commons' were shameful lies, 'The parliament's care for the tower,' were false, 'A terrible plot against London and Westminster' with 'The twelve bishops' conspiracy in the tower,' were not true. 'The Papists' plot against the city' 'The jesuits' plot against the parliament,' and their 'Confession before they were carried to Tyburn,' were ementitious. 'Suffolk's,' 'Norfolk's,' 'Huntingdon-shire's,' 'Somerset-shire's,' and the first of 'Hertfordshire's' 'petition,' were all absurd falsities, the first of 'The apprentices of London,' and 'Women's[5] petition' were false. 'The Cobler's end, or his last sermon,' and 'The Leathersellers,' and 'Button-makers' sermons were all fictitious. 'The parliament's answer to Buckinghamshire petition,' 'News from Hell, Rome, and the inns of court,'[6] The Papists petition to the Pope: Lunsford's Letters found one at Temple-bar, and another in St. Paul's Church, were both feigned. Yea, if I should enumerate every

[4] [Har. Misc. vi. 278.]
[5] [Id. iv. 326. Vide also p. 382, 400, 504, and vol. vii. 605.]
[6] [Id. vii. 212.]

particular lie, I should both trespass too far on (gentle reader) your patience: and lose myself in the irremediable labyrinth of those innumerable fictions, neither could this paper contain them all. But, as I aforesaid, they amount in all to the number of above three hundred. Now I can accuse none, but these temporizing pamphlet-mongers, who, for a little mercenary gain and profit infused plenty of gall and wormwood into their lying and satirical lines. What a base humour is this in you, poetical needy brains, who for a sordid gain, or desire to have the stile of a witty railer, will thus impoison your pen and puzzle your steril pates inventing such senseless, stigmatic ballad balderdash, as our very street chanters, who would warble pleasantly through the nose like an Amsterdam zealot, at the insurrection of the flesh against the spirit, for a pot of Huff's ale, and a huge subsidy toast, shrug to hear it, and with an honest scorn hoot at it. Oh! what a lamentable thing it is to suffer the sentence of such penurious, pennyless wits, who wholly resolve their ink to gall, for a little mercenary gain, or to purchase a pair of decayed trowsers at the second hand, to cover their nakedness, whose lying libels are woven up in brain sick fancies. Well, poets, draw submissively nearer, and with an humble attentive ear attend the delivery of my definite advice unto you. Be penitential, and give a serious recantation to the world for all your lying pamphlets, and confess all your infamous abuses to the state, ye had better, I say, confess so, than at the gall house, this is my advice, which if you will embrace, I know it would give more satisfaction to the spectacle of the world.

A Speech delivered in the Starr-chamber on Wednesday the 14th of June, 1637; at the Censure of John Bastwick, Henry Burton, and William Prinn; concerning pretended Innovations in the Church. By the most reverend Father in God, William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace.

London, Printed by Richard Badger. 1637.

[Quarto, containing eighty-eight Pages.]

It has been repeatedly and confidently asserted, that no more than twenty-five copies of this Speech were printed; its not unfrequent recurrence discredits the report. But scarcity need not be urged as the only motive for its preservation: since we are told by a writer whose judgement in all literary appeals must have the highest influence, 'to all who 'would examine attentively the ecclesiastical controversy of this period, I recommend the 'perusal of this Speech. (Todd's Milton, vol. i. p. 45, edit. 1809.) *The editor conceives that no better authority can be advanced for reprinting it here.*

Of the proceedings which furnished Archbishop Laud with occasion for this Speech, a partial and fanatical account, compiled by the suffering parties, will be found in Vol. IV. p. 12. *The reader may likewise refer to* Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. part iii. p. 78 et seq. edit. 1692. Clarendon's History, vol. i. p. 308, edit. 1807.

There was one considerable article of accusation of which the Archbishop took no notice. It is this;—'That the prelates had never applied for the King's letters patent, under the

'great seal of England, to authorize the keeping their courts, visitations, &c. but that they 'acted in their own names, and under their own seals contrary to law.'

Collier remarking upon this, says, 'The force of this objection having been disabled, by a 'solemn resolution already related, [he gives no reference where] I shall wave repetition; 'only to what has been said, it may not be improper to add upon this occasion, that upon 'the 14th of May, this year, the judges unanimously declared, that the act of repeal of '[i. e. repealing the] 1 Ed. 6, c. 2, made in the first of Queen Mary, was still in 'force.'

But to strengthen this security for the Church, and make it serviceable, his Majesty assented to the desire of the Archbishop, [Vide his Dedication] by taking the resolution of the Judges upon the case at length, and publishing a declaration upon such resolution, in vindication of the bishop's exercising jurisdiction in their own names. Which see in Collier's Eccles. Hist. ii. 775, edit. 1714.

In Osborn's Harleian Catalogue, *a tract occurs, entitled* Divine and Politick Observations upon Abp. Laud's Speech in the Star-chamber, upon the 14th of June, 1637. 1638, 4to. *This the Editor has not met with.*

To his most sacred Majesty, Charles, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Most Gracious, and Dread Sovereign;

I HAD no purpose to come in print, but your Majesty commands it, and I obey. Most sorry I am for the occasion, that induced me to speak; and that since hath moved you to command me to print: nor am I ignorant that many things, while they are spoken and pass by the ear but once, give great content, which when they come to the eyes of men, and their often scanning, may lie open to some exceptions. This may fall to my lot in this particular, and very easily, considering my many diversions, and the little time I could snatch from other employment to attend this. Yet choose I rather to obey your majesty, than to sacrifice to mine own privacy and content.

Since then, this speech, uttered in publick, in the Star-chamber, must now come to be more publick in print; I humbly beseech your sacred majesty to protect me and it, from the undeserved calumny of those men, 'Whose mouths are spears and arrows, and their tongues a sharp sword.' Psal. lvii. 4. Though as the wise man speaks, 'Their foolish 'mouths have already called for their own stripes, and their lips (and pens) been a snare 'for their souls.' Prov. xviii. 6, 7.

The occasion which led me to this speech is known. There have of late been divers libels spread against the prelates of this church; and they have not been more bitter, which is the shame of these 'raging waves,'[1] than they are utterly false, which is our happiness. But I must humbly beseech your majesty to consider, that it is not we only, that is, the bishops, that are struck at, but through our sides, your majesty, your honour, your safety, your religion, is impeached. For what safety can you expect, if you lose the hearts of your people? And how can you retain their hearts, if you change their religion into superstition? And what honour can you hope for, either present, or derivative to posterity, if you attend your government no better than to suffer your prelates to put this change upon you? And what majesty can any prince retain, if he lose his honour and his people?

God be thanked it is in all points otherwise with you: for God hath blessed you with a religious heart, and not subject to change: and he hath filled you with honour in the eyes of your people; and by their love and dutifulness, he hath made you safe, so that

[1 Jude, ver. 13. 'Raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame.']

your majesty is upheld and your crown flourishing in the eyes of Christendom. And God forbid any libellous blast at home from the tongues or pens of a few, should shrivel up any growth of these. We have received, and daily do receive from God, many and great blessings by you; and I hope they are not many that are unthankful to you, or to God for you. And that there should be none in a populous nation, even enemies to their own happiness, cannot be expected. Yet I shall desire, even these to call themselves to an account, and to remember, that 'blasphemy against God,' and 'slandering the footsteps of his anointed' are joined together, Psal. lxxxix.[2] For he that blasphemes God, will never stick at the slander of his prince; and he that gives himself the liberty to slander his prince will quickly ascend to the next highest and blaspheme God.

But then, as I desire them to remember, so I do most humbly beseech your majesty to account with yourself too: and not to measure your people's love by the unworthiness of those few. For a loyal and obedient people you have, and such as will not spare nor livelihood, nor life to do you service; and are joyed at the heart to see the moderation of your government and your constancy to maintain religion, and your piety in exampling it. And as I thus beseech you for your people in general, so do I particularly for the three professions which have a little suffered in these three most notorious libellers' persons. And first for my own profession; I humbly beg of your majesty to think Mr. Burton hath not in this many followers, and am heartily sorry he would needs lead. The best is, your majesty knows what made his rancour swell; I will say no more.[3] And for the law, I truly honour it with my heart, and believe Mr. Prynne may seek all the inns of court, (and with a candle too if he will) and scarce find such a malevolent as himself against state and church. And because he hath so frequently thrust mistaken law into these pamphlets, to wrong the governors of the church, and abuse your good and well-minded people, and makes Burton and Bastwick utter law, which, God knows, they undertand not, (for I doubt his pen is in all the pamphlets,) I do humbly in the church's name desire of your majesty, that it may be resolved by all the reverend judges of England, and then published by your majesty, that our keeping courts, and issuing process in our own names, and the like exceptions formerly taken, and now renewed, are not against the laws of the realm, (as it is most certain they are not) that so the church governors may go on cheerfully in their duty, and the people's minds be quieted by this assurance, that neither the law, nor their liberty, as subjects, is thereby infringed.[4] And for physic, the profession is honourable, and safe; and I know the professors of it will remember that *corpus humanum*, man's body, is that, about which their art is conversant, not *corpus ecclesiasticum* or *politicum*, the body of the church, state, or commonwealth. Bastwick only hath been bold that way. But the proverb in the Gospel, in the fourth of St. Luke is all I will say to him, *medice cura teipsum*, 'physician heal thyself.' And yet let me tell your majesty, I believe he hath gained more by making the church a patient, than by all the patients he ever had beside.

Sir, both myself, and my brethren have been very coarsely used by the tongues and pens of these men, yet shall I never give your majesty any sour counsel; I shall rather magnify your clemency, that proceeded with these offenders in a court of mercy as well as justice: since (as the reverend judges then declared) you might have justly called

[2] Psalm lxxxix. ver. 50. 'Wherewith thine enemies have blasphemed thee, and slandered the footsteps of 'thine anointed.'

[3] [Burton, before he took orders, waited, as closet-keeper, upon the king, when Prince of Wales. He was ordained priest in the latter end of the reign of James, and thought himself neglected in not being sent chaplain to the prince, then at Madrid. Upon the death of King James, he expected to have been Clerk of the Closet: but this preferment being bestowed upon, or rather continued in, Neile, Bishop of Durham, Burton had not temper enough to conceal his disgust, but committed such weak and rude indiscretions, that he was forbidden to appear any longer at court. His ambition being thus frustrated, he turned lecturer and mal-content; and to revenge himself on the Bishop of Durham, played off his spleen upon the whole order.

Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 774. Lond. 1714, fol.]

[4] [Vide the prefix to this tract.]

the offenders into another court, and put them to it in a way that might have exacted their lives, for their stirring (as much as in them lay) of mutiny and sedition.

Yet this I shall be bold to say, and your majesty may consider of it in your wisdom; that one way of government is not always either fit or safe, when the humours of the people are in a continual change; especially, when such men as these shall work upon your people, and labour to infuse into them such malignant principles; to introduce a parity in the church or commonwealth; *et, si non fatis suâ sponte insaniant, instigare*, and to spur on such among them as are too sharply set already: and by this means make and prepare all advantages for the Roman party to scorn us, and pervert them.

I pray God bless your majesty, your royal consort, and your hopeful posterity, that you may live in happiness; govern with wisdom; support your people by justice; relieve them by mercy; defend them by power and success; and guide them in the true religion by your laws and most religious example, all the long and lasting days of your life: which are and shall be the daily prayers of

Your sacred Majesty's most loyal subject,
and most dutiful servant, as most bound,
W. CANT.

My Lords,

I SHALL not need to speak of the infamous course of libelling in any kind; nor of the punishment of it, which in some cases was capital by the imperial laws, as appears, *Cod. l.* 9, *T.* 36; nor how patiently some great men, (very great men indeed,) have borne *animo civili* (that is Sueton. his word[5]) *laceratam existimationem*, the tearing and rending of their credit and reputation, with a gentle, nay, a generous mind. But of all libels, they are most odious which pretend religion; as if that of all things did desire to be defended by a 'mouth that is like an open sepulchre,' or by a pen that is made of a sick and a loathsome quill.

There were times when persecutions were great in the church, even to exceed barbarity itself: did any martyr or confessor, in those times, libel the governors? Surely no; not one of them to my best remembrance: yet these complain of persecution without all shew of cause; and in the meantime libel and rail without all measure; so little of kin are they to those which suffer for Christ, or the least part of christian religion.

My Lords, it is not every man's spirit to hold up against the venom which libellers spit. For St. Ambrose, who was a stout and a worthy prelate, tells us, not that himself, but that a far greater man than he, that is, King David, had found out (so it seems in his judgment it was no matter of ordinary ability) *grande inventum*, a great and mighty invention, how to swallow and put off those bitter contumelies of the tongue:[6] and those of the pen are no whit less, and spread farther. And it was a great one indeed, and well beseemed the greatness of David. But I think it will be far better for me to look upward, and practise it, than to look downward, and discourse upon it.

In the mean time I shall remember what an ancient under the name of St. Hierome tells me,[7] *indignum est et præposterum*, unworthy in itself, and preposterous in demeanor for a man to be ashamed for doing good, because other men glory in speaking ill. And I can say it clearly and truly, as in the presence of God, I have done nothing, as a prelate, to the uttermost of what I am conscious, but with a single heart, and with a sincere intention for the good government and honour of the church, and the maintenance of the orthodox truth and religion of Christ, professed, established, and maintained in this church of England. For my care of this church, the reducing of it into order, the upholding of the external worship of God in it, and the settling of it to the rules of its first reformation, are the causes (and the sole causes, whatever are pretended) of all this malicious storm, which hath loured so black upon me, and some of my brethren; and in the

[5] In Jul. c. 75. [6] In Apol. i. David, c. 6. [7] Ad Ocean. de Ferend. Opprob.

mean time, they which are the only, or the chief innovators of the christian world, having nothing to say, accuse us of innovation; they themselves and their accomplices in the mean time being the greatest innovators that the christian world hath almost ever known. I deny not but others have spread more dangerous errors in the church of Christ; but no men, in any age of it, have been more guilty of innovation than they, while themselves cry out against it: *quis tulerit Gracchos?*[8] And I said well, *quis tulerit Gracchos?* For it is most apparent to any man that will not wink, that the intention of these men, and their abettors, was and is to raise a sedition, being as great incendiaries in the state (where they get power) as they have ever been in the church; Novatian himself hardly greater.

Our main crime is (would they all speak out, as some of them do[9]) that we are bishops; were we not so, some of us might be as passable as other men. And a great trouble it is to them, that we maintain that our calling of bishops is *jure divino*, by divine right: of this I have said enough, and in this place,[10] in Leighton's case,[11] nor will I repeat. Only this I will say, and abide by it, that the calling of bishops is *jure divino*, by divine right, though not all adjuncts to their calling. And this I say in as direct opposition to the church of Rome, as to the Puritan humour. And I say, farther, that from the apostles' times, in all ages, in all places, the church of Christ was governed by bishops: and lay-elders never heard of, till Calvin's new-fangled device at Geneva.

Now this is made by these men, as if it were *contra regem*, against the king, in right or in power. But that is a mere ignorant shift; for our being bishops, *jure divino*, by divine right, takes nothing from the king's right or power over us. For though our office be from God and Christ immediately, yet may we not exercise that power, either of order or jurisdiction, but as God hath appointed us, that is, not in his majesty's, or any christian king's kingdoms, but by and under the power of the king given us so to do. And were this a good argument against us, as bishops, it must needs be good against priests and ministers too; for themselves grant that their calling is *jure divino*, by divine right; and yet I hope they will not say, that to be priests and ministers are against the king, or any his royal prerogatives.

Next, suppose our callings, as bishops, could not be made good *jure divino*, by divine right; yet *jure ecclesiastico*, by ecclesiastical right it cannot be denied. And here in England the bishops are confirmed, both in their power and means, by act of parliament. So that here we stand in as good case, as the present laws of the realm can make us. And so we must stand, till the laws shall be repealed by the same power that made them.

Now then, suppose we had no other string to hold by (I say suppose this, but I grant it not) yet no man can libel against our calling (as these men do) be it in pulpit, print, or otherwise, but he libels against the king and the state, by whose laws we are established. Therefore, all these libels, so far forth as they are against our calling, are against the king and the law, and can have no other purpose, than to stir up sedition among the people.

If they had any other intention, or if they had any christian or charitable desire, to reform any thing amiss; why did they not modestly petition his majesty about it, that in his princely wisdom he might set all things right, in a just and orderly manner? But this was neither their intention, nor way. For one clamours out of his pulpit, and all of them from the press, and in a most virulent and unchristian manner set themselves to make a heat among the people; and so by mutiny, to effect that, which by law they cannot; and, by most false and unjust calumnies to defame both our callings and persons. But for my part, as I pity their rage, so I heartily pray God to forgive their malice.

[8] [Of the innovations, caused in the ceremonies of the church by Laud, and which excited the animadversions of the Puritans, it may not be improper here to observe, in addition to his own justification, that it has been said by a great scholar, and most excellent historian in ecclesiastical no less than in civil matters, that every ceremony, of which Laud enforced the observation, is to be found in the ritual of Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, who was styled the antipapistical prelate. Europ. Magazine, xxviii. p. 379, *apud* Todd's Milton, i. 43, edit. 1809.]

[9] Burton, Apol. p. 110.

[10] [*i. e.* The Star Chamber.]

[11] [Vide an account of the severe prosecution of Leighton, in Rushworth, ii. 55 et seq.]

No nation hath ever appeared more jealous of religion, than the people of England have ever been. And their zeal to God's glory hath been, and at this day is a great honour to them. But this zeal of theirs, hath not been at all times and in all persons, alike guided by knowledge. Now zeal, as it is of excellent use, where it sees its way; so it is very dangerous company, where it goes on in the dark:[12] and these men, knowing the disposition of the people have laboured nothing more than to misinform their knowledge, and misguide their zeal, and so to fire that into a sedition, in hope that they, whom they causelessly hate, might miscarry in it.

For the main scope of these libels is, to kindle a jealousy in men's minds, that there are some great plots in hand, 'dangerous plots (so says Mr. Burton[13] expressly) to change 'the orthodox religion established in England, and to bring in, (I know not what) Ro-'mish superstition in the room of it.' As if the external decent worship of God could not be upheld in this kingdom, without bringing in of popery. Now by this art of theirs, give me leave to tell you, that the king is most desperately abused and wounded in the minds of his people; and the prelates shamefully. The king most desperately: for there is not a more cunning trick in the world, to withdraw the people's hearts from their sovereign, than to persuade them that he is changing true religion, and about to bring in gross superstition upon them. And the prelates shamefully; for they are charged to seduce, and lay the plot, and be the instruments.

For his majesty first: this I know, and upon this occasion take it my duty to speak: there is no prince in Christendom more sincere in his religion, nor more constant to it, than the king. And he gave such a testimony of this at his being in Spain, as I much doubt, whether the best of that faction durst have done half so much, as his majesty did, in the face of that kingdom. And this you, my lord, the Earl of Holland, and other persons of honour, were eye and ear-witnesses of, having the happiness to attend him there. And at this day, as his majesty (by God's great blessing both on him and us) knows more, so he is more settled and more confirmed, both in the truth of the religion here established and in resolution to maintain it.

And for the prelates; I assure myself, they cannot be so base, as to live prelates in the church of England, and labour to bring in the superstitions of the church of Rome, upon themselves and it. And if any should be so foul, I do not only leave him to God's judgment, but (if these libellers, or any other, can discover that his base and irreligious falsehood) to shame also, and severe punishment from the state: and in any just way, no man's hand shall be more, or sooner against him, than mine shall be.

And for myself, to pass by all the scandalous reproaches, which they have most injuriously cast upon me, I shall say this only.

First, I know of no plot, nor purpose of altering the religion established.

Secondly, I have ever been far from attempting any thing, that may truly be said to tend that way, in the least degree: and to these two I here offer my oath.

Thirdly, if the king had a mind to change religion, (which I know he hath not, and God forbid he should ever have) he must seek for other instruments. For as basely as these men conceive of me, yet I thank God, I know my duty well both to God and the king; and I know that all the duty I owe to the king is under God. And my great happiness it is (though not mine alone, but your lordships' and all his subjects with me) that we live under a gracious and a religious king, that will ever give us leave to serve God first, and him next. But were the days otherwise, I thank Christ for it, I yet know not how to serve any man against the truth of God, and I hope I shall never learn it.

[12] You may see it in the example of St. Paul himself, whose very zeal in the darkness of his understanding, which he then had, made him persecute Christ and his church, Acts xxii. 3, 4. And he was very dangerous company then; for he breathed out threatenings against the disciples, Acts ix. 1. So true is that of St. Greg. Naz. Orat. 21; *zelus iracundiam acuit:* 'all zeal puts an edge to anger itself.' And that must needs be dangerous in the dark.

[13] Apology, p. 5.

But to return to the business: what is their art to make the world believe a change of religion is endeavoured? What? why, forsooth, they say, there are great innovations brought in by the prelates, and such as tend to the advancing of popery.

Now that the vanity and falsehood of this may appear, I shall humbly desire your lordships to give me leave to recite briefly all the innovations charged upon us, be they of less or greater moment, and as briefly to answer them. And then you shall clearly see, whether any cause hath been given of these unsavoury libels; and withal, whether there be any shew of cause to fear a change of religion. And I will take these great pretended innovations in order, as I meet with them.

First, I begin with the 'News from Ipswich.'[14]

Where the [15] first innovation is, that the last year's fast was enjoined to be without sermons in London, the suburbs, and other infected places, contrary to the orders for other fasts in former times: whereas sermons are the only means to humble men, &c.

To this I say first, that an after-age may, without offence, learn to avoid any visible inconvenience observed in the former. And there was visible inconvenience observed in men's former flocking to sermons in infected places.

Secondly, this was no particular act of the prelates, but the business was debated at the council-table, being a matter of state, as well as of religion; and it was concluded for no sermons in those infected places, upon this reason; that infected persons or families, known in their own parishes, might not take occasion upon those by-days to run to other churches, where they were not known, as many use to do, to hear some humorous men preach; for on the Sundays, when they better keep their own churches, the danger is not so great altogether.

Nor, thirdly, is that true, that sermons are the only means to humble men. For though the preaching of God's word, where it is performed according to his ordinance, be a great means of many good effects in the souls of men; yet no sermons are the only means to humble men. And some of their sermons are fitter a great deal for other operations; namely, to stir up sedition, as you may see by Mr. Burton; for this his printed libel was a sermon first, and a libel too.[16] And 'tis the best part of a fast to abstain from such sermons.

2. The second innovation is,[17] that Wednesday was appointed for the fast-day, and that this was done with this intention, by the example of this fast without preaching, to suppress all the Wednesday lectures in London.

To this I answer first, that the appointment of Wednesday for the fast-day was no innovation. For it was the day in the last fast before this: and I myself remember it so above forty years since, more than once.

Secondly, if there had been any innovation in it, the prelates named not the day; my Lord Keeper, I must appeal to your lordship; the day was first named by your lordship, as the usual and fittest day; and yet I dare say, and swear too, that your lordship had no

[14] ['News from Ipswich, discovering certain late detestable practices of some domineering lordly prelates, to 'undermine the established doctrine and discipline of our church,' &c. Printed (as 'tis said, though falsely) at Ipswich, an. 1636, in one sheet, 4to. published under the name of Matthew White, three times in that year, and another time in 1641. Athen. Oxon. ii. 442.

The sarcasm of this piece was principally directed against Dr. Wren, Bishop of Norwich, who was then residing at Ipswich. But (says Wood) the writer 'fell as scandalously foul on the archbishop, and some of the 'other bishops also, and such as acted under them in this present service. For therein he descants very trimly (as 'he conceived) on the archbishop himself, with his arch-piety, arch-charity, arch-agent for the devil, &c. With 'like reproach he fell on the bishops generally, calling them Luciferian lord-bishops, execrable traitors, devour-'ing wolves, &c. with many other odious names not fit to be used by a christian; and more particularly on 'Wren.' Idem, p. 435-6.]

[15] Page 2.

[16] [On the 5th of November, 1636, Mr. Burton preached, in his own church of St. Matthew, Friday Street, two sermons upon Prov. xxiv. 21, 22. These were afterwards published together, with 'An Apology of an 'appeal to the King's most excellent Majesty.']

[17] Page 3.

aim to bring in Popery; nor to suppress all, or any the Wednesday-lectures in London. Besides, these men live to see the fast ended, and no one Wednesday-lecture suppressed.

3. The third innovation[18] is, that the prayer for seasonable weather was purged out of this last fast book, which was (say they) one cause of shipwrecks and tempestuous weather.

To this I say, first in the general; this fast-book, and all that have formerly been made, have been both made and published by the command of the king, in whose sole power it is to call a fast. And the archbishop and bishops to whom the ordering of the book is committed, have power under the king, to put in, or leave out, whatsoever they think fit for the present occasion; as their predecessors have ever done before them; provided that nothing be in contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the church of England. And this may serve in the general for all alterations, in that or any other fast-book or books of devotion upon any particular occasions, which may and ought to vary with the several times, and we may, and do, and will justify, under his majesty's power all such alterations made therein.

Secondly, for the particular. When this last book was set out the weather was very seasonable. And it is not the custom of the church, nor fit in itself to pray for seasonable weather when we have it, but when we want it. When the former book was set out, the weather was extremely ill, and the harvest in danger; now the harvest was in, and the weather good.

Thirdly, 'tis most inconsequent to say, that the leaving that prayer out of the book of devotions, caused the shipwrecks and the tempests, which followed. And as bold they are with God Almighty, in saying it was the cause; for sure I am, God never told them, that was the cause. And if God never revealed it, they cannot come to know it; yet had the bishops been prophets, and foreseen these accidents, they would certainly have prayed against them.

Fourthly, had any minister found it necessary to use this prayer at any one time during the fast, he might with ease, and without danger, have supplied that want, by using that prayer to the same purpose which is in the ordinary liturgy.

Fifthly, I humbly desire your lordships to weigh well the consequence of this great, and dangerous innovation. The prayer for fair weather was left out of the book for the fast; therefore the prelates intend to bring in Popery. An excellent consequence, were there any shew of reason in it.

4. The fourth innovation[19] is, that there is one very useful collect left out, and a clause omitted in another.

To this I answer first, as before; it was lawful for us to alter what we thought fit.

And secondly, since that collect made mention of preaching, and the act of state forbade sermons on the fast days in infected places; we thought it fit, in pursuance of that order, to leave out that collect.

And thirdly, for the branch in the other, which is the first collect, though God did deliver our forefathers out of Romish superstition, yet (God be blessed for it) we were never in. And therefore that clause being unfittingly expressed, we thought fit to pass it over.

5. The fifth innovation[20] is, that in the sixth order for the fast, there is a passage left out concerning the abuse of fasting in relation to merit.

To this I answer, that he to whom the ordering of that book to the press was committed, did therefore leave it out; because in this age and kingdom there is little opinion of meriting by fasting. Nay, on the contrary, the contempt and scorn of all fasting (save what humorous men call for of themselves) is so rank, that it would grieve any Christian man to see the necessary orders of the church concerning fasting, both in Lent, and at other set times, so vilified as they are.

[18] Pag. 3. [19] Ib. [20] Ib.

6. The sixth innovation[21] is, that the Lady Elizabeth and her princely children are dashed (that is their phrase) out of the new collect, whereas they were in the collect of the former book.

For this first, the author of the 'News' knows full well that they are left out of the collect in the later editions of the Common Prayer-Book as well as in the book for the fast. And this was done according to the course of the church, which ordinarily names none in the prayer but the right line descending. Yet this was not done till the king himself commanded it; as I have to shew under his majesty's hand.

Secondly, I beseech your lordships to consider, what must be the consequence here: the Queen of Bohemia and her children are left out of the collect, therefore the prelates intend to bring in Popery; for that (you know) they say is the end of all these innovations. Now if this be the end and the consequence; truly the libellers have done very dutifully to the king, to poison his people with this conceit; that the Lady Elizabeth and her children would keep Popery out of this kingdom, but the king and his children will not. And many as good offices as these have they done the king quite through these libels, and quite through his kingdoms. For my part, I honour the Queen of Bohemia, and her line, as much as any man whatsoever, and shall be as ready to serve them, but I know not how to depart from my allegiance, as I doubt these men have done.

7. The seventh innovation[22] is, that these words 'who art the Father of thine elect and of their seed' are changed in the preface of that collect, which is for the prince and the king's children, and (with a most spiteful inference,) that this was done by the prelates, to exclude the king's children out of the number of God's elect. And they call it an intolerable impiety and horrid treason.

To this I answer, first, that this alteration was made in my predecessor's time, before I had any authority to meddle with these things further than I was called upon by him.

Secondly, this is not therefore to lay any aspersion upon my predecessor; for he did in that but his duty: for his majesty acknowledges, it was done by his special direction, as having then no children to pray for.

And thirdly, this collect could not be very old, for it had no being in the Common Prayer Book all Queen Elizabeth's time, she having no issue. The truth is, it was made at the coming in of King James; and must of necessity be changed over and over again *pro ratione temporum*, as times and persons vary. And this is the intolerable impiety and horrid treason they charge upon us.

In this method the innovations are set down in the 'News from Ipswich.' But then in Mr. Burton's 'News from Friday-street' (called his Apology) they are in another order, and more added. Therefore with your lordships' leave I will not repeat any of these, but go on to the rest, which Mr. Burton adds.

8. The eighth innovation[23] is, 'That in the Epistle the Sunday before Easter, we have 'put out *In*, and made it, "*At* the name of Jesus every knee shall bow;" which al-'teration, (he saith,) is directly against the act of parliament.'

Here give me leave to tell you it is '*At* the name of Jesus,' in the late learned translation made in King James's time; about which many learned men of best note in the kingdom were employed, besides some prelates.

But to this I answer: first, it is true, the Common Prayer Book was confirmed by act of parliament, and so all things contained in it, at the passing of that act. But I hope if any thing were false printed then, the parliament did not intend to pass those slips for current.

Secondly, I am not of opinion, that if one word be put in for another, so they bear both the same sense, that there is any great matter done against the act of parliament.

Thirdly, this can make no innovation. For '*In* the name,' and '*At* the name of Jesus,' can make no essential difference here. And Mr. Prynne (whose darling business it hath long been to cry down the honour due to the Son of God, at the mentioning of his saving name Jesus) knows the grammar rule well, 'in a place, or at a place,' &c.

[21] Pag. 3. [22] Ib. [23] Burton's Apol. p. 2.

Fourthly, if there were any error in the change of '*in*' into '*at*,' I do here solemnly protest to you, I know not how it came; for authority from the prelates, the printers had none; and such a word is easily changed in such a negligent press as we have in England. Or if any altered it purposely, for aught I know, they did it to gratify the preciser sort. For therein they followed the Geneva translation, and printed at Geneva, 1557,[24] where the words are, '*At* the name of Jesus.' And that is ninety-four years ago; and therefore no innovation made by us.

Fifthly, this I find in the queen's injunctions,[25] without either word '*in*' or '*at*.' 'Whensoever the name of Jesus shall be in any lesson, sermon, or otherwise, pronounced 'in the church, it is enjoined that due reverence be made of all persons, young and 'old, with lowliness of courtesy; and uncovering of the heads of the men-kind, as there-'unto doth necessarily belong, and heretofore hath been accustomed.' So here is necessity laid upon it, and custom for it, and both expressed by authority in the very beginning of the Reformation; and is therefore no innovation now.

9. The ninth innovation[26] is, 'That two places are changed in the prayers set forth for 'the fifth of November: and ordered to be read (they say) by act of parliament. The 'first place is changed thus, from "Root out that Babylonish and Antichristian sect, "which say of Jerusalem," &c. into this form of words, "Root out that Babylonish and "Antichristian sect of them, which say," &c. The second place went thus in the old: "Cut off these workers of iniquity, whose religion is rebellion." But in the book printed 'in 1635, it is thus altered: "Cut off those workers of iniquity, who turn religion into "rebellion," &c.

To this I say first, it is a notorious untruth, that this book was ordered to be read by act of parliament. The act of parliament indeed is printed before it; and therein is a command for prayers and thanksgivings every fifth of November: but not one word or syllable for the form of prayer. That is left to the church, therefore here is no innovation against that act of parliament.

Secondly, the alteration first mentioned, that is, 'That sect,' or 'That sect of them,' is of so small consequence, as it is not worth the speaking of. Besides if there be any thing of moment in it, it is answered in the next.

Thirdly, both for that and the second place, which seems of more moment; and so for the rest not only in that book, but that other also for his majesty's coronation; his majesty expressly commanded me to make the alterations, and see them printed. And here are both the books with his majesty's warrant to each of them. So that herein I conceive I did not offend, unless it were that I gave not these men notice of it, or asked them leave to obey the king.

Against this there can be but two objections, should malice itself go to work. The one is, that I moved his majesty to command the change. And the other, that now, when I saw myself challenged for it, I procured his majesty's hand for my security.

To these I answer clearly, first, that I did not move the king, directly, or indirectly, to make this change.

And secondly, that I had his majesty's hand to the book, not now, but then, and before ever I caused them to be printed, as now they are. And that both these are true, I here again freely offer myself to my oath.

And yet, fourthly, that you may see his gracious majesty used not his power only in commanding this change; but his wisdom also; I shall adventure to give you my reasons, such as they are, why this alteration was most fit, if not necessary.

My first reason is, in the Litany in Hen. VIII.'s time:[27] and also under Edw. VI.[28] there was this clause: 'From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormi-'ties, from all false doctrine, &c. Good Lord deliver us.' But in the Litany in Queen Eli-

[24] In octavo. [25] Injunction 52. [26] Page 3.

[27] It was put into the Litany of H. VIII.'s time, as appears in his Primer, with his Injunction before it.

[28] And it is in both the service books of Ed. VI. both that which was printed, 1549; and in that which was after, An. 1552.

zabeth's time, this clause about the Pope was left out; and it seems of purpose for avoiding of scandal; and yet the prelates for that not accounted innovators, or introducers of popery. Now it is a far greater scandal to call their religion rebellion, than it is to call their chief bishop tyrant. And this reason is drawn from scandal, which must ever be avoided as much as it may. My second reason is, that the learned make but three religions to have been of old in the world, Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity. And now they have added a fourth, which is Turkism, and is an absurd mixture of the other three. Now if this ground of theirs be true (as it is generally received) perhaps it will be of dangerous consequence sadly to avow, that the Popish religion is rebellion. That some opinions of their's teach rebellion, that is apparently true, the other would be thought on, to say no more. And this reason well weighed, is taken from the very foundations of religion itself.

My third reason is, because if you make their religion to be rebellion, then you make their religion, and rebellion to be all one. And that is against the ground both of state, and the law. For when divers Romish priests and Jesuits have deservedly suffered death for treason, is it not the constant and just profession of the state, that they never put any man to death for religion, but for rebellion and treason only? Doth not the state truly affirm, that there was never any law made against the life of a Papist, *quatenus* a Papist only? And is not all this stark false, if their very religion be rebellion? For if their religion be rebellion, it is not only false but impossible, that the same man in the same act should suffer for his rebellion, and not for his religion.

And this King James of ever blessed memory understood passing well, when (in his 'Premonition to all Christian monarchs'[29]) he saith, 'I do constantly maintain that no 'Papist either in my time, or in the time of the late Queen, ever died for his conscience.' Therefore he did not think, their very religion was rebellion. Though this clause passed through inadvertency in his time. And this reason is grounded both upon the practice, and the justice of the law.

Which of these reasons, or whether any other better, were in his majesty's thoughts, when he commanded the alteration of this clause, I know not. But I took it my duty to lay it before you, that the king had not only power, but reason to command it.

10. The tenth innovation is,[30] 'That the prayer for the navy is left out of the late book 'for the fast.'

To this I say, there is great reason it should. For the king had no declared enemy then, nor (God be thanked) hath he now. Nor had he then any navy at sea. For almost all the ships were come in, before the fast-book was set out. But howsoever, an excellent consequence it is, if you mark it; the prayer for the navy was left out of the book for the fast, therefore by that, and such like innovations, the prelates intend to bring in Popery. Indeed, if that were a piece of the prelates plots to bring in popery from beyond sea, then they were mightily overseen that they left out the prayer for the navy. But else what reason or consequence is in it, I know not, unless perhaps Mr. Burton intended to befriend Dr. Bastwicke, and in the navy bring hither the Whore of Babylon to be ready for his christening, as he most profanely scoffs.

Well! I pray God the time come not upon this kingdom, in which it will be found, that no one thing hath advanced or ushered in popery so fast, as the gross absurdities even in the worship of God, which these men, and their like, maintain both in opinion and practice.

11. The eleventh innovation,[31] is 'the reading of second service at the communion-'table, or the altar.'

To this first I can truly say, that since my own memory, this was in use in very many places, as being most proper (for those prayers are then read which both precede and follow the communion,) and by little and little this ancient custom was altered, and in those places first, where the emissaries of this faction came to preach. And now if any

[29] Pag. 236. [30] Pag. 3. [31] Pag. 105.

in authority offer to reduce it; this ancient course of the church is by and by called an innovation.

Secondly, with this the rubricks of the Common-prayer book agree: for the first rubrick after the communion tells us, that upon holy-days, though there be no communion, yet all else that is appointed at the communion shall be read. 'Shall be read.' That is true, but where? Why the last rubrick before the communion tells us, that the priest, standing at the north side of the holy table, shall say the Lord's Prayer, with that which follows. So that not only the communion, but the prayers which accompany the communion (which are commonly called the second service) are to be read at the communion-table. Therefore if this be an innovation, it is made by the rubrick, not by the prelates; and Mr. Burton's scoff that this second service must be served in for dainties,[32] savours too much of belly and profanation.

12. One thing sticks much in their stomachs, and they call it an innovation[33] too. And that is, 'bowing, or doing reverence at our first coming into the church, or at our nearer 'approaches to the holy table, or the altar,' (call it whether you will) in which they will needs have it, 'that we worship the holy table, or God knows what.'

To this I answer. First, that God forbid we should worship any thing but God himself.

Secondly, that if to worship God when we enter into his house, or approach his altar, be an innovation, it is a very old one.

For Moses did reverence at the very door of the tabernacle, Num. xx. 6. Hezekiah, and all that were present with him, when they had made an end of offering, bowed and worshipped, (ii Chron. xxix. 29.) David calls the people to it with a *venite*, O come let us worship, and fall down and kneel before the Lord our Maker; Psal. xcv. 6. And in all these places (I pray mark it) it is bodily worship.

Nor can they say, that this was Judaical worship, and now not to be imitated. For long before Judaism began, Bethel, the house of God, was a place of reverence, Gen. xxviii. 17. Therefore, certainly, of and to God.

And after Judaical worship ended, *venite, adoremus*, as far upwards as there is any track of a liturgy, was the *introitus* of the priest, all the Latin church over.

And in the daily prayers of the Church of England, this was retained at the Reformation; and that Psalm, in which is *venite, adoremus*, is commanded to begin the morning service every day. And for ought I know, the priest may as well leave out the *venite*, as the *adoremus;* the calling the people to their duty, as the duty itself, when they are come.

Therefore even according to the service-book of the Church of England, the priest and the people both are called upon, for external and bodily reverence and worship of God in his church; therefore they which do it, do not innovate. And yet the government is so moderate (God grant it be not too loose therewhile) that no man is constrained, no man questioned, only religiously called upon, *venite, adoremus*, 'come, let us worship.'

For my own part I take myself bound to worship with body, as well as in soul, whenever I come where God is worshipped. And were this kingdom such as would allow no holy table, standing in its proper place (and such places some there are) yet I would worship God when I came into his house. And were the times such, as should beat down churches, and all the 'curious carved work thereof, with axes and hammers', as in Psal. lxxiv. 6. (and such times have been) yet would I worship in what place soever I came to pray, though there were not so much as a stone laid for Bethel. But this is the misery; it is superstition now adays for any man to come with more reverence into a church, *than a tinker and his bitch come into an ale-house;* the comparison is too homely, but my just indignation at the profaneness of the times, makes me speak it.

And you my honourable lords of the garter, in your great solemnities, you do your reverence to Almighty God, I doubt not, but yet it is *versus altare*, towards his altar, as the

[32] Pag. 105. 'Then the second service, as dainties, must be said there.' [33] Ib.

greatest place of God's residence upon earth. I say the greatest, yea greater than the pulpit. For there it is *Hoc est corpus meum,* 'this is my body.' But in the pulpit, it is at most, but, *Hoc est verbum meum,* 'this is myword.' And a greater reverence (no doubt) is due to the body, than to the word of our Lord. And so, in relation, answerably to the throne, where his body is usually present; than to the seat, whence his word useth to be proclaimed. And God hold it there, at his word; for, as too many men use the matter, it is *Hoc est verbum diaboli:* this is the word of the Devil in too many places. Witness sedition and the like to it. And this reverence ye do when ye enter the chapel, and when you approach nearer to offer. And this is no innovation, for you are bound to it by your order, and that is not new.

And idolatry it is not, to worship God towards his holy table; for if it had been idolatry, I presume Queen Elizabeth and King James would not have practised it, no not in those solemnities. And being not idolatry, but true divine worship, you will, I hope, give a poor priest leave to worship God, as yourselves do; for if it be God's worship, I ought to do it as well as you: and if it be idolatry, you ought not to do it more than I.

I say again, I hope a poor priest may worship God with as lowly reverence as you do, since you are bound by your order, and by your oath, according to a constitution of Hen. V. (as appears[34]) to give due honour and reverence; *Domino Deo et altari ejus, in modum virorum ecclesiasticorum;* that is, 'to the Lord your God, and to his altar (for there is a reverence due to that too, though such as comes far short of divine worship) and 'this in the manner, as ecclesiastical persons both worship and do reverence.'

The story which led in this decree is this: King Henry the Fifth, that noble and victorious prince, returning gloriously out of France, sat at this solemnity; and finding the knights of the order scarce bow to God, or but slightly, and then bow towards him and his seat, startled at it (being a prince then grown as religious, as he was before victorious,) and after asking the reason; for till then the knights of the order never bowed towards the king or his seat; the Duke of Bedford answered, it was settled by a chapter act three years before. Hereupon that great king replied, "*No, I'll none of this, till you the knights* "*do it, satis bene, well enough, and with due performance to Almighty God.*" And hereupon the forenamed act proceeded, that they should do this duty to Almighty God, not slightly, but *ad modum virorum ecclesiasticorum,* 'as low, as well as decently, as clergymen use to 'do it.'

Now if you will turn this off, and say it was the superstition of that age so to do; Bishop Jewel will come in to help me there. For where Harding names divers ceremonies and particularly bowing themselves, and adoring at the sacrament, I say, adoring at the sacrament, not adoring the sacrament; there Bishop Jewel, (that learned, painful, and reverend prelate) approves all both the kneeling and the bowing, and the standing up at the Gospel (which as ancient as it is in the church, and a common custom, is yet fondly made another of their innovations:) And further the bishop adds,[35] 'That they are all com-'mendable gestures, and tokens of devotion, so long as the people understand what they 'mean, and apply them unto God.' Now with us the people did ever understand them fully, and apply them to God, and to none but God, till these factious spirits, and their like, to the great dis-service of God and his church, went about to persuade them, that they are superstitious, if not idolatrous gestures: as they make every thing else to be, where God is not served slovenly.

13. The thirteenth innovation[36] is: 'The placing of the holy table altarwise, at the 'upper end of the chancel,' that is, the setting of it north and south, and placing a rail before it to keep it from profanation, which Mr. Burton says, 'is done to advance and 'usher in Popery.'

To this I answer, that it is no Popery, to set a rail to keep profanation from that holy table: nor is it any innovation to place it at the upper end of the chancel as the altar

[34] *In Libro Nigro Windesoriensi*, p. 65.
[35] B. Jewel's reply to Harding's Answer, Art. 3. Div. 29.
[36] Pag. 4, 5, 105.

stood. And this appears both by the practice, and by the command and canon of the church of England.

First, by the practice of the church of England. For in the king's royal chapels, and divers cathedrals, the holy table hath ever since the reformation stood at the upper end of the quire, with the large or full side towards the people. And though it stood in most parish churches the other way, yet whether there be not more reason, the parish churches should be made conformable to the cathedral and mother churches, than the cathedrals to them, I leave to any reasonable man to judge. And yet here is nothing done either by violence or command to take off the indifferency of the standing of the holy table either way, but only by laying it fairly before men, how fit it is there should be order, and uniformity; I say still reserving the indifferency of the standing.

But howsoever I would fain know, how any discreet moderate man dares say, that the placing of the holy table altarwise (since they will needs call it so) is done either 'to 'advance or usher in popery?' For did Queen Elizabeth banish popery, and yet did she all along her reign, from first to last leave the communion table so standing in her own chapel royal, in St. Paul's and Westminster and other places; and all this of 'purpose to advance or usher in that popery' which she had driven out.

And since her death have two gracious kings kept out popery all their times, and yet left the holy table standing, as it did in the queen's time, and all of purpose to advance or usher in popery which they kept out?

Or what's the matter? May the holy table stand this way in the king's chapel or cathedrals, or bishops' chapels, and not elsewhere? Surely, if it be decent and fit for God's service, it may stand so (if authority please) in any church. But if it advance or usher in any superstition and popery, it ought to stand so in none. Nor hath any king's chapel any prerogative (if that may be called one) above any ordinary church to disserve God in by any superstitious rites. Where, give me leave to tell you, that the king and his chapel are most jeeringly and with scorn abused, in the last leaf of Mr. Burton's mutinous 'Appeal,' for such it is.

Secondly, this appears by the canon or rule of the church of England too, for it is plain in the last injunction of the queen; that the holy table ought to stand at the upper end of the quire, north and south, or altar-wise. For the words of the queen's injunctions are these. 'The holy table in every church (mark it, I pray, not in the royal chapel or cathedrals only, but in every church) shall be decently made and set in the place where the 'altar stood.' Now the altar stood at the upper end of the quire north and south as appears before by the practice of the church. And there to set it otherwise, is to set it cross the place, not in the place where the altar stood: and so *stulti dum vitant vitia*, weak men, as these libellers are, run into one superstition, while they would avoid another; for they run upon the superstition of the cross, while they seek to avoid the superstition of the altar. So you see here is neither popery nor innovation in all the practice of Queen Elizabeth, or since.

These words of the injunction are so plain, as that they can admit of no shift. And give me leave to tell you, that a very learned prelate of this church, and one, whom I think these men will not accuse, as a man like to 'advance or usher in popery,' is of the same opinion: it is my Lord the Bishop of Salisbury.

Some difference was lately rising about placing the communion-table in a parish church of his diocese. The bishop careful to prevent all disorder, sends his injunction[37] under his hand and seal to the curate and church-wardens, to settle that business: in which he hath these two passages remarkable. I have seen and read the order.

The first passage is this; 'by the injunction of Queen Elizabeth (saith he) and by 'Can. 82, under King James, the communion tables should ordinarily be set and stand 'with the side to the east wall of the chancel.' Therefore this is no innovation, since there is injunction and canon for it.

[37] May 17, 1637.

The other passage is this; 'it is ignorance (saith that learned bishop) to think that 'the standing of the holy table there, relishes of popery.' Therefore, if it do not so much as relish of popery, it can neither 'advance it, nor usher it in.' And therefore this is a most odious slander, and scandal cast upon us.

So here is enough both for the practice and rule of the church of England since the reformation. Now before that time, both in this and other churches of Christendom, in the east and west ordinarily the holy table or altar stood so; against this Mr. Burton says little.

But the Lincolnshire minister comes in to play the puritan for that. Concerning which book (falling thus in my way) and the nameless author of it, I shall only say these two things.

The one is, that the author prevaricates from the first word to the last in the book; for he takes on him both for the name and for the placing of the holy table, and the like, to prove, that generally and universally, and ordinarily in the whole catholic church, both east and west, the holy table did not stand at the upper end of the quire or chancel. And this he must prove, or he doth nothing.

Now when he comes to make his proofs, they are almost all of them particular, few or none general and concludent; for he neither brings testimonies out of the general and received rituals of the eastern and western churches, nor of fathers and histories of the church, which speak in general terms of all, but where they speak of particular churches only. So that suppose the most that can be, that is, suppose his quotations be all truly alleged, and true too in the sense that the minister takes them (though in very truth, the places, most of them, are neither truly alleged, nor sensed,) yet they are but exceptions of, and exemptions from the general practice. And you know both in law and reason, *exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis.* So that upon the sudden I am not able to resolve, whether this minister hath done more wrong to himself or his readers, for he hath abused both.

The other is, that in the judgment of very many learned men, which have perused this book, the author is clearly conceived to want a great deal of that learning to which he pretends: or else to have written this book wholly and resolvedly against both his science and his conscience. And for my own part, I am fully of opinion, this book was thrust now to the press, both to countenance these libellers, and as much as in him lay, to fire both church and state.

And though I wonder not at the minister, yet I should wonder at the bishop of the diocese (a man of learning and experience) that he should give testimony to such a business, and in such times as these.

And once more, before I leave the holy table, name, and thing, give me leave to put you in mind, that there is no danger at all in the altar, name, or thing. For at the beginning of the reformation, though there were a law for the taking down of the altars and setting up of holy tables in the room of them; yet in some places the altars were not suddenly removed. And what says the queen in her injunction[38] to this? Why she says, 'that 'there seems no matter of great moment in this, saving for uniformity, and the better imi- 'tation of the law in that behalf.' Therefore for any danger or hurt that was in the altars, name, or thing, they might even then have been left standing, but for uniformity, and the imitation of the law.

But howsoever, it follows in the same injunction, 'that when the altar is taken down, 'the holy table shall be set *in*, (not *cross*) the place where the altar stood; which (as 'is aforesaid) must needs be altar-wise.'

14. The fourteenth and the last innovation comes with a mighty charge, and it is taken out of an epistle to the temporal lords of his majesty's privy council. Of which epistle we got one sheet, and so (for ought I yet know) that impression stayed: in that sheet is this charge, the words are,

[38] *Injunct. ultim.*

'The prelates, to justify their proceedings, have forged a new article of religion, brought 'from Rome, which gives them full power to alter the doctrine and discipline of our 'church at a blow, (as they interpret it) and have foisted it (such is their language) into 'the beginning of the twentieth article of our church. And this is in the last edition of 'the articles, anno 1628, in affront of his majesty's declaration before them,' &c.

The clause (which they say is forged by us) is this: 'the church, that is, the bi-'shops, (as they expound it) hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in 'matters of faith.' (The word is 'controversies of faith,' by their leave.) 'This clause '(say they) is a forgery fit to be examined, and deeply censured in the Star-Chamber. 'For it is not to be found in the Latin or English articles of Edw. VI. or Q. Elizabeth, 'ratified by parliament.'

And then in the margin thus, 'if to forge a will or writing be censurable in the Star-'Chamber, which is but a wrong to a private man: how much more the forgery of an 'article of religion, to wrong the whole church, and overturn religion, which concerns 'all our souls.'

This is a heavy charge, my lords: but I thank God the answer is easy.

And truly I grant, that to forge an article of religion in whole or in part, and then to thrust it upon the church, is a most heinous crime, far worse than the forging of a deed. And is certainly very deeply censurable in this court. And I would have humbly besought you, that a deep censure might have been laid upon it, but that this sheet was found after, and so is not annexed to the information, nor in judgment at this present before you.

But then, my Lords, I must tell you, I hope to make it as clear as the day, that this forgery was not, that this clause mentioned was added, by the prelates to the article, to gain power to the church, and so to serve our turns. But that that clause, in the beginning of the article was by these men, or at least by some of their faction, razed out, and this to weaken the just power of the church to serve their turns.

They say (to justify their charge) that this clause is not to be found in the articles, English or Latin, of either Edw. VI. or Q. Elizabeth.

I answer: The articles of Edw. VI. and those made under Q. Elizabeth differ very much. And those of Edw. VI. are not now binding. So whether the clause be in or out of them, it is not much material.

But for the articles of the church of England, made in the queen's time, and now in force, that this clause for the power of the church to decree ceremonies, and to have authority in controversies of faith, should not be found in English or Latin copies, till the year 1628, that it was set forth with the king's declaration before it, is to me a miracle; but your Lordships shall see the falsehood and boldness of these men.

What? Is this affirmative clause in no copy, English or Latin, till the year 1628? Strange: why, my Lords, I have a copy of the articles in English, of the year 1612. And of the year 1605, and of the year 1593, and in Latin of the year 1563, which was one of the first printed copies, if not the first of all. For the articles were agreed on but the nine and twentieth day of January,

Anno $156\frac{2}{3}$ { According to the English account. / According to the Julian account.

And in all these, this affirmative clause for the church's power is in. And is not this strange boldness then to abuse the world, and falsely to say it is in no copy, when I myself, out of my own store, am able to shew it in so many, and so anciently.

But, my Lords, I shall make it plainer yet: for it is not fit concerning an article of religion, and an article of such consequence for the order, truth, and peace of this church you should rely upon my copies, be they never so many or never so ancient.

Therefore I sent to the public records in my office, and here under my officer's hand, who is a publick notary, is returned me the twentieth article with this affirmative clause in it. And there is also the whole body of the articles to be seen.

By this your Lordships see how free the prelates are from forging this part of the ar-

ticle. Now let these men quit themselves and their faction, as they can, for their *index expurgatorius* and their foul rasure in leaving out this part of the article. For to leave out of an article is as great a crime as to put in; and a *manu* rasure is as censurable in this court as a forgery.

Why, but then my Lords what is this mystery of iniquity?

Truly, I cannot certainly tell, but as far as I can, I will tell you.

The articles you see were fully and fairly agreed to, and subscribed in the year 1562-3. But after this, in the year 1571, there were some that refused to subscribe, but why they did so, is not recorded. Whether it were about this article or any other I know not. But in fact this is manifest, that in that year 1571, the articles were printed both in Latin and English, and this clause for the church left out of both; and certainly, this could not be done, but by the malicious cunning of that opposite faction. And though I shall spare dead men's names where I have not certainty; yet if you be pleased to look back and consider who they were that governed businesses in 1571, and rid the church almost at their pleasure; and how potent the ancestors of these libellers began then to grow, you will think it no hard matter to have the articles printed, and this clause left out.

And yet it is plain, that, after the stir about subscription in the year 1571, the articles were settled and subscribed unto at last, as in the year 1562, with this clause in them for the church: for looking farther into the records which are in mine own hands, I have found the book of 1562-3, subscribed by all the lower house of convocation, in this very year of contradiction, 1571, Dr. John Aylmar (who was after Lord Bishop of London) being their prolocutor: Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, having been prolocutor in 1562-3, and yet living and present and subscribing, in 1571. Therefore, I do here openly in Star-Chamber charge upon that pure sect this foul corruption of falsifying the articles of the church of England; let them take it off as they can.

I have now done (and it is time I should) with the innovations charged upon the prelates, and fit to be answered here. Some few more there are, but they belong to matter of doctrine, which shall presently be answered *justo volumine*, at large, to satisfy all well-minded people. But when Mr. Burton's book, which is the main one is answered, (I mean his book, not his railing) neither Prynne, nor Bastwicke, nor any attendants upon Rabshakeh shall by me or my care be answered. If this court find not a way to stop these libellers' mouths and pens, for me they shall rail on till they be weary. Yet one thing more I beseech you, give me leave to add: it is Mr. Burton's charge[39] upon the prelates, 'that 'the censures formerly laid upon malefactors, are now put upon God's ministers for their 'virtue and piety.'—A heavy charge this too; but if he or any man else can shew that any man hath been punished in the high commission, or elsewhere, by the prelates, for virtue and piety, there is all the reason in the world, we should be severely punished ourselves. But the truth is, the virtue and piety for which these ministers are punished, is for preaching schism and sedition: many of their sermons being as bad as these libels; as Burton's libel was one of his sermons first. But, whether this stuff have any affinity to virtue and piety, I submit to any christian reader.

And yet, Mr. Burton is so confident of his innocence, even in this cause wherein he hath so foully carried himself, that he breaks forth into these words:[40] 'I never so much 'as once dreamed that impiety and impudence itself, in such a christian state as this is, 'and under such a gracious prince, durst ever thus publickly have called me in question, 'and that upon the open stage,' &c. You see the boldness of the man, and in as bad a cause, as I think in this kind ever any man had.

I shall end all with a passage out of St. Cyprian;[41] when he, then Bishop of Carthage, was bitterly railed upon by a pack of schismaticks, his answer was, and it is now mine;—'They have railed both bitterly and falsely upon me, and yet *non oportet me paria cum 'illis facere;* "it becometh not me to answer them with the like," either levities or re-

[39] Page 137. [40] Ib. 7. [41] Lib. 1. Ep. 3.

'vilings, but to speak and write that only which becomes *Sacerdotem Dei*, a priest of 'God.'

Neither shall I in this give way (though I have been extremely vilified) to either grief or passion to speak; remembering that of the Psalmist, 'Fret not thyself, else shalt 'thou be moved to do evil.' Psalm. xxxvii. 8.

Neither yet, by God's grace, shall the reproaches of such men as these, make me faint, or start aside, either from the right way in matter of practice, (they are St. Cyprian's words again) or *à certâ regulâ*, 'from the certain rule' of faith. And since in former times, some spared not to call the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more will they be bold with them of his household, as it is in St. Matthew,[42] chap. 10. And so bold have these men been:—but the next words of our Saviour are, 'Fear 'them not.'

I humbly crave pardon of your Lordships for this my necessary length, and give you all hearty thanks for your noble patience, and your just and honourable censure upon these men, and your unanimous dislike of them, and defence of the church.

But because the business hath some reflection upon myself, I shall forbear to censure them, and leave them to God's mercy, and the king's justice.

[42] Mat. x. 25.

A Banquet of daintie Conceits: furnished with verie delicate and choyse Inventions, to delight their Mindes who take Pleasure in Musique; and there-withall to sing sweete Dities, either to the Lute, Bandora,[1] Virginalles,[2] or anie other Instrument. Published at the Desire of bothe honorable and worshipfull Personages, who have had Copies of divers of the Ditties heerein contained. Written by A. M. Servaunt to the Queenes most excellent Majestie. *Honos alit Artes.*

At London, printed by J. C. for Edward White, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Gunne, at the little North Doore of Paules. Anno 1588.

[Quarto, Nine Sheets.]

An account of Anthony Munday's versatile vocations will be found in the Biographia Dramatica, where he is spoken of as an actor, a dramatist, a detector of treasonable practices among the Jesuits,[3] a retainer to the Earl of Oxford, and a messenger of the queen's bedchamber. By Webbe, in his Discourse of English Poetrie, 1586, *he is called an earnest traveller in that arte [of poetry], and one in whose name had been seen very excellent works; among which 'the most exquisite vaine of a witty poetical heade is shewed in the 'sweete sobs of sheepherdes and nymphes; a work well worthy to be viewed and to be 'esteemed as very rare poetrie.' This perhaps may be lurking in some unexplored garret, or closet, among the literary lumber of other times. Ritson believes Munday to have been introduced in Chettle's 'Kind-Hart's Dreame,'* 1592, *as Antony Now Now, a great ballad-writer; though, 'of his merits,' he adds, 'we have no opportunity to judge; not a 'single specimen of his abilities in that line being now to be discovered.'[4] By the kindness of Sir Egerton Brydges, and of his son T. B. Brydges Barret, Esq. I am enabled to produce several specimens of Munday's Ditties, from an unique copy of his 'Banquet of 'daintie Conceits,' preserved in the library at Lee Priory, Kent; a book of which no entry seems to have been traced by Herbert upon the stationers' books. These vocal poems of Munday being adapted to pre-composed tunes, are some of them liable to the censure of betraying a Procrustean species of constraint, for which, however, he has amply apologized; while others merit more than equal praise with the generality of the graver pieces contained in those once popular metrical miscellanies—'England's Helicon,' and the 'Paradise of 'dainty Devices.' The moral intention and tenour of the work, deserve also to be named*

[1] [The bandore was a stringed musical instrument much resembling the lute. It was invented by a citizen of London in the fourth year of Queen Elizabeth; and its figure may be seen in Hawkins's Hist. of Music.]

[2] [The virginal, on which the Queen herself performed, was strung like a spinnet, and shaped like a piano-forte. See Mr. Malone's note in Shakspeare's Winter's Tale, Act i. Sc. 2.]

[3] [See Harleian Miscellany, vol. vii. p. 136.]

[4] [Dissertation on Ancient Songs and Music, 1790, p. lxxii.]

with commendation.[5] *Seven of the ditties have wood-cuts prefixed: one of which is curious, from containing the figure of a fool in the character of a porter to the mansion or castle of vain delights, with his cock's-comb hood and bauble, and a bunch of keys in his hand. Some of the cuts have been made to serve more than a single purpose.*

To the Worshipfull and his especiall good Friend, Maister Richard Topcliffe, esquire; A.M. commendeth this small motion of his unfeigned good-will and affection.

In respecte of the manifolde good turnes and favourable deedes of freendship, that not onely I, but others to whom I am somewhat beholding, have received at your worshippes handes; albeit my dishabilitie will not permit me to make aunswerable requitall, yet such is the estimation I make of my duetie, that fayling in that I would, I will remayne ready in any thing I may: not that your Worshippe hath any neede of mee or mine, but for I would bee lothe that ingratitude should so much insult uppon me, as neither deedes nor dueties shoulde remaine to him who hath so well deserved. I will therefore containe the mind that poore Irus did; who comming into the temple of the goddesse Pallas, and seeing her to holde a booke in the one hand and a launce in the other, made as great account of her secrete vertues as her outward valliauncie; and therefore sayd, 'Despitefull 'povertie! thou shalt not keepe me from honouring Pallas, though thou with-holdest me 'from giving her presents.' Even so, worshipfull Syr, though the world so frowne upon me, that I cannot as I woulde; yet that poore talent which God hath lent me (if it were sufficient for so many courtesies) shall at all times expresse, that I am loth to be unthankful. I therefore desire your Worshyppe to accept of thys slender gift, which measured in your wonted freendlie judgment, I doubt not but shall speede according to my expectation: and the rather, for that there is nothing heerein contayned, that may eyther offend the vertuous, or give any encouragement to the vicious. For if there were any such matters, they shoulde never come in your Worshippe's view.

Not doubting, therefore, but to find your Worshyppe, as I alwayes have doone, I committe you to the continuall protection of the Almightie; who defende you from all your enemies, and blesse you in remembring the labours of them that have well deserved.

Your Worship's poore freende to commaund,

ANTHONY MONDAY.

To the gentle and friendlie Reader.

Before thou readest this small travaile of mine, (gentle reader) I am a little to admonish thee; least, otherwise, thou maist happen to fal out of love with my booke, and so thinke it not woorthy the reading.

Fyrst, thou art to consider, that the Ditties herein contained, are made to severall set notes, wherein no measure of verse can be observed; because the notes will affoorde no such libertie. For looke how they rise and fall, in just time and order of musique: even so have I kept course therewith, in making the Ditties; which will seeme very bad stuffe in reading, but (I perswade me) wyll delight thee, when thou singest any of them to thy instrument.

Secondlie, though thou finde them not sette downe in excellent verse, as perhaps many are curious in sifting such matters; yet I am sure thou shalt finde in them sence sufficient, and matter woorth the reading: though not fantasticall and full of love-quirkes and quiddities, yet stored with good admonitions and freendly documents. So canst thou not say, that there is neither rime nor reason in them; but if thou marke them wel, thou shalt finde both.

[5] [See the latter part of his epistle dedicatory.]

Lastly, if any dittie shall chaunce to lympe a little in the note,[6] (as I doo not know that any one of them dooth, because they have beene tryed by them of judgment, and those that have not a little esteemed of them;) yet, I pray thee, condemne mee not, in that I have no jote of knowledge in musique; but what I have doone and doo, is onely by the eare: for had I skill in musique, they should have beene farre better then they be. But I thanke God of [for] that which I have: it is not for every man to goe to Corinth: therefore I content my selfe with that poore talent which I have, and which is thine to commaund, so thou entertaine my labours with courtesie. Farewell.

Thine to use in freendship,

A. MUNDAY.

A Breviate of the Notes of the Ditties contained in this Booke.

THE first dittie may be sung after the note of 'Le guanto di Hispania.'[7]

The 2nd to 'Primero.'

The 3rd to 'Johnson's Medley.'

The 4th to the 'Earle of Oxenford's March.'

The 5th to 'Monsieures[8] Allemaigne.'

The 6th to the 'Flatte[9] Pavin.'

The 7th to 'Prima Visto.'[10]

The 8th to the 'newe Scottish Allemaigne.'

The 9th to the 'high Allemaigne measure.'

The 10th to the 'Spanish Pavin.'

The 11th to the 'Venetian Allemaigne.'

The 12th to the note of 'Deeme all my deedes.'

The 13th to the 'Quadrant Pavin.'

The 14th to the 'Olde Allemaigne.'

The 15th to the 'newe Hunt is up.'[11]

The 16th to the 'Earle of Oxenford's Galliard.'

The 17th to 'Dowland's Galliard.'

The 18th to the 'Countesse of Ormond's Galliard.'

The 19th to 'Wigmore's Galliard.'

The 20th to 'La vechia Pavin.'

[6] [*Note* is here used for *air*, *tune*.]

[7] [The 'Spanish Glove,' may have been the name of a dance, then in vogue; for it will be seen that most of Munday's ditties are contrived for the purpose of being sung to dance-tunes.]

[8] [The Almain, or Allemand, as its name imports, originated with the Germans: though the composers and figurantes of other nations, adapting their music and motions to the prescribed measure of the allemand, would testify its secondary origin; and hence the French, Scotish, Spanish, and Venetian allemagnes.]

[9] [The *Pavin*, or Pavan, is explained by Sir John Hawkins to have been a grave and majestic dance invented by the Spaniards. Every Pavan had its *Galliard*, a lighter air made out of the former. Sir John Davis, in his Orchestra, 1596, describes the latter as a swift and wandering dance, including 'lofty turns and capriols in the air, which with the lusty *tunes* accordeth fair.' From No. 21 of these Tunes it appears, that Munday had a galliard named after him; not composed by him, as he had 'no jot of knowledge in music.' See above.]

[10] [Primero and Primavista were two games at cards, which gave names, it would seem, to two dances. The former is twice mentioned by Shakspeare, and both are etymologically noticed by Minshew, in his Guide into Tongues, &c. 1617.]

[11] [This is mentioned by Puttenham, as the chief among certain merry ballads, for which 'one Gray' did grow into good estimation with K. Henry VIII. and afterward with the Protector Somerset. Arte of English Poesie, 1589, p. 12.]

The 21st to 'Mondaie's Galliard.'
The 22nd to 'Monday his Toy.'

A Dyttie expressing a familiar Controversie between Wit and Will; wherein Wit mildlie rebuketh the follies of Will, and sheweth him (as in a glasse) the fall of wilfull heads.

This dittie may be sung after the note of a courtlie daunce, called 'Les guanto.'

WHEN I behold the rechles[12] race of youth;
How Wit and Will doo vainly seeme for to contende
About the tried trueth:
And then againe, when I have pondred well,
How fraile desire subverteth Wil's devises still,
And reason faine would quell:
Good Lord, (thinke I) great neede had Wil beware,
Least suddaine woe his daungers doo prepare.
Wit dooth forecast what after shall betide:
But Will, bewitcht with too too much of Follie's charmes,
Wit's counsell dooth deride.
Wit saith, vaine heads are alwaies apt to fall:
But Wil, that seekes to build his dwelling in the ayre,
Regardeth not at all.
He will not heare—the golden meane is best;
And content minds enjoy the sweetest rest.
Will be warie, and that in time,
Least 'had I wist,'[13] happen to late:
Idleness, wasting thy youthfull prime,
Brings beggerlie age to the gate.
Seeke then for profit, while leysure is lent thee;
The times staies no man, and slacknes wil shent[14] thee.
Looke into pleasure, and thou shalt beholde
The end of her pastimes are nothing but paine:
Looke into profit, there maist thou be bolde
To finde out such sweetnes as will be thy gaine.
It is not bravery[15] that can availe,
If needines tie uppe the strings of thy pursse:
For if thy state seeme once to quaile,[16]
Thy credite will after be alwaies the wursse.
Beauty is vading,[17] and will not endure,
Faire Absolon's warning may well suffise;
Set not thy fancie on things so unsure,
For beautie full often hath blamed the wise
Beautie with charges must be maintain'd,
And charges eates deepe where riches is scant:
Then count the costes that thou hast gainde,
And all thy sicknes will be but of want.

[12] [Retchless: *i. e.* careless, heedless.]
[13] [*i. e.* Known. 'Had I wist,' seems to have been a proverbial mode of expression.]
[14] [Reprove, rebuke.]
[15] [*i. e.* Finery, splendour in dress.]
[16] [To fail, to decline.]
[17] [*i. e.* Fading.]

Therefore, if thou wilt be warned by me;
'According to cloth, so cut out thy coate:'
And as thy getting, let spending so be,
And suffer fond yonkers to live all aflote.[18]
Equall thy selfe with none of those,
Althought they scorne to see thee chaunged;
Thou shalt sit smiling at their woes,
When thou perceivest how they have raunged.
Shake of [off] their freendship, and know them no more;
It is no shame to turne to doo well:
The flatterer eateth a man very sore,
Yea, to the bare bones as some can well tell.
A freend's rebuke farre better is,
Then the sweete kisse of an enemie;
The one would gladly work thy blisse,
The other thy death farre contrarie.
A proverbe there is both auncient and true,
'While welth will hold out, thou shalt have freends store;'
But money once failing, they bid thee adiew,
They scorne then to know thee as they did before.
Such is now the freendship that this world dooth use:
Trust not to others, least they do deceive thee;
But to thine owne selfe, then maist thou be bolde;
Fayrest looks flatter, in lurche they will leave thee;
Good Will leave the newe freende, and cleave to the olde.
All this has beene proved, Will; I tell no newes.
When thine owne rod hath beaten thee well,
Then wilt thou remember what Wit hath bewraid:
That better it is in quiet to dwell,
Then climing, to fall; and so be dismaid:
Keepe thee on the ground, and then thou canst not fal.
He that presumeth above his degree,
The holy writ telleth, shall be brought full lowe;
And he that is humble, content so to be,
He shall be exalted, and happy also:
Thus thou seest humilitie is best of all.
If thou doost doubt of that which I say,
Behold the examples full greevous to see,
The children of Folly, how they doo decay;
And as their beginnings, their endings so be.
What is then the cause that they doo speede so ill?
Folly first bred them, thou Daintinesse lulde them,
And Idlenes brought them to horror and strife;
Impietie taught them, and Wilfulnesse pul'd them
From vertuous delighting to dissolute life.
Then their ende to tell, it greeveth me, good Will:
Seeke then by labour thy selfe to maintaine;
For labour gets learning, the cheefest of all:
And learning will bee thy profit and gaine,
Whereby to preferre thee, when other things fall.
Cleave to this, and then be sure thou doost not ill:
For nothing is gotten, except thou take paine;

[18] [Without guidance or direction.]

And when thou hast got it, then keepe it as well;
Proude, in an honest estate to remaine:
And so thou maist hazard at all times expell.
Thinke on this: and so farewell, good gentle Will.

A Dittie declaring the Uncertaintie of our earthly Honor, the certaine Account that we must all make of Death; and therefore, that we should make ourselves ready at all times, because we are ignoraunt of our latter howre.

This Dittie is sung after a very prettie set note, which is called 'Primero.'

WHAT state so sure but time subvarts?
What pleasure, that is voide of paine?
What cheerefull change of former smarts,
But turnes straitwaie to greefe againe?
What credite may a man repose,
Uppon so fraile a clod of clay;
Which as to-daie in sollace goes,
To-morrowe is brought to earthly bay?
Thinke, O man!
How thy glasse is daily sette to runne;
And how thy life shall passe, when it is doone:
Thy grave hath then thy glory wun;
And all thy pompe in cinders[19] laide full lowe.
Take example,
By the fragrant flower in the feeld
Which as to-day in bravery is beheld,
The parching sun hath over-quel'd:
O wretched man! even thou thy selfe art so.
Howe then?
How canst thou bragge, or canst thou boast
How that thou maiest,
Or that thou shalt
Enjoy thy life untill to-morrow day?
Thou seest
That death subdues the strength of kings,
Of high and lowe,
Of rich and poore,
And all as one he dooth call awaie.
Tantara, tantara, tantara,
Thus dooth the trumpet sounde;
The bell bids prepare a, prepare a, prepare a,
Your bodies to the ground.
Even so,
While we are sporting, sporting, sporting,
Amidst our earnest play;
Death commeth stealing, stealing, stealing,
And takes our lives awaie.

[19] [Cinders, by catachresis, for ashes, or earth. 'I am become (said Job) like dust and ashes.' Ch. xxx. v. 19.]

To goe,
Put on your black aray; for needes you must away,
Unto your house of clay;
Prepare your conscience gay, against the dreadfull day,
That you may be,
Christe's chosen flocke and sheepe,
Whom he will safely keepe,
Whether you doo wake or sleepe:
Then shall the hellish foe,
Away in terror goe,
This joy to see.
Remember this, amidst your blisse,
That Christ hath redeemed us by his blood.
Then let us kill our affections so ill,
To be elected his servants good.

Then shall we be sure, for aye to endure
On God's right hand, among the pure;
When as the ill, against their will,
The endlesse paine shall passe untill.
God graunt us fervent constancie,
To avoide so great extremitie;
That by his grace continuallie,
We may purchase heaven's felicitie.

In this Dittie is expressed, the sundry and daily mishaps, that chaunce in Love: deciphered by him that felt them, to his paine.

This Ditty is sung to 'Johnson's Medley.'

WHEN fond Desire had drawne my mind to love,
Hard was my happe, and fierce the fittes
I was enforst to prove.
When Beautie gave her becke;[20]
And Fancie held me thrall;
Then Will had conquered Witte's devise,
Love had me at her call.
Quoth Wisdome—Ware thy woe,
Thy daunger is at hand;
Runne not too rash, be rul'd in time,
Least perill thee withstand.
These are the snares of Love:
Her doome, a lasting ill;
Her sleights are nought but thriftless shifts
For to allure thy will.
Therefore, respect the hard effect,
That may thee stay.
When thou wouldst it reject.
Set hatch before the wilfull doore;
For blame and shame
Keep still a shift in store:

[20] [Beckon, invitation.]

So shalt thou espy it, when foes would say nay;
When skill dooth descry 'it, tis good to obey.
Sure footing, good booting, the bargaine well made,
Returneth the travaile and charges;
Forewarned, hath learned deceite would invade,
When libertie crieth—a larges.[21]
Youth's waies are unsteddy, he runneth on heady,
And scorneth the hazard to see;
Love leadeth to caring, and often dispayring;
Wherefore, freend, be warned by mee.
The child once toucht with paine,
Will feare the like againe:
And prooving this too true,
Willed me—bid Love, adiew!
But yet, alas! this warning would not serve:
For vaine delight had wunne me so,
From Wisdome I did swerve.
Boldnesse did egge me on,
The utmost harme to trie;
Love had enchaunted me within,
When she had wunne mine eye:
Selfe-will perswaded me,
The passage would be fayre;
And Dalliaunce fedde my fancie so,
I little past for care.
Such was my venterous mind,
Built on Affection's blaze;
When Wisdome cryed—I could not heare;
Mine eyes were set to gaze.
My hart was bent, with full consent
To crave to have
This motion of content;
For none but she did please mine eye:
Wherefore, I swore
For her to live and dye.
But see how it chaunced; fell Fortune did scorne me,
My woes were advaunced, and Love had forlorne me.
My looving in prooving, was turned to hate,
My sute and service dispised:
Then thought I, how might I beene warned of late,
When Wisdome this platforme disguised.
I might have prevented, and stayed me contented,
The daunger was told me before;
But selfe-will did leade me, till Folly deceiv'd me,
But so shall she never doo more.
Yong heads I wishe beware
Of this deceitfull snare;
Least you, as well as I,
The like mishap doo try.

[21] [Largess.]

A Dittie which sheweth, by example, of divers worthy personages past in auncient time, that neither strength, wit, beautie, riches, or any transitory things (wherein worldlings put any confidence) can save them from the stroke of death.

This Dittie may be sung to a very gallant note, called the 'Earle of Oxenford's March.'

ADIEW! my former pleasure,
For I of force must leave thee:
I see my state is most unsure,
And thou hast long deceiv'de me.
Time bids me minde my latter end,
And that I am but clay;
And everie howre I doo offend,
In manie a wicked waie.
Then farewell Sinne;
I will beginne
To sorrowe for my wicked life at the last,
And feare to sinne any more:
For when I remember all that is past,
My hart dooth bleede therefore.

I see that valiant Sampson,
Who vaunted of his stature;
His strength hath failde, and he is gone;
Time forst him yeeld to nature:
And all the courage he possest,
Amidst his flowring dayes;
When Death did call him home to rest,
Did vade from him strait waies.
Then why should I
On strength rely;
Perceiving that the stoutest hart dooth obey,
When Death dooth shew his power:
And so must I needes (as all flesh) passe away;
For strength is but a flower.

I see that wise king Salomon,
Whose wisedome was most excellent,
Among the rest is dead and gone,
For all his prudent government.
And what is he that liveth now,
In wisedome most profound;
But Death compelleth him to bow,
And brings him to the ground?
If strength then faile,
And wit doth quaile;
Unwise were I, once for to thinke that I might
Escape the stroke of death;
And knowe that there is on the earth no one right,
But must resign his breath.

I see that faire yong Absalon,
Beautie did nought availe him:

The welthy glutton eke is gone,
His riches could not baile him.
And he that had his barnes so thwakt,[22]
And bade his soul take rest;
In one night from his wealth was rapt,[23]
And so was dispossest.
Thus see you plaine,
It is in vaine
To make anie certaine account of this life,
Or in your selves to trust:
Therefore, make you ready to part from this strife,
For to the earth you must.

A Dittie, delivering a freendlie admonition to Women, to have care of theyr own estates; to shunne such vaine occasions as oftentimes call theyr good names in question; and, after the example of Sara, to order themselve sin all their actions.

This Dittie is sung to a pleasaunt new note called 'Mounsieures Allemaigne.'

LIST awhile, fair ladies,
Your freend dooth heere salute you
With notes of elder ages,
Where to he would impute you.
As nature hath you framed
With beautie in your faces;
He is loth you should be blamed
With any close disgraces.
But this he wisheth,
Your vertues may be such,—
As no ill tongue may challenge meanes
Your credite for to touch.
For women once defamed
Are subject, while they live,
To every loose and light report,
Yong heads of them shall give.

Remember good olde Sara,
Though she be dead and rotten,
Shee left a lesson to all wives,
Which should not be forgotten:
Shee reverenced her husbande,
And called him her lord;
And feared least she should offend
Either in deede or word.
She did not, like some women,
Her wedded mate despise;
But as olde Abraham had her hart,
So did he please her eyes.

[22] [*i. e.* Thatcht: *Thack*, for thatch, is still the provincial word in Lincolnshire, and perhaps in other northern counties.]

[23] [*Raptus*, Lat. seized, forcibly taken away. The allusion is to St. Luke, xii. 20.]

Neither would she cloath her selfe
Beyond her husband's state;
As now some women vainly doo
And rue it all too late.

She did regard her houshold,
Least any thing should lacke;
And would not let her servants want,
To lay it on her back.
She did not gad on gossipping,
For she could never learne it;
To spend away her husband's thrift,
So fast as he coulde yearne[24] it.
Nor would she on the Sunday
Her time so vainely spend,
In playting her apparrell on
Till service were at end.
Her face was never painted,
Her haire laid foorth to view;
Her ruffes were never starched;[25]
Such toyes she never knew.

And when she lay in child-bed,
She used no such cheere,
To spend so largelie on a feast,
And lacke it all the yeere.
Such fine and daintie lynnen
As now some women use;
And such vaine cost in banquetting:
All this to her was newes.
She cared not for such fashions
As now some women doo,
That cannot see a garment worne,
But they must have it too.
She did regard her husband,
And houshold charge beside;
Remembring that such vaine expence
Woulde greater needes provide.

She spent in youth advisedly,
Least she in age should want:
For age hath manie miseries,
Yet none so great as scant.
Beside, she had another minde,
Which manie women lacke;
Who jet[26] about in others' goods,
And payment is full slacke.
Wherefore, be wise, faire women;
And where these follies be,

[24] [Earn.]

[25] [An allusion to 'the starching and setting of ruffs' in the age of Elizabeth, highly ridiculed by Stubbes in his 'Anatomie of Abuses.' On the books of the stationers' company in 1590, was entered 'a ballad entitled '*Blewe Starche* and Poking-sticks.' See Reed's Shakspeare, ix. 350.]

[26] [To *jet*, says Mr. Steevens, is to strut, to walk proudly. See Cymbeline, act iii. sc. 3, and Pericles, act i. sc. 4.]

It is no shame to leave them off,
As Sara did, you see.
For if you still frequent them,
Your daunger is the more;
And time will root your credite up;
Be well advis'de therefore.

A Dittie, wherein may be seene by many and sundry examples, that no man ought to give over-much credite to this fraile and transitorie life: but as all other things soone vade and decay, so the life of man hath no greater assuraunce.

This Dittie is sung after the note of the 'Flat Pavin,' which is playd in consorto.

WHEN I sometime begin to thinke upon
The frailtie of this present life:
Howe soone the pompe of man is gone,
How soone his joyes are chaunged to greefe;
Good Lord, (think I) what mind hath man
To trust to such a state,
Which frailtie at the first began,
And knowes no certaine date?
Now in joy, then annoy;
Thus our time we doo destroy;
Not minding that we be:
Like the grasse, which soone dooth passe,
Or as our image in a glasse,
Even so, good freends, are we.

Behold, how Summer yeerely bloometh foorth
The goodlie blossomes of the tree;
Which wastfull Winter counteth little woorth,
And therefore will not suffer them to bee.
And Nature's mantell which she spread
So greene upon the ground;
Upon a suddaine wexeth dead,
That whilome grew full sound.
Thus are we, if we see,
To things according as they be
For our example left;
That as they passe away,
So hath man as little stay,
When course[27] hath him bereft.

Think on the ship that cutteth through the seas,
And on her suddaine state with all:
Nowe doo the sailers ride on at their ease,
Not fearing what mischaunce may fall.
But in a moment then behold,
When swelling flawes[28] doo rise;
The ship is split, their harts wexe cold,
And eche for mercie cries.

[27] [*i. e.* When his race, or career, is run.]

[28] [Gusts, or squalls of wind.]

Thus ere while they did smile,
When time their fancies did beguile;
Now, swallowed in the deepe:
Even so we, in health now be,
Anon, a lumpe of clay to see:
Then Death on us dooth creepe.

When thou doost lay thee downe to take thy rest,
And sleepest soundly, void of care;
An image of thy death is there exprest,
Which steales on thee before thou canst beware.
What thing so ere thou takest in hand,
Doo thus thy selfe provide,
That Death dooth at thine elbow stand,
And waites no time or tide.
Yong or old, be not too bold,
For life cannot be bought or sold,
For freendshippe, or for fee:
The lordly minde, the homely hind,
All flesh must yeeld unto their kind,
Death spareth no degree!

Then happy is that man (in sooth) say I,
That can his time so well direct,
As at eache howre he is prepard to dye,
And fleshly hope dooth cleane reject.
For he that dooth regard the place
Whence all our comfort springs,
Accounts this earthlie honor base,
He mindeth heavenly things:
For there is joy, without annoy,
Let us then so our times imploy,
That there may be our rest:
Thus wish I all, both great and small,
To such repentance they may fall,
To live among the blest!

A Dittie, wherein is contained a very proper discourse, of a certaine welthy Merchaunt, who forgetting his profite, gave his mind to pleasure.

This Dittie may be sung after a pleasant newe note, called 'Prima Visto.'

A merchaunt of great riches, dwelt
In Surria,[29] (as I reade)
Whose yeerely traffique to the Cair,[30]
Full well suffisde his neede:
For, bringing precious stones from thence,
The profit rose so much,
By his account unto himselfe,
As very fewe had such.

This merchaunt, to give greater grace
To jewels of such price,

[29] [Qu. Syria?] [30] [Perhaps, Cairo?]

Compounded with a skilfull man,
Both excellent and wise,
To sette these stones in finest golde,
Agreeing, by the daie,
(Because he should not slack his worke,)
A certaine summe to pay.

This cunning workman everie daie
Applied his busines well;
And every night receivde his wadge:[31]—
At last, it so befell,
Unto the merchant's house was brought
A goodly instrument,
Which for the beauty and the sound
Did highly him content.

The workeman (as his custome was)
Unto his businesse came:—
When as the merchaunt tooke the harpe,
And shewed him the same;
His skill in musicke beeing great,
Did take the instrument;
Demaunding, if that he should play?—
The merchaunt was content.

So sweetly did he play thereon,
And with such rare delight,
That thus he wasted foorth the day,
Untill it was darke night.
Then for his duetie[32] he dooth call,
And as much dooth require,
As if he had applyed his worke,
Serving for dailye hire.

The merchaunt saies, "he had not wrought,
But played all the day;"—
The workeman saies,—"you did commaund;
Then I must needes obay.
Your bargaine is for daily wadge:—
All day I have beene heere,
And doone what you commaunded me;
My wadges then is cleere."

In breefe, they fell so much at square,
And so farre did proceede,
That by the judges of the towne
Sentence must be decreed;
Which went against the merchant flatte;
And so much he must pay
The workeman, as if he had wrought
And laboured all the day.

The merchaunt scant digested this,
That he so much must pay;

[31] [Wage, wages.]

[32] [*Duty* is here put for *pay;* according to legal stipulation.]

And might have gotten twise so much
If he had wrought all day.
His folly nowe he dooth repent,
And biddes such gaudes, farewell!
He finds more sweetnesse in the nutte,
Then in the outward shell.

In this Dittie is set downe the morrall judgment of the great and learned philosopher Sendebar,[33] on the storie before passed: which will be found, both worth the reading and regarding.

This Dittie may be sung to the newe 'Scottish Allemaigne.'

SUCH men as betake them to pleasure and ease,
May see by this story what issue it brings;
And noting their folly, they may (if they please)
Contrary[34] their humor with durable things:
Forsaking such fondnesse as dooth them beguile,
When they should remember their soules, in mean while,
Do keepe it most pure, least ought it defile.

Howe great is the number that profite forsake,
And seeke after folly and vanities vaine!
What high estimation doo worldlings make,
Of toyes and of trifles that cannot remaine:
And all to winne credite in wanton folkes' eyes,
Whose prayses are counted as death, with the wise:
Because light conjectures sweete counsell despise.

The grey-hound that swiftly pursuing the hare,
Receives his advauntage, and holdeth her fast;
And seeing another, dooth after prepare,
And so looseth both, and labours in waste;
So fares it with covetous men, now a daies,
Who gape after all thinges which promise them praise,
And yet are deceived by many like waies.

May not this world be myserable namde?
Nay, rather our willes most wretched and vile?
That see what attempts will make us be blamde,
And blindly will let them our fancies beguile.
But if we remembred how short is our stay,
And that we possesse, must vanish away;
These worldly affections could not us betray.

Where is the good beginning of us?
Where is our excellent middest likewise?
Where may we our perfect end discus?
O man! learne in dealing to be more precise.

[33] ['The morall philosophie of the auncient sages, compiled by the great and learned philosopher Sendebar, in 'the Indian tongue, and afterwardes reduced into divers others languages, and now lastly Englished out of Italian, 'by Thomas North:' was published at London in 1570. From this publication Munday probably derived the moral reflections in this ditty.]

[34] [Used also as a verb by Shakspeare and his literary contemporaries. See Romeo and Juliet, act i. sc. 5.]

For even on thy birth-day Death dooth embrace thee,
And all thy life-time at his will dooth chace thee,
And when thou least thinkest then doth he displace thee.

In darknesse and in corruption we are borne,
And when the light of this world we first enjoy,
Myserie dooth compasse us, and holdes us in scorne,
And cloggeth us daily with greefe and annoy.
Th' elements with heate and cold doo offend us,
Diseases oppresse us, till phisick doo mend us,
And troubles hang on us, ech howre for to end us.

If we be alone, then sollemnes[35] killes us;
If we be in companie, somewhat dooth mollest us;
If we be wealthy, then feare of theeves spilles[36] us;
If we be needy, dispayre dooth arrest us.
To die we are loth, or to part from our treasure:
To leave freends, wife and children, we greeve out of measure;
To sin we are ready, but we repent at leisure.

And what will one man doo for an other,
But grieve and repine that his neighbour dooth well?
For gaine, he will cut the throate of his brother,
And, for preferment his soule he will sell.
The fooles beares awaie the credite of the wise,
Trueth is trode downe by him that telles lyes,
And ill will for good will is now the world's guise.

All vertuous actions are in small account,
Mercie is dead, and charitie colde;
Selfe-love dooth neighbourly kindnesse surmount,
And usury hurteth both yong and olde.
Good Lord! amend this, when thy will may be,
And quicken againe true love and charitie;
For good men are sicke, these disorders to see.

A Dittie, wherein is contained divers good and necessary documents, which beeing embraced and followed earnestly, may cause a man to shunne manie evilles and mischaunces, that may otherwise fall upon him, ere he can beware.

This Ditty may be sung to the high 'Allemaigne Measure;' singing every last straine twise with the musicque.

'SOFTE fire makes sweete mault,' they say;
Few words well plast[37] the wise will way.[38]
Time idle spent, in trifles vaine,
Returnes no guerdon for thy paine:
But time well spent, doth profite bring,
And of good works will honour spring.
Bestow thy time then in such sort,
That vertue may thy deedes support:

[35] [Seriousness.] [36] [Kills, destroys.] [37] [Placed.] [38] [Weigh.]

The greater profite thou shalt see,
And better fame will goe of thee.

In talke be sober, wise, and sadde,
Faire to thy freend, kind to the badde;
And let thy words so placed bee
As no man may finde fault with thee.
Nor meddle not in any case
With matters which thy witte surpasse:
With things that not to thee pertaines,
It folly were to beate thy braines;
For suddaine blame may hap to thee,
In medling unadvisedly.

Take heede, in any wise, I say,
What things thou goest about to-day,
That thou to-morrow not repent,
And with thy selfe be discontent.
Speake not such words to others' blame,
As afterward may turne thee shame.
To-day thou speakest, and doost not care,
But of to-morrow still beware:
For then thou canst not call againe,
What lavishly did passe thy braine.

Keepe secrete closely in thy minde
Things that thy state and credite binde;
Beware, if thou doo them disclose,
To whom and where, for feare of foes:
Especially of him take heede
Whose trueth thou doost not know in deede.
For hard it is thy freend to know
From him that is a flattering foe:
And many men in showe are kind,
Yet worse then serpents in their mind.

Be not too hasty in thy deedes;
Of too much haste oft harme proccedes.
Be sober, mute; take good advise,
For things too much are full of vice.
With moderation rule thee so,
As thou aside no way maist go:
For 'haste makes waste,' as proofe dooth say,
And little said, soone mend ye may.
Forecast what after may befall;
So shalt thou not be rashe at all.

Have mind still of thine owne offence,
Regard thy faults with good pretence:
Seeke not a moate in one to spie,
First pull the beame out of thine eye.
And find no fault with any man,
Except amend thy selfe thou can:
And when thy faults amended be,
The good that others see in thee,

Will learne them so their deedes to frame,
As they may likewise scape from blame.

Of no man give thou bad report,
Backbite not any in thy sport:
For words doo wound as deepe as swords,
Which many use in jesting boordes;[39]
And slaunder is a hainous hate,
Which dooth nought els but stirre debate;
And twixt good freendes makes deadly strife,
To hazard one another's life:
And all this may proceede of thee,
Except thou wilt advised bee.

Beare freendly with thy neighbour's fault,
Remember thou thy selfe maist halt.
If he hath ought offended thee,
Forgive, as thou the like wouldest be:
And thinke, if thou hast gone awrie,
Thou for forgivenesse must apply:
So with thy neighbour's faults doo beare,
And of thine owne stand still in feare.
Pardon as thou wouldest pardoned be,
So GOD will pardon him and thee.

Be gentle unto every wight,
Let courtesie be thy delight:
Familiar be with few, I say;
For sure it is the wisest waie.
Too much familiaritie
May bring thy sorrowes suddainly:
Therefore, keepe gentlenesse in mind;
To rich and poore be alwaies kind:
So pride shall never conquere thee,
Which is man's cheefest enemie.[40]

A pleasant Dittie, wherein is described, what falsehood oftentimes is found in felowship; verified by a covetous-minded man, who laboured to deceive his deere freende, but yet deceived himselfe in the end.

This Dittie may be sung to the note of the 'Spanish Pavin.'

TWO freends that had a stocke of corne,
One daie did part it equally;
But left it in the garner still,
For want of other remedie.
One of them thought his freende had most,
Which caused him, discourteously,
To seeke to steale it thence;
Not minding freendly amitie.

[39] [Qu. boards, or festive tables, where jesting abounds?]

[40] [These saws may possibly remind the reader of the preceptive admonitions given by Polonius to Laertes; nor do they deserve less practical attention: for there is a court-policy blended with Shakspeare's advice, from which the morality of Munday is more free.]

His freend that not[41] mistrusted him,
Did walke about his busines;—
The other to the garner comes,
To make assur'de his craftinesse;
And on his freend's heape cast his cloake,
Least he should misse of his devise;
For he that steales in the darke,
May be deceived twise.

He being gone; within a while
The other partner thether came,
Who seeing his freend's cloake on his heape,
Did very kindly take the same;
Thinking his freend had left his cloake,
To save his portion from the dust:
Therefore he thought again
To shew his freendship just.

Quoth he, "How kind a freende have I,
That deales with me thus courteously;
His owne corne heere he leaveth bare,
And covers mine full gentlie.
I needes must shew some love againe,
Unto so good a freend and brother:"—
So he takes of[42] the cloake,
And laies it on the other.

At night this false freend comes againe,
Who with a theefe compacted had,
To have halfe bootie of the corne:—
I judge his freendship verie bad.
Because he would deceive his freend,
He was content the halfe to lose.
They beeing thus agreed;
The theefe then with him goes.

This false freend groped in the darke,
To find the heape his cloake lay on;
And judging it had beene his freend's,
Became a theefe unto his owne:
Betweene them they convaied it thence,
Eche to his house where he did dwell.
Thus was the man deceiv'de:
The theefe he sped full well.

Next morning both the partners came,
According as they were agreed,
Unto the garner for their corne,
To carry it thence away with speede.
But when the false freend saw the heape,
And how himselfe he had deceiv'de;
He wist not what to say,
His witts were nie bereav'de.

[41] [Nought.] [42] [Off.]

His partner carried thence his corne,
And he went home full heavily:
Not daring to reveale his harme,
Least all should know his trecherie.
See, how Deceit deceiv'de himselfe,
Marke well the practice and the end:—
I would the like might hap
To every faithlesse freend!

A Dittie, wherein the brevitie of man's life is described, how soone his pompe vanisheth away, and he brought to his latest home.

This Ditty may be sung to the 'Venetian Allemaigne.'

THE statelie pine whose braunches spreade so faire,
By winde or weather wasted is at length;
The sturdie oake that clymeth in the ayre,
In time dooth lose his beautie and his strength;
The fayrest flower that florisht as to daie,
To-morrow seemeth like the withered haie.

So fares it with the present state of man,
Whose showe of healthe dooth argue manie yeeres:
But as his life is likened to a span,
So suddaine sicknes pulles him from his peeres;
And where he seemde for longer time to-daie,
To-morrow lies he as a lumpe of clay.

The infant yong, the milk-white aged head,
The gallant youth that braveth[42] with the best,
We see with earth are quickly over-spreade,
And both alike brought to their latest rest:
As soone to market commeth to be solde,
The tender lambe's skin, as the weather's old.

Death is not partiall; as the proverbe saies,
The prince and peasant both with him are one;
The sweetest face that's painted now a daies,
And highest head, set forth with pearle and stone,
When he hath brought them to the earthly grave,
Beare no more reckoning then the poorest slave.

The wealthy chuffe,[43] that makes his gold his god,
And scrapes and scratches all the mucke he may;
And with the world dooth play at even and od;
When Death thinks good to take him hence away,
Hath no more ritches in his winding-sheete,
Then the poore soule that sterved in the streete.

Unhappie man! that runneth on thy race,
Not minding where thy crased bones must rest:

[42] [Vieth, contendeth.]
[43] [A term of contempt, usually applied to wealthy and avaricious persons.]

But woe to thee that doost forget thy place,
Purchast for thee, to live amongst the blest.
Spend then thy life in such a good regard,
That Christe's blessing may be thy reward!

A Dittie, discoursing the communication betweene Christ and the Woman of Samaria, that came to drawe water at Jacob's well: according as it is sette downe in the 4 chapter of Saint John.

This Dittie may be sung to the note of 'Deeme all my deedes.'

As Jesus went to Galilee,
His journey chaunced so,
Thorow Samaria as he went,
By Jacob's well to go:
Where being faint, and wearied
With labouring on the waie,
He sate him downe on Jacob's well,
At midde time of the day.

Not long had Jesus sitten[43] there,
But (as the text dooth tell)
A woman of Samaria came
For water, to the well.
His disciples were gone for meate,
Least faintnesse shoulde force them shrinke,
When Jesus to the woman said,—
"Woman! give me some drinke."

"How is it, (said the woman) then?
A Jewe thou seem'st to be,
How happens it, that thou doost thus
Demaund for drinke of me?
The Jewes make small account of us,
And we esteeme them so:
They meddle not with Samaritanes,
I thinke thy selfe doost know."

Said Jesus then,—"If thou didst knowe
The gift of God on hie,
And who he is that asketh drinke,
I thinke, assuredlie,
Thou wouldest have asked drinke of him,
To ease thy inward strife;
And He woulde have bestowed on thee
The sweete water of life."

Quoth she—"Thou nothing hast to draw;
The well is deepe likewise;
From whence hast thou the water of life
I cannot well devise.

[43] [*i. e.* Sat. *Sax. termin.*]

Art thou greater then our father Jacob,
Who gave to us this well?
He and his children dranke thereof,
And so did his cattell."

Quoth Jesus then—" This water heere
Can no man's thirsting slake:
But who so of the water drinks,
That I to him shall take,
Shall never thirst; but shall in him
A well of water raise,
Springing unto eternall life,
Where he shall see good daies."

" Sir (said the woman) give to me
Of this sweete water cleere,
That I may never thirst againe,
Nor come to draw more heere."
Then Jesus thus to her replied—
" Thy husband goe and call,
And then come hether unto me,
And answer thee I shall."

" I have no husbande, Sir;" said she.
Quoth he—" Thou saiest well;
Thou hast no husband, but hast had
Five husbands, I can tell.
And for the man whom now thou hast,
Thy husband is not he:
I knowe as much, as thou hast said,
The very certaintie."

The woman then amazed was
To heare her fault descried:
" Thou art a prophet, Sir, I see;
(Thus she to him replied)
Our fathers worshipp'd in this mount
So long as they did live:
But you say, at Jerusalem
That men should worship give."

" Woman (said Jesus unto her)
The howre draweth neere,
When neither at Jerusalem,
Nor in this mountaine heere,
Shall you the Father reverence;
His worshippe you abuse:
We know our worshippe, and that life
Proceedeth of the Jewes.

" But sure the howre is at hand,
And nowe it is likewise,
When the true servaunts of the Lord
Shall with themselves devise,

To worship him in spirit and trueth:
Such worship would he have;
He is a spirit, and the trueth,
Like worship doth he crave."

Then said the woman unto him—
"I knowe, assuredly,
That the Messias soone shall come,
And Christ his name must be.
When he is come, as come he will,
All things he will reveale:
And he will tell us, by what waies
Our actions we must deale."

Quoth Jesus unto her againe---
"Take this for certaintie,
I am Messias, and that Christ,
That talketh heere with thee."
With that came his disciples straite,
Who mervailed much to see
That he would with the woman talke,
And so familiar bee.

The woman left her water-pot,
And to the cittie ran,
Where she disclos'de what Christ had said,
Willing them come see the man:
Which when they did; they by this meanes
Were brought unto beleefe,
And he remain'd with them two daies,
To yeeld them more releefe.

Of the three wise sentences, which three yong men of the guarde of King Darius presented to him. The first said, 'Wine is strongest.' The second said, 'The King is strongest.' The third said, 'Women are strongest, but 'Truth over commeth all things.' The first that spake of the strength of wine, began to proove his argument first, as foloweth; according as it is written in the third and fourth chap. of Esdras.

'WYNE IS STRONGEST.'

This Ditty may be sung to the 'Quadrant Galliard.'

"O WHAT a thing of strength is wine,
Of how great power and might!
For it deceiveth every one,
That takes therein delight:
The minde of king and fatherlesse,
It maketh equall in likenesse.

The bond-man and the free-man bothe,
Wine maketh in equality;

The poore-man and the welthy wretch
Wine knitteth in affinity:
The lordly peere, and homely hind,
In wine but slender difference finde.

Wine turneth everie pensive thought
To joy and gladnesse presentlie;
So that all they which drinke thereof,
Doo cleane cast out of memorie
All sorrow, greefe, debt, or distresse,
Wine sets them in such pleasantnes.

Wine maketh every hart so ritch,
That they forgette, immediatly,
Their king, their governour, and all,
And pleade their owne authoritie:
And all their words weigh verie deepe,
Till wine have brought them fast a sleepe.

When men are entred in their drink,
They have no minde at all,
Of love to brethren, freends, or kin;
But some to weapons fall:
But when they are from wine at last,
They not remember what hath past.

Is not wine strongest now, thinke you,
That carrieth with it such a might,
As forceth men to doo these things,
Without regard of wrong or right?"—
This said: he paused for a space,
And to the second man gave place.

The second man, who spake of the strength of the King, after his fellow had ended, beganne to declare his minde.

'THE KING IS STRONGEST.'

This Ditty may be sung to the 'Masker's Allemaigne,' commonly called the 'Olde 'Allemaigne.'

"IF wine be strong, what strength have men
Which rule by land and sea;
And over all things in them too?—
They needes must strongest be.
But yet the king farre stronger is,
For he dooth rule all men;
And all things that he dooth commaunde,
They doo fulfill it then.

If he bidde warre amongst themselves,
They graunt to doo it presently;
Or els against their enemies,
They goe, and that couragiously.

They breake downe mountaines, walles, and towres,
  They kill and killed be;
And looke, what spoyles they winne in fight,
  They bring the king to see.

And they that deale not in these broyles,
  But till the earth at home;
They sowe, they reape, and to the king
  They bring it as his owne:
They one another force to pay
  Theyr tribute to the king;
And looke what he commaundeth them,
  They doo it everie thing.

And yet the king is but one man:
  But if he bidde them kill,
They kill; and if he bid them spare,
  They spare with right good will.
If he bid smite, then doo they smite;
  If he bid desolate,
They doo it; and if he bid build,
  They doo obey it strait.

If he say—cut off; they cut off:
  If he say—plant; they plant:
And all things els that he commaunds,
  In them shall be no want.
Thus all his people, and his realme,
  One onely man obey:
Meane while, he sitteth, eates, and sleepes,
  And, if he list, may play.

For these doo keepe him round about,
  Their toyles they set apart,
And doo what he commaundeth them;
  They reverence him in hart.
Is not the king strongest of all,
  Beeing honored in this sort?"—
Thus brake he off: and then the third
  His sentence did report.

Then the third, whose sentence was, that 'Women were strongest, but Trueth 'overcommeth all things,' and whose name was Zerobabell, began to speake as followeth.

'WOMEN ARE STRONGEST, BUT TRUETH OVERCOMMETH ALL THINGS.'

This Dittie may be sung after the note of the Queene's Majestie's new 'Hunt is up.'

"IT neither is the mightie king,
  Nor any man beside,
Nor wine that may be strongest namde;—
  Alas! you are too wide.

Who is it that dooth governe these,
  And ruleth ore them all:
Women they are, and women's strength
  May not be counted small.

The king himselfe of woman came,
And they that rule the earth;
Men, of what state so ever they be,
Of women had their birth.

Yea, they that tooke the paines to plant
The vines that beare the wine,
They came of women at the first,
And unto them encline.

They make men's garments, and beside,
They make them honorable:
No man without a woman can
Long time to live be able.

They that have silver and gold at will,
Or ought that they may deeme;
When they faire women doo behold,
More deere they them esteeme.

For all those things they doo forsake,
To gaze on beautie's face;
Not weighing any precious thing,
Faire beautie to embrace.

A man forsakes his father deere,
That kept him all his life;
Yea, kinne and countrey dooth forgoe,
And cleaveth to his wife.

For her he jeoperdeth his life,
And dooth great hazards find:
He recks not countrey, dad, nor dame,
So he may please her minde.

By this you plainlie may perceive,
Women over you doo sway;
At night you bring them home your hyre,
For labouring all the daie.

Manie sticks not to kill and steale,
And saile upon the seas,
To bring home booties for their loves,
And glad their mindes to please.

Manie for women have runne mad,
And so have serv'de in thrall;
Yea, some have sinned and perished,
And thus, for women, all.

I graunt the king is great in power,
All stand of him in awe:
Yet Apame, the king's concubine,
Not long sithence I sawe

Her sit on the right hand of the king,
And verie pleasantlie
She tooke the crowne from off his heade,
Which he endur'de familiarlie.

And on her head she put his crowne,
  And lifting up her hande,
Therewith she gave the king a stroke;
  All this I stood and scande.

And, in meane season, what did he,
  But on her gaze and looke?
And when she laughed, then he laught;
  So well he could her brooke.

But if that she did frowne on him,
  Then would he flatter her,
That she might into good conceit
  The king againe prefer.

How thinke ye now, of women kinde;
  Are they not strong indeede?"—
The king and princes lookt apace,
  As though they were agreed.

But then againe, he did beginne—
  " Great is the earth (quoth hee)
The heaven hie, the sunne in course,
  Doth passe full speedilie.

For in one daie he compasseth
  The heaven round about;
And turnes againe unto his place
  Where he first issued out.

Is not he great that made these things,
  So wonderfull to see?
Then say that Trueth is strongest of all,
  For very trueth is hee.

All the whole earth dooth call for trueth,
  And heaven blesseth it:
All things doo shake and tremble thereat;
  It is not false one whit.

The wine, the king,—yea, women too,
  And men, are wicked all:
Theyr works are naught, no trueth in them;
  They perrish, and they fall.

But trueth dooth constantlie abide,
  And strongest is for ever:
She lives and raignes, and ever shall;
  Can be confounded never.

With her no choyse of person is,
  She dooth the things are just:
From wicked works she dooth abstaine,
  Men ought in her to trust.

Her judgments evermore are sound,
  Her majestie ensueth
Over all ages by her power,—
  Blest be the GOD of Trueth!"

Thus broke he off:—and then began
The people all to cry—
"Trueth greatest is, and strongest of all;
And Trueth shall never die."

A Glasse for all Men to behold themselves in; especially such proude and prodigall-minded Men, and such delicate and daintie Women, who building on the pride of their beautie and amiable complexion, thinke scorne to become aged; and that their sweete faces should be wrinckled, or their youthfulnes braught into subjection by age.

This Ditty may be sung to the 'Earle of Oxenford's Galliard.'

YOU youthfull heads, whose climing mindes
Doo seeke for worldly praise,
Whose yong desires doo seeme to scorne
Olde age's staied waies.
Beare with the plaine-song of my note,
Which is so plaine in deede,
As daintie mindes will scant endure
So harshe a tale to reade.

As nature hath endued your shapes
With exquisite perfection;
And gives you choyse of sweete delights,
Wherein you have affection:
When time hath runne his course in you,
The selfe-same nature saies—
That all these daintie toyes must die,
Whereof you made your praise.

Marke how the yeere in course doth passe:
Note first the plesant spring;
The earth by nature then affoordes
Full many a precious thing:
Of fruits, of flowres, of wholsome hearbes
We gather as we please;
And all things els we lacke beside,
Our needfull wants to ease.

And likewise, in this pleasant time,
We take delight to walke,
To run and play at barley-breake,
And in our gardens talke;
One freend an other dooth invite,
They feast and make good cheere;
Both rich and poore doo make pastime,
At this time of the yeere.

But wreakfull winter drawing on,
Withdraweth these delights,

And robbes us of them, one by one,
As toyes and trifling sights.
The scith cuttes downe the goodlie grasse,
That grew so greene to day;
And all the sweete and pleasant flowers
Are changed then to hay.

The trees, that bragged in their leaves,
The bitter blasts doo bight;[44]
And chaunge them from their goodly state
To olde and withered plight:
And they that flocked to the feeldes,
When summer was so brave,
Nowe closelie creepe about the fire
For winter warmth will have.

Compare we now the yeerely chaunge,
With man's appointed race,
Who in the Aprill of his age
Greene humours dooth embrace:
And as Maie-flowers glad the eye,
So in his youthfull time,
Man compasseth a world of joyes,
Whereto his thoughts doo clime.

Behold, likewise, dame Beautie's gyrles,
Whose daintie mindes are such,
As not the sun-shine, nor the wind,
Must their faire faces touch:
Theyr maskes, their fannes, and all the toyes,
That wanton heads can crave,
To maintaine beautie in her pride,
These prancking[45] dames must have.

But elder yeeres approching on
A little every daie,
Their daintie beautie dooth decline,
And vanisheth away.
And as colde Winter chaseth hence
The pleasant Summer daies,
So withered age encountreth youth,
Amidst his wanton waies.

You that thinke scorne of auncient age,
And hold him in contempt,
To make of beautie such a price,
And to vaine thoughts are bent.
Remember Nature yeelds to course,
And course his race will have,
From the first howre of your byrth
Untill you come to grave.

Age is an honour unto them
That live to see the same,

[44] [Bite.] [45] [Proudly dressing.]

And none but vaine and foolish hands
Will blot olde age with blame;
Who oftentimes are soone cut off,
And not so happy blest,
To see the dayes their fathers did,
Before they went to rest.

Thrise happy they that spend their youth
In good and vertuous wise.
Forsaking all such vaine desires
As wanton heads surmise,
And wholie doo direct themselves
Unto his will that made them:
Then Folly never can have power
From Vertue to disswade them.

A Ditty, wherin is expressed a notable example of a slothful Man, who wilfully suffered himselfe to be robbed and dyspoyled of his goods by slothfulnes, which otherwise he might very well have saved.

This Dittie may be sung to 'Dowland's Galliard.'

It chaunced on a time, that a lewde theefe
Did enter in a man's house for some releefe,
Where seeking busilie what he might finde;
At length, he found such things as pleasde his minde;
Sorting them earnestly, what he did lacke,
At last, of all the best he made a packe.

The good man of the house lay in his bedde,
And heard how fast his goods abroad were spread,
He thought to let the theefe take his owne pleasure,
And for to fill his bagge at his owne leysure:
And when he suddainly should packe away,
Then would he manfullie cause him to stay.

"For (quoth he) if I should nowe goe and fray[46] him,
He might escape away, and I not stay him:
I will therefore suffer him yet for awhile,
And when he thinketh least, will him beguile."
As he lay thinking thus the theefe to keepe,
He quite forgot himselfe, and fell a sleepe.

The theefe had filled his bagge to his content,
Which, casting on his backe, away he went.
The man at last awak't, and then did see
His chests were broken up, and left all emptie,
And his house robbed cleane in every place;
He sate him downe, and sight[47] in heavie case.

Quoth he—"I wretched man might this have eased,
And might have staied the theefe, if I had pleased;

[46] [Affrighten, terrify.] [47] [Sighed.]

For when I heard the noyse, if I had hasted,
I might have sav'de my goods, which nowe are wasted:
But thinking to deceive, and take him tardie,
I have deceiv'de myselfe, through mine owne follie."

By this we may perceive how good it is,
To take time, while time lastes, least we doo misse,
When our owne rod worthily commeth to shent us.
Therefore, be warie, and use time well,
Else may it to you as to this man befell.

A Dittie, wherein may be discerned the troublesome daungers and uneasie passages in this world; exampled by a very proper discourse of a Travailer in his journey, howe many and sundry mischaunces happened unto him.

This dittie may be sung to the 'Countesse of Ormond's Galliard.'

A CERTAINE yong man, as I reade,
That travelled on his way,
On such affayres and businesse
As his occasions lay;
Passing through waste and desart soyles,
Which drew his mind in sadnesse:
At last he spied a pleasant plaine,
Which gave some cause of gladnesse.

Walking along this pleasant plaine,
More merrie than before;
Feeding his eyes with pleasant sights,
Whereof this place had store:
At last, on suddaine he espyed
Foure lyons, very fiercelie,
Preparde themselves to runne at him,
Which he did brooke but scarcelie.

He seeing refuge on no side,
His life in daungerous plight,
Did take himselfe unto his legges,
To shun them if he might.
But well he knewe, that running long,
His strength perforce must fayle him;
And then his ravenous enemies
Might easilie assayle him.

He thought it better, if he could,
Some where in secrete hide him;
So running on, he sawe a place
Whereof he did provide him;
A well besette with little twigges,
Which catching hold upon,
He thought to hang there by the hands,
Untill the beastes were gone.

So casting both his legges abroade,
On either side the well,

Where best he might sustaine himselfe
What happe so ever fell:
With hands and feete such shift he made,
As well he could not fall;
Nor yet the lyons, if they came,
Might come at him at all.

The lions, having lost the sight
Of this perplexed man,
Followed no more, but to the woods
Againe they swiftly ran.
He looking downe into the well,
A hideous dragon sawe,
With yawning mouth waighting his fall,
To glutte his greedie mawe.

The yong man nowe more fearefull was
Then at his first mishappe;
Perceiving where he lookt for ayde,
He found the doubtful'st trappe.
If he should fall, the dragon stoode
At hand for to receive him:
The lyons were without, he thought,
Of life for to bereave him.

In this so great extremitie,
He wist not what to doo;
Seeing his death before his eyes,
And by such tyrants too.
Besides, there had he hung so long,
And in such greevous paine,
His hands could hardly longer time
His heavie weight sustaine.

But as we know that life is sweete,
And lothe we are to leave it,
So this poore soule was very lothe
These ravenous beasts should reave[48] it:
Which made him raise himselfe aloft,
Desiring long to see,
Whether the lyons yet were gone,
Or should his butchers be.

He sawe them gone:—but then, alas!
A newe mishappe began,
Threatning more daunger and distresse
To this poore wretched man.
For looking out, he did behold
Two other beasts were by;
The one was white, the other blacke:
Now thought he sure to die.

For these two beasts stood gnawing the roots
Of those two little trees,

[48] [Bereave.]

Whereby he did uphold himselfe;
Which when (poore man) he sees;
And still the dragon was belowe,
Awayting for his fall,
We well may judge this yong man's greefe
May not be counted small.

He struggles hard to keepe his holde,
Because his joynts did faint;
His legges likewise full often slippe,
Such numnesse did them taint.
Then looking round about the well,
He chaunced to espie
A potte of honnie in a hole,
That was to him full nie.

This pot some sheepheard had left there,
In passing by the way;
And judging this a place so fitte,
Did there the same convay.
Which when this yong man did beholde,
He presently forgotte
In what hard case he stoode of life,
And lusted to the potte.

One of the twigges he dooth forsake,
And hangeth by one hand;
Because he would the honnie taste
That did so neere him stand.
Thus, having quite forgot the beastes
That gnawed the twigges without,
He sweetlie of the honnie lickes,
Not minding anie doubt.

So long he did delight himselfe
In tasting of the potte,
The twigges by one and one doo breake,
And he so over-shotte,
That to the other twigges againe,
He could by no meanes come;
Nor could his footing longer hold,
Because his strength was doone.

So falles he downe into the well,
And there (poore soule) he died!
You that have heard how many woes
Did this yong man betyde;
And yet how many shifts he made,
The perrill to prevent,
Let his misfortune teach you all,
Whereto this world is bent.

In this Dittie is revealed the morrall Judgment of this notable and excellent History, sette downe by the famous and learned philosopher Tyabonus: wherein may be seene the very full course and wretched race of man, in this transitory life.

This Ditty may be sung to 'Wigmore's Galliard.'

THE well this man for refuge tooke,
The world dooth represent,
Wherein we seeke by divers meanes
To worke our owne content:
And where we struggle and we strive,
Eche one for his availe:
Living in hope of many things
Whereof great numbers faile.

The lyons which did force this man
Unto his fearefull flight,
Signifie the foure elements,
Which seeke both day and night
To chase man into contraries;
Now well, then sicke againe;
With many alterations
Whereof man feeles the paine.

The dragon that with gaping mouth
Did watch this yong man's fall,
Dooth represent our earthly grave,
Whereto in ende we shall.
How brave or stoute so ever we be;
How pollitique or wise,
The grave must shroude our bones at last;
For so is nature's guise.

The two young twigges wherby he held
The one is named Love;
The other may be temporall goods,
Whose strength we often prove:
By Love we beare unto this drosse,
So long we hang thereon,
That heavie sinne dooth weigh us downe,
Till faith is well neere gone.

The little beastes that gnawed the twigs
Of couller[49] blacke and white,
May be compared very well
Unto the day and night:
For they consume the time so fast,
That goods nor wealth can save us;
But these two cuts us off at length,
And then the earth must have us.

The pot with honnie may be tearmd
'The pleasure in this life;'

[49] [Colour.]

Wherewith we glutte our selves so full,
We recke no storms of strife,
Nor manifold calamities
Which threaten man's decay;
The lust of pleasure gluttes us so,
We feare them by no way.

So at the length, the day and night
Cuttes off our pleasure too:
And then into our grave we fall,
As all mankind must doo.
For be we poore, or be we ritch,
This is the end of all;
The grave must be our shrowding sheete,
When dreadfull death dooth call.

A Dittie, wherein is lively and amply described, the mansion or castel of vaine exercises and delights, which being maintained by Pride, Prodigalitie, Lust, Ambition, Contempt of Vertue, and such other; is the overthrow of many that resorte thither, rather then to vertuous studies and exercises.

This dittie may be sung to the note of 'La vechia Pavin.'

WHO list to see a patterne of abuse,
Or reade a tale, which manie rue with teares;
Or who will see into the verie sluce
That leadeth man into a world of feares;
Let him regard what I shall heere report,
In blazing forth vaine Pleasure and her mates,
Whose odious living (with the vertuous sort)
Is namde, the fall of many mennes estates!
And noting well her fetches and her sleights,
He may himselfe beware:
For Vanitie hath choyse of deepe deceits,
To wrappe a man in care.

First settes the pride, in forefront of her forte,
Trickt in her fines;[50] yea, more then superfine:
Dalliaunce, her wanton, gives her choyse of sport,
Somewhile with Musique, then with notes divine.
The goers-by doo gaze on this prospect,
Which she perceiving, calleth for Delight;
Whom she commaundeth, with a subtill becke,
To feede their eyes with some new-fangled sight:
Which she performes with such a gallant grace,
As they that see the same;
What with his toyes, and Pride's alluring face,
Their sences are made lame.

Then comming into this delightful place,
Where all abuses in this world abounds,

[50] [Fineness.]

Flatterie telles them, with a goodly grace,
Such tales as quite their memory confounds.
Then launch out, yonkers, while your livings last,
For Beautie must be brave againe:
He that with sparing shall be heere disgrast,[51]
May not, or ought, in this place [to] remaine.
Then spend they *that* theyr parents got with care,
In riotous excesse;
And launch so farre, till they be worne thread-bare,
Through their owne wilfulnesse.

Thus having spent, till they can spend no more,
These daintie darlings byd them then farewell!
Then beggerie comes knocking at the doore,
To thriftlesse youth their follies past to tell.
Thus walke they thence in care and heavinesse,
Despisde of them on whom they spent so much;
The world likewise, that saw theire foolishnesse,
Dooth scorne to mone, or pittie any such.
Then howe they ende their lives in miserie,
I neede not heere report:
Beware therefore, my freends of Vanitie:
Or any of her sort.

A Dittie wherein the Author giveth his farewell to Fancie: having learned the auncient proverbe---that it is good to take warning by other men's misfortunes.

This Ditty may be sung to 'A. Munday, his Galliard.'

FAREWELL, sweet Fancie,
Thou maist goe play thee;
Wisedome saith—I may not stay thee.
I am unskilfull,
And thou too wilfull,
And time dooth thy sports denay[52] me.
Olde men have learned,
And I myselfe have this discerned,
That sports and pleasure
Must be applyed to time and measure;
For youthfull heads
Runne so farre, till blame doth shent them;
Then theyr owne rod
Makes them glad in the ende to repent them.

I see that many
Have followed fancie,
To their owne great losse and daunger:
Some in aspyring
To vaine desiring
Wherein Reason hath beene a straunger.
Some thirst for favour,
And yet find hate in th'end for their labour:

[51] [Disgrac'd.] [52] [Deny.]

Some looke for living,
And yet come short, when 'tis in giving;
And some I see
Well deserve, yet doo speede but badly;
And others reape
The reward they should have of duetie.

Thus Time is tyckle,
And Fancie fickle,
Never abyding in assuraunce:
Who then would trust thee,
That deal'st unjustlie,
With thy freends of longest duraunce?
Others men's warning,
Shalbe sufficient for my learning;
And thy unkindnesse
Shall make me feare to folow blindness.
For thou that hast
Beene a cause to deceive so manie,
Wilt serve me so:
And therefore, fare thou well, sweete Fancie!

A pleasant Dittie of a familiar communication that passed betweene certaine Ladies, as they walked abroade in the fields for their recreation; wherein is prooved, that Beautie is nothing worth, except it be coupled with Vertue.

This Ditty may be sung to 'A. Munday his Toy.'

It was my chaunce to walke abroade,
Where ladies were a sporting,
And youthfull yonkers on a row
From every place resorting:
And sitting downe upon the baucks
Where flowers grew full sweetlie;
By one and one they did begin
To speake their severall fancie.
One did Beautie much commend,
Saying "such a daintie freende
Deserved estimation:
And they that were not Beautie's freends,
Should reape dishonour for amendes,
Sooner then commendation."

The second lady then replied,
And said "I like well Beautie,
If Vertue be conjoynd therewith
It then becomes it fitly:
For what may better beare the name
Of Beautie's soveraigne gracing,
Then Vertue, which so decks the same,
There can be no defacing.
But Beauty that's maintaind by pride,
Hath no assuraunce to abide,
But quickly is confounded:

Let Vertue dwell in Beautie's breast,
And then must Beautie needs be blest,
That is so surely grounded.

" We must not name them beautifull,
Which beare a gaye complexion ;
And make no reckoning of their states,
But live without discretion ;
And wound their honor with disgrace,
In companie lascivious,
Who onely praise their daintie face,
To worke them treason tretcherous.
Faire Beauty liketh none of this,
That with pure Vertue joyned is,
But highly dooth disdaine it:
Then let us name that woman faire,
That of her credite hath a care,
Least any spot should staine it."

" Your judgment, sister, (quoth the third)
Is not to be despised :
For Beautie walketh now a-daies,
Me thinks, too much disguised.
For they that seeme in outward shew,
As saints in their profession ;
So carelesse out of course doo goe,
As it is past suspition.
And yet are these accounted faire,
Who dare not looke into the ayre,
Least that the sun should show them ;
Faire Beautie, that is faire indeede,
Accounts this beautie as a weede,
And thinketh scorne to know them.

" Me thinks those men are worse then mad,
That doo so much abase them ;
To have affiance in such dames
Whose very deedes disgrace them.
But some say, men are cause of all,
Who flatter them so kindly :
Tush ! vertuous women will not fall,
Let men speake nere so freendly."
With that there fell a showre of raine,
Which made them trudge away amaine,
And so brake off their talking :
I would be glad the rest to heare,
If I might meete these ladies there,
When they goe next on walking.

¶ The seconde[53] service of this Banquet (uppon the gentle and good receit of this first) I will verie shortlie publish ; wherein is manie excellent Ditties, and such as I doubt not but thou wilt well esteeme of.

[53] [Public encouragement is not likely to have called forth this "*second* service" since one copy only is known to have been transmitted of the *first*.]

The Greek Postscripts of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus cleared in Parliament. And an occasional Speech touching the Bill of Acapitation, or Poll-money. By Sir Simonds D'Ewes.

Printed in the Year, 1641.

[Quarto, containing Five Leaves.]

The Editor understands that the literati in biblical criticism are now generally agreed upon the non-authenticity of the spurious additions (as they are here called) in the postscripts of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus; and that they are not found in some of the best and most ancient manuscripts. The re-publication *of this tract, therefore, he trusts, cannot be looked upon as holding out any novelty for contention by the advocates of episcopacy or presbytery; although the interests of the latter were decidedly consulted in its original publication. Of the learned Sir Symonds D'Ewes, a very satisfactory account is given in the Biographia Britannica, Vol. V. Edit. 2.*

The Greek Postscripts of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, cleared in Parliament.

THE authority of that most ancient parchment MS. copy of the Bible remaining in his Majesty's library at Saint James's, being all written in great capital Greek letters, was vouched and asserted by Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in a speech delivered by him on Friday, June 11, 1641, in the morning, upon the debate of the bill touching bishops, &c. by which it infallibly appeareth, that the styling of Timothy the first Bishop of Ephesus, and Titus the first Bishop of Crete, are but the bold and spurious additions of some eastern bishop or monk, to the postscripts of those epistles of Saint Paul, at least five hundred years after Christ. The *postscripts* of the said epistles in that ancient manuscript, agreeing in the main with the Siriack Testament, are only thus: 'THE FIRST TO TIMOTHY, WRITTEN 'FROM LAODICEA.' 'THE SECOND TO TIMOTHY, WRITTEN FROM LAODICEA.' 'TO 'TITUS, WRITTEN FROM NICOPOLIS.' This rare MS. was sent to his Majesty that now is, [Charles I.] by Cyrillus [Lucaris] then patriarch of Alexandria,[1] in which the first letter A. stands for πρώτη, and the second letter B. for δευτέρα.[2]

[1] [And afterward of Constantinople; where, after various persecutions, he was strangled. His motive for transferring this MS. to England, was to provide more effectually for the better preservation of so valuable a record of Christianity against the barbarous fury and jealous spirit of Mahometan superstition, to which it was hourly exposed in a land of deluded infidels. See Prospectus of Mr. Baber.]

[2] [The celebrated *Codex Alexandrinus* is now preserved in the British Museum, where it was deposited in 1753, with the whole of the library of the kings of England. It consists of four volumes, in a large quarto, or rather folio size; which contain the whole bible in Greek, including the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocrypha, and some smaller pieces, but not quite complete. The antiquity and authenticity of this copy has been elaborately discussed in the Prolegomena of Mill, Grabe, Wetstein, and Woide. See also Michaelis' Introduction to the New Testament, by Marsh, vol. ii. part i. p. 186. *et seq.* part ii. p. 648—660. Some of these biblical critics, of great sagacity and profound learning, have engaged in warm controversy concerning the respective claims to superiority, of the Alexandrian MS. and of the Vatican MS. preserved in the papal library at Rome; whilst others of equal discernment and erudition have considered their excellencies so nicely balanced, as to render them both objects of equal regard and veneration. From the former of these relics of sacred literature Dr. Woide published the New Testament in fac-simile; and the Rev. Henry Baber is preparing to publish that portion of the same MS. which contains the book of Psalms. Sufficient encouragement, it is hoped, will not be wanting to induce a publication of the whole of this Septuagint version, before time or chance has made greater inroads upon the fading manuscript.]

The letters were transcribed almost identically out of the said most ancient MS.

Ibid. fol. 146. a.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΝ Α. ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΑΠΟ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑΣ.

Testamentum Siriacum concordat.

Ibid. fol. 147. b.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΝ Β. ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΑΠΟ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑΣ.

Testamentum Siriacum concordat in omnibus exceptâ loci appellatione. Nam Romæ habet.

Ibid. fol. 148. b.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙΤΟΝ ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΑΠΟ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ.

Testamentum Siriacum concordat.

The spurious additions of latter times are set down in red or miniated letters.[3]

Πρὸς Τιμόθεον πρώτη ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Λαοδικείας. [Ἥτις ἐςὶ μητρόπολις Φρυγίας της Πακατιανῆς.]

Πρὸς Τιμόθεον δευτέρα [των ΕΦεσίων ἐκκλησιας πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθέντα] ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ρώμης [ὅτε ἐκ δευτέρου παρέςη. Παυλος τῶ Καίσαρι Νέρωνι.]

Πρὸς Τίτον [των Κρητων ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθέντα ἐγραφη] ἀπὸ Νικοπόλεως [της Μακεδονίας.]

An occasional Speech of Sir Simonds D'Ewes (as near as it could be collected together) delivered at a conference by a Committee of both Houses in the Painted Chamber, on Friday morning, July 2, 1641; in which the proportions or rates set upon the Peers by the House of Commons, in the Bill of Acapitation, or Poll-money, are asserted by former precedents.

" My Lords,

I SHALL humbly crave liberty to show you, that the House of Commons hath done no more in rating and proportioning of these particular sums upon your Lordships, than by the ancient rights and privileges of Parliament they might; and, to speak the truth, they could in possibility do no less.

It hath been several times spoken in this place, no less justly than nobly by some of your Lordships, that all matters of supply should originally proceed from the House of Commons: for so hath been the practice of former times in the ages past. In the Parliament Roll *de anno* 9. *H. IV. numero* 21. when the peers began but in a small circumstance to trench upon this privilege of the Commons, there arose a long and an earnest debate upon it, the issue of which produced a full declaration agreed upon by both Houses, ' That matter of supply must first proceed from the grant of the Commons, and ' then be assented unto by the Lords:' so as if we had sent up the present bill either with blanks for your Lordships to have filled them up; or have left you out wholly, to have inserted your own degrees and proportions (one of which we must have done if we had not proceeded as we did) it must of necessity have followed that your Lordships, contrary to the undoubted privilege of the same House, had originally granted aid and subsidy, and the Commons had but assented. Before that time, though not upon so great an occasion,

[3] [These miniated additions are here included between brackets.]

it was declared in parliament, as appears *in Rotulo Parliamenti de anno 5. R. II. n°.* 16. That the House of Commons are first to treat of matter of supply, to resolve upon it, and then to communicate their resolutions to the Peers. Now, my Lords, our resolutions are most properly couched in a bill; so as we did transmit the present grant of aid and supply to your Lordships, in the ancient and due form.

But perhaps your Lordships will say, you question not that general right we have of granting subsidies, that it is to receive its birth and being from the House of Commons; but that in this particular case of poll-money, you expect a particular satisfaction, and much more to see it proved, that the peerage of England were ever before rated in such a bill.

For the first, my Lords, this way is an ancient and a known way; it began in the time of that wise and victorious prince King Ed. III. as appears upon record *in Rotulo Parliamenti de anno* 51. *Ed. III. numero* 19. And I assure myself, near upon three hundred years continuance, is able to challenge both allowance and imitation from this present age.

During the reign of R. II. his grandchild, this course of raising money by the poll was again put in practice, as an advantageous and a speedy way. Your Lordships shall find one example of it in the Parliament Roll *de anno* 4. *R. II. n°.* 15. being almost the same with that rate and proportion granted in the time of Ed. III.

But that record which comes home to this case, and is an identical precedent in the very particular before your Lordships, to give you full satisfaction, is found *in Rotulo Parliamenti in Parliamento* 2. (for the miseries at home, and the calamities abroad, caused in one year sometimes two, sometimes three parliaments, in those elder times) *de anno* 2. *R. II. n°.* 14. where the dukes, earls, and barons, are all particularly rated; and the Duke of Bretagne is there assessed as a duke, though he were a free prince, and had only the title of Earl of Richmond in England. Nay, my Lords, the House of Commons at this time hath come far short of the same precedent, in favour of the noble ladies: for whereas the countess dowagers were there rated at the same proportions with earls, and the widows of barons at as high a rate as the barons themselves, we have now eased them of two parts of that, and only charged them with the third.

I hope, now your Lordships have seen both reason and precedent for our proceedings at this time, you will be pleased to believe that the House of Commons will be as careful and tender of your Lordships' rights and privileges, as of their own.

We know, my Lords, that this is the way to preserve peace and unity between us; which as it is always expedient, so is it at this time most necessary. For the two houses are as the two arms of the kingdom; if we hold fast together, we shall be able to accomplish great things worthy to be transmitted to after ages, but if we dissever and disunite, we may end in ruin and calamity."

So much of the said record as concerns the rating of the nobility and gentry is here added, it being presented thus ready written at the said conference.

Rot. Parliam. in Parliamento 2. *de an. R. II. n°.* 14.

Le Duc de Lancastre et le Duc de Bretaigne chescun a — x. markes, chescun Conte Dengleterre—iiij. l. Chescun Countesses veoves en Engleterre a tant come les Countes iiiij. l. Chescun Baron et Baneret ou Chivaler qui poet a tant dispendre—xl. s. Chescun Baronesse veove paiera come Baron et Banresse come le Baneret—xl. s. Chescun Bachiler et chescun esquier qui per le statute deveroit estre Chivaler—xx. s. Chescun veove Dame feme de Bachiler ou Esquier al afferant—xx. s. Chescun Esquire de meindre estate vj. s. viij. d. Chescun feme veove de tiel Esquire ou Marchant suffisant—vj. s. viij. d. Chescun Esquier nient possession de terres ne chateux quest en service ou ad este armes—iij. s. iiij. d.

Lachrymæ Sacerdotis. A Pindarick Poem, occasioned by the Death of that most excellent Princess, our late gracious sovereign Lady, Mary the Second, of glorious Memory. By Henry Park, Curate of Wentworth in Yorkshire.

London, Printed for John Dunton, at the Raven in Jewen-street, and are also to be sold by Edm. Richardson in the upper Court in Scalding-alley, near the Poultry Church, 1695.

[Quarto, Five Leaves.]

The writer of this posthumous tribute has well characterized our second Queen Mary as 'most excellent:' having proved herself, both during her life and at her death, an honour to her sex, and a credit to human nature, as Bishop Burnet has forcibly attested. She was the eldest daughter of James the Second, by his first wife, Anne Hyde, daughter of Lord Chancellor Clarendon; she married her first cousin, William Prince of Orange, Nov. 4, 1677; and died of the small-pox at Kensington-palace, Dec. 22, 1694, at the age of 32. Her personal graces and accomplishments were thus depicted by a noble author, in a pastoral poem occasioned by her decease.

'*High was her forehead, and serenely fair,*
'*Like Indian jess'mine opening to the air.*
'*Not the fam'd Græcian*[1] *queen, or Philomel,*[2]
'*Could her in rich embroidery excel.*
'*Ev'n vestals might of her have learn'd to live;*
'*Such rules Maria to her nymphs did give.*
'*A chearful sweetness ever did appear*
'*In her mild looks, as sacred fountains clear.*
'*Whene'er she spoke, whene'er Maria sung,*
'*All was divine that issued from her tongue;*
'*From whose blest lips a word ne'er slipt away,*
'*But what chaste nuns might at the altar say.*'
Musarum Deliciæ. By Edward Earl of Suffolk, 1728, *p.* 50.

Dunton, the publisher of this Pindaric Ode, has omitted to notice the author, in his Lives and Characters of a Thousand Persons, with whom he had professional connection or acquaintance. The tract is necessarily scarce, from its slenderness; and the Editor is indebted for it to the more than literary friendship of the Rev. Henry J. Todd, F.S.A. and Keeper of the Archives in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth.

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[1] [Penelope.]
[2] [It should here be recollected that Philomela, the hapless daughter of Pandion, revealed the history of her own misfortunes and the cruelty of Tereus, by working both on tapestry.]

A Pindaric Poem upon the Death of the Queen.

I.

FADING and fugitive, alas!
Is life and all its transient joys,
Which men pursue with big concern and noise:
Like posting shades they come and go,
Capriciously they ebb and flow,
As in their silver tides the fickle waters do,
Time's little envoys, that inhabit glass,[3]
With silent speed the moments pass,
Fleet in their brittle house they run,
With Heaven's antartic traveller, the sun:
They count his lucid journeys in the day,
And in the night pursue his absent ray:
Yet they, with all their pious haste,
With all their share of heels, scarce run so fast
As human life, that was, and is, and then—is past.

II.

To Nature's dark retreats we all must go,
Inexorable Fate will have it so;
The raw-bon'd archer hits us all:
Struck by his old victorious dart, we fall.
The pious, witty, fair and strong,
The snowy aged, and the fiery young,
They all must cross the sooty lake at last,
And the oblivious waters taste.
Ev'n they who by their high descended birth
Do personate the gods on earth;
The awful sons of purple majesty,
That wear the Tyrian[4] fishes livery,
They likewise, soon or late,
Must bend their consecrated heads to fate;
Wrapt up in dull narcotic lead,
A fit reception for the cold and dead,
In balmy urns they lie,
The aromatic spoils of Destiny.

III.

What head can hope to be
Exempted from mortality?
Who can secure their hov'ring breath,
When glorious Mary yields to death?
She in whom lustre, pomp, and grandeur shin'd,
And all the god-like gifts combin'd;
A graceful aspect and a port divine,
A female sweetness, courage masculine;

[3] [*Watches* are presumed to be here intended.]

[4] [Mr. Polwhele observes that the purple dye was produced from the shell-fish *purpura*, by which the Tyrians gained such high reputation among the ancients: but he expresses a reasonable doubt whether the simple blood of a fish could have proved a lasting dye. Hist. of Devon, vol. i. part i.]

Majestic dread, yet free address,
Awe, without superciliousness;
Kind clemency, and bright imperial mien,
All these united in her looks were seen:
Nor were the dowries of her soul
Less charming than her outward parts,
By both she purchas'd love, by both she gain'd our hearts.
Those immaterial wonders of the mind,
A well-form'd judgment and a wit refin'd,
A fortitude that made her stand sedate
Midst the convulsions of a giddy state,
A piety that breath'd seraphic flame,
Unsullied honour and a spotless fame,
A charity unbounded, large, and free,
Diffusive as the Deity!
All these basilic[5] graces in her met,
To make the saint elaborately great.

IV.

Whilst some, drunk with despotic sway, did try
To raise the scenes of hated tyranny;
Our charming regent strove
To govern, by the milder laws of love.
For well the gentle Empress knew,
That Mercy was the all-cementing glue
That stubborn crowds to chearful homage drew.
Even her foes, inhuman, fierce and rude,
She gain'd by all endearing mansuetude;[6]
And by pacific arts did try,
To make them blush at their disloyalty.
Thus safe; without the brawny Switz to guard,
Or the dull Teague to fill her Palace-yard;
She, the bright sex's ornament and pride,
Liv'd much belov'd, and more lamented died.
Leaving the British chronicles a name,
That shall to endless age her worth proclaim,
Borne on the never-molting wings of Fame.

V.

But though with gentle reins she rul'd us here,
Abroad she taught her foes to fear;
Like the mellifluous lion Sampson slew,
She had her strength as well as sweetness too;
So haughty Tourville[7] knew;
Who, when he came t'insult the British shore,
Proud of a triumph bought before,
She, in the greatest hazards, calmly brave,
Steadily constant, wise and grave,
With an intrepid Roman heart did hear
Th' amazing tidings, yet disdain'd to fear.

[5] [*Basilicus*, Gr. Royal, magnificent.]
[6] [*Mansuetudo*, Lat. Gentleness, meekness.]
[7] [On May 19, 1692, Admiral Russel, who commanded the English and Dutch fleets, entirely defeated the French fleet under Admiral Tourville: and the Queen sent £30,000 to be distributed among her sailors.]

She sent her fulminating navies out,
And Russel put the baffled Gaul to shameful rout.
With like success of old, Briareus strove
To vanquish all the deities above:
Jove and his goddess both survey'd the fight,
Resolving to maintain Elizium's right,
Vext at the many-handed man,
They hurl'd their powerful thunders once again;
And when they had the brandish'd vengeance thrown,
They quickly struck the bold aggressor down,
Rallied the routed gods, and bravely kept their own.

VI.

You, that with injudicious joy did wait,
To hear of Mary's mournful fate;
Leave off to be profanely rude,
Come, and see sorrow in its pulchritude;[8]
View in the British nymphs a noble strife,
Who should excel in more ingenuous grief;
Clad like the sunless world, in shades they go,
Yet bright they shine in their eclipses too;
Gracing afflictions, and adorning woe.
So when the queen[9] of probity was driven,
By men's unequal deeds, from earth to heaven;
Diana broke her silver bow,
And all the lovely Chastities below,
Knowing the goddess would no more return,
Put on their sables, and agreed to mourn.

VII.

But we in vain our pious woes relate;
Thin are the threads that fill the loom of fate;
Time deals with man, as man with trees,
He strikes the stately timber down,
And lets the ignominious weeds alone;
The trees of celsitude[10] receive his blow,
Whilst unaspiring shrubs rejoice, and grow.
Death loves to play at royal game,
Oft spares the rural homely dame,
And strikes the Queen of glory, worth, and fame!
Thus a large oak, that long had stood,
The top and ornament of all the wood,
Of each inferior tree,
The shelt'ring monarch he,
Struck by the unregarding axe, must lie,
On the cold surface, dead and dry,
And mourn'd by all the vegetable family.

[8] [*Pulchritudo*, Lat. Comeliness, becomingness.] [9] [Astræa.] [10] [*Celsitudo*, Lat. Loftiness.]

The Lives of the Three Normans, Kings of England: K. William the First, K. William the Second, and K. Henry the First. Written by J. H.

Improbè facit qui in alieno libro ingeniosus est. MART.

Imprinted at London by R. B. anno 1613.

[Quarto, containing 175 Pages.]

This is here continued from Vol. II. p. 438. *A contributor to the* 'Censura Literaria' *remarks, that the history of the Normans contains a very well-written account of the period during which they lived; it abounds in anecdotes, many of which are to be found in no other publication of the kind,*[1] *and is enriched with a variety of just remarks, as well on the actions and characters of those whom it is intended to display, as on the manners of the times during which they flourished. It has not, however, always been so favourably appreciated.*

KING WILLIAM the Victor, when he drew towards the end of his days, commended the kingdom of England to his second son William: with many blessings with many admonitions, with many prayers for the prosperous success of his succession. And, because the presence of the next successor is of greatest moment to establish affairs, the king (a little before his passage to death) dispatched him into England, with letters under his own seal, to Lanfranck then Archbishop of Canterbury: a man highly esteemed in foreign countries, but with the clergy and vulgar people of the realm his authority was absolute. In these letters the king expressed great affection and care towards his son William; commending him with many kind words, for his sufficiencies, for divers virtues; especially for that he did always stand firmly by him, always declare himself both a faithful subject and dutiful son. It was also conjectured by some, that the king was guided in this choice no less by his judgment, than by his affection, for that he esteemed the fierce disposition of his son William more fit to govern a people not well settled in subjection, than the flexible and mild nature of his eldest son Robert. So William taking his last leave of his father, who was then taking his last leave of this world, journeyed towards England; and in short time arrived at the port called Whitesand, where he received the first report of his father's death. Hereupon with all speed he posted to Lanfranck, delivered his father's letters, and forthwith was declared king, upon the 9th day of September, in the year 1087, and upon the first of October next ensuing was by the same Lanfranck, with all ceremonies and solemnities appertaining to that action, crowned at Westminster.

Robert, either by negligence and want of foresight, or by the perpetual malice of his destiny, or happily not without his father's contrivance, was absent in Germany, whilst his younger brother William did thus possess himself, both of the kingdom of his father, and of his treasure. Otherwise he wanted neither pretence nor purpose, nor favour of friends to have impeached his brother's proceedings. For it was then doubted by many, and since hath been by many debated; whether in any case, upon any cause or consideration whatsoever, a king hath power to disinherit his eldest son, and to appoint another to succeed in his estate.

[1] [But query, how could Sir John Hayward become possessed of anecdotes of this period not related by previous historians and biographers? The assertion will admit of some dubitation.]

That a king may advance any of his sons to be his successor, without respect of priority in birth, there seemeth to want neither warrant of example, nor weight of authority. David a man greatly proved and approved by God, did prefer Solomon to succeed him, before his eldest son Adonia.[2] And in like sort Rehoboam the son of Solomon,[3] appointed the youngest of all his sons to succeed him in the kingdom. So some lawyers affirm,[4] that a king may determine in his life, which of his sons shall reign after him.

But this must be understood, either when a state is newly raised to the title of a kingdom, er else when by conquest, usurpation, or some other means of change, the government thereof is newly transferred from one stem to another: for then because there is no certain law or custom of succession in force, the right seemeth to depend upon the disposition of the prince. And yet even in this case, the eldest or nearest cannot be excluded without just cause. For so when Jacob deprived his eldest son Reuben of his privilege of birth,[5] he expressed the cause, for that he had defiled his father's bed; which fact of his Hierome applieth to the case in question. So when Ptolemy[6] the first king of Egypt commended the state to his youngest son, he yielded a reason for that which he did. So Henry the fourth emperor, crowned Henry his youngest son king, rejecting Conrade his eldest son, for that he had borne arms against him, and joined in league with his open enemies.

But when by express law or long grounded custom the succession of a state is established to the eldest son, the best approved interpreters of the canon and civil law do conclude,[7] that the father hath no power to invert or pervert that course of order. For parents may debar their children of that which proceedeth from themselves, of that which dependeth upon their appointment; but of that which is due by nature, by the immutable law of the state, the parents can have no power to dispose.[8] When, by a fundamental law or custom of state, succession is annexed to the dignity of a crown, according to priority in birth; it followeth, that so soon as the first born commeth into light, the right of succession is fixed in him; not in hope only, but also in habit; whereof neither the father nor any other can dispossess him.[9]

And therefore when Prusias[10] intended to deprive his eldest son Nicomedes of his prerogative of birth, and to prefer his younger sons, which he had by another wife, in succession before him, he could not assure it by any means, but by determining the death of Nicomedes; which Nicomedes to prevent, dispoiled his father both of kingdom and of life. Ptolemy[11] the first King of Egypt of that name, who after the death of Alexander the Great possessed himself of Egypt, and part of Arabia, and of Africa, left his kingdom to the youngest of his sons: but afterwards when Ptolemy, surnamed Phiscon,[12] upon the importunity of his wife Cleopatra, attempted the like, the kingdom being then settled in succession, the people opposed, and reversed his order after his death. So Pepin[13] after he had made seizure of the kingdom of France, and ordered all things which he thought necessary for the surety thereof, disposed the succession therein by his testament; leaving the realm of Noyonne to his son Charles, and to Charlemaigne his other son the realm of Soissons. The like was done by some other of the first kings of his race. But since that time the custom hath been strongly established, that the kingdom passeth entirely to the eldest son, and possessions are assigned to the rest under the name of appanage.[14] And therefore the French writers affirm, that the eldest son of France cannot be deprived of succession, upon any cause of ingratitude against his parents; and that if the king should

[2] 3 Reg. i. and ii. [3] 2 Paral. ii.
[4] Bald. in proæm. decr. § rex. nu. ii. Archid. 2. q. 7. § item objicitur.
[5] Gen. 49. [6] Just. lib. 16.
[7] Host. Io. And. Collect. Pet. Anch. Anto. Imo. Card. Flo. et fere omnes in c. licet de Voto.
[8] L. si arrogator. D. de Arrog. l. 3. de interd. et rel.
[9] Io. And. in c. significasti de fo. comp. Pan. cons. 85. li. i. Molin. consuet. Paris. tit. 1. §. 85. gl. 3. q. 2. infi.
[10] Just. lib. 34. [11] Ib. 16. [12] Pausan. lib. i. Justin. lib. 39.
[13] Girard. lib. i. de l'estate.
[14] D. Benedict. in rep. c. Rainutius Verb. in eodem testamento le. i. nu. 209.

institute his eldest son,[15] yet cannot he take the kingdom by force of his father's gift, but only by the immutable law of the realm. Yea, Girard writeth of Charles the Simple,[16] that he was King of France before he was born. And in this regard the glossographer upon the decrees[17] noteth, that the son of a king may be called king during the life of his father, as wanting nothing but administration. And the same also doth Servius note out of Virgil, where he saith of Ascanius: *regemque requirunt*, his father Æneas being then alive.

Now then, for the right of succession to the crown of England was not at that time so surely settled as it hath been since; but had waved in long uncertainty: First, in the heptarchy of the Saxons and English, afterward between the English and the Danes, and was then newly possessed by the Norman, and that chiefly by the sword: for that also Robert the king's eldest son gave just cause of offence, by bearing arms against his father; it may seem that the king might lawfully direct the succession to his second son. And yet, because as Herodotus saith,[18] 'It is a general custom amongst all men, that the first in 'birth is next in succession;' because as Baldus affirmeth,[19] *Semper fuit et semper erit, &c.* 'Always it hath been, and always it shall be, that the first born succeedeth in 'a kingdom;' because as St. Hierome,[20] writeth, 'A kingdom is due unto the first born;' and as St. Chrysostom saith,[21] 'The first born is to be esteemed more honourable than 'the rest;' whereupon divers lawyers observe, that the word *senior* is oftentimes taken for a lord.[22] Lastly, because this precedency both in honour, and in right seemeth to be the law of all nations, derived from the law of nature, and expressly either instituted or approved by the voice of God: first, where he said to Cain of his younger brother Abel; 'His desires shall be subject to thee, and thou shalt have dominion over him:'[23] secondly, where he forbiddeth the father to disinherit the first son of his double portion, because by right of birth it is due unto him:[24] lastly, where he maketh choice of the first born to be sanctified and consecrated to himself;[25] it hath almost never happened that this order hath been broken, that the nearest have been excluded from succession in state, but it hath been followed with tragical events.

Yea, albeit the eldest son be unfit to bear rule, albeit he be unable to govern either others or himself; as if he be in a high degree furious, or foolish, or otherwise defective in body or in mind, (unless he degenerate from human condition) yet can he not therefore be excluded from succession: because it is due unto him, not in respect of ability, but by reason of his priority of birth.[26] As for the kingdom, it shall better be preserved by the government of a protector (as in divers like causes it is both usual and fit) than by receiving another prince: as well for other respects,[27] as for that by cutting off continuance in the royal descent, by interrupting the settled order of government, by making a breach in so high a point of state, opportunity is opened both for domestical disturbances, and for invasions from abroad: whereupon greater inconveniences do usually ensue, than did ever fall by insufficiency of a prince. For if these pretences may be allowed for good, what aspiring subject, what encroaching enemy, finding themselves furnished with means, will not be ready to rise into ambitious hopes? Gabriel, the younger brother of the house of Saluse, kept his eldest brother in prison, usurped his estate, giving forth to the people that he was mad. And seldom hath any usurpation happened, but upon pretence of insufficiency in government. Assuredly, if these principal points of principality be not punctually observed, the joints of a state are loosened, the foundation is shaken, the gates are opened for all disorders, to rise up, to rush in, to prosper, to prevail.

[15] Io. de terr. Rub. concl. 9. 10. 11. 12.
[16] Li. i. de l'estate de France.
[17] In c. ult. 24. q. 1.
[18] In Polyhim.
[19] L. ex hoc D. de Just. et jure.
[20] In Epist. ad Onagr. et in gen. 49.
[21] Chrys. hom. 5. advers. Judæos.
[22] Clo. Pan. in. c. i. de cens. Luc. Pen. in l. decurio. c. de decu. lib. 10.
[23] Gen. iv. 7.
[24] Deut. xxi. 17.
[25] Exo. 13. et 22. et 34. Levit. 27. Num. 3. et 8. et 18. Neh. 10. Ezech. 44. Luc. ii. 23.
[26] Io. Ign. in. qu. An. Rex. Franciæ recognoscat superiorem. col. 28. Ang. in. l. cum Pretor. § non autem. D. de Judi. Jas. in l. nemo D. de leg. 1.
[27] L. i. c. de tut. vel. cur. Illustr. c. grandi. de sup. negl. præl.

Hereupon Medon, the eldest son of Codrus,[28] albeit he was lame and otherwise defective, was by sentence of the oracle of Apollo preferred to succeed his father in the kingdom of Athens, before Neleus his younger brother. So when Alexandrides king of Sparta[29] left two sons, Cleomenes the eldest, distracted in wits, and Doricus the youngest, both able and inclined to all actions of honour; the Spartans acknowledged Cleomenes for their king. Agisilaus the famous king of Sparta was also lame, as Plutarch and Prob. Æmilius do report;[30] Orosius saith, that the Spartans did rather choose to have their king halt, than their kingdom. And therefore when Lisander[31] moved them to decree, that the worthiest and not always the next in blood of the line of Hercules should reign, he found no man to second his advice. Aristobulus and Hircanus[32] after a long and cruel contention for the kingdom of Jewry, committed their controversy to the arbitrement of Pompey: Hircanus alledged, that he was the eldest brother; Aristobulus objected, that Hircanus was insufficient to govern: but Pompey gave judgment for Hircanus. The like judgment did Annibal[33] give for the kingdom of that country which is now called Savoy; restoring Brancus to his state, from which he had been expelled by his younger brother.[34] And although Pirrhus[35] did appoint that son to succeed, whose sword had the best edge; yet was the eldest acknowledged, who bare the least reputation for valour.

Ladislaus King of Hungary[36] left by his brother Geysa two nephews; Colomannus the eldest, who was lame, bunch-backed, crab-faced, blunt-sighted, blear-eyed, a dwarf, a stammerer, and (which is more) a priest; and Almus the youngest, a man of comely presence, and furnished with many princely virtues: in regard of these natural prerogatives Ladislaus appointed Almus to succeed; but in regard of the prerogative in blood, the Hungarians received Colomannus for their king. Barbatius writeth,[37] that Galeace Duke of Milan did oftimes express his grief, for that he could not prefer in succession Philip Maria his youngest son, before John his eldest; for that he seemed the most sufficient to undertake the manage of the state. Girard[38] affirmeth that it hath been the custom of the French, to honour their kings whatsoever they are; whether wise or foolish, valiant or weak; esteeming the name of king to be sacred by whomsoever it be borne. And therefore they obeyed not only Charles the Simple, but Charles the Sixth also; who reigned many years in plain distraction of his mind. It was an ancient custom in Scotland, that the most sufficient of the blood of Fergusus was received for king; but such wars, murders, and other mischiefs did thereupon ensue, that a law was made under Kenet the Third, and afterwards confirmed by Millcolumbus, that the nighest in blood should always succeed. And accordingly the Scots refused not for their king John the eldest son of Robert the Second, albeit he was born out of marriage, and did halt, and was both in wit and in courage dull.[39]

For what if he who is debarred for disability shall afterward have a son free from all defects? It is without question that the right of the kingdom should devolve unto him:[40] for that the calamity of parents doth not prejudice their children, especially in their natural rights, which they may claim from the person of former ancestors. But what if another be in possession of the kingdom? will he readily give place to this right? will he readily abandon that honour, for which men will not spare, to climb over all difficulties, to undergo all dangers; to put their goods, their lives, their souls in adventure?[41] If a man be once mounted into the chair of majesty, it standeth not, I will not say with his dig-

[28] Herod. in Terpsych. [29] Herod. ibidem Pausan. lib. 7.
[30] Plut. Æmil. in ejus vita. Oros. lib. iii. cap. 2. [31] Plut. in Lisandr.
[32] Joseph. Ant. 14. cap. 1. [33] Liv. lib. 1. 2. belli Punici. [34] Allobroges.
[35] Plut. in ejus vita. [36] Mich. Riccius. [37] Cons. 20. lib. 2.
[38] De l'estate de France, lib. 1.
[39] Only the Persians had rather a superstition than a law, that no man might be king who had but one eye: for which cause Cosroes the son of Cabades was preferred before Bozi his elder brother. Procop. lib. 1.
[40] Bald. cons. 389. l. 1. Socin. cons. 47. l. 3. Card. Alex. in c. 1. tit. an. mut. vel imperfect. And. Isern. in c. ult. tit. episc. vel. Abb.
[41] L. ult. D. de senat. l. 3. D. de interd. et rel. l. 2. c. de libert. et eo. lib. l. Divi. D. de jure patr. l. quæritur. D. de bo. lib. Pan. cons. 85. l. 1. Io. And. in c. significasti. de fo. comp.

nity, but with his safety, to betake himself to a private state; as well for the eternal jealousy wherein he shall be held, as for the envy which shall be borne against him upon many of his actions: so as what some few would not do for ambition, the same they must do to preserve themselves. Hereupon it will follow, that the possession of the kingdom being in one, and the right in another; disunions, factions, wars may easily ensue.

It is inconvenient (I grant) to be under a king who is defective in body or in mind; but it is a greater inconvenience, by disturbing a settled form of government, to open an entrance for all disorders; wherein ambition and insolency (two riotous humours) may range at large. For as evil is generally of that nature, that it cannot stand, but by supportance of another evil; and so multiplieth in itself, until it doth ruin with the proper weight: so minds having once exceeded the strict bounds of obedience, cease not to strengthen one boldness by another, until they have involved the whole state in confusion.

BUT now to return to the person and government of this King William. He was a man of mean stature, thick and square bodied, his belly swelling somewhat round; his face was red, his hair deeply yellow, by reason whereof he was called Rufus; his forehead four square like a window, his eyes spotted and not one like the other; his speech unpleasant and not easily uttered, especially when he was moved with anger. He was of great ability in body, as well for natural strength as for hardiness to endure all ordinary extremities both of travail and of want. In arms he was both expert and adventurous; full of inward bravery and fierceness; never dismayed, always forward, and for the most part fortunate: in counsel sudden, in performance a man; not doubting to undertake any thing which invincible valour durst promise to achieve. He had been bred with the sword; always in action, always on the favourable hand of fortune: so as, albeit he was but young, yet was he in experience well grounded; for invention subtle, in counsel quick, in execution resolute; wise to foresee a danger, and expedite to avoid it. In a word, the general reputation of his valour and celerity, made him esteemed one of the best chieftains in his time.

His behaviour was variable and inconstant; earnest in every present passion, and for the most part accompanying the disposition of his mind, with outward demonstrations. Of nature he was rough, haughty, obstinate, invincible, which was much enlarged both by his sovereignty and youth: so singular in his own conceit, that he did interpret it to his dishonour, that the world should deem that he did not govern by his own judgment. In public he composed his countenance to a stately terror; his face sourly swelling, his eyes truculent, his voice violent and fierce, scarce thinking himself majestical in the glass of his understanding, but when he flashed fear from his presence. And yet in private he was so affable and pleasant, that he approached near the degree of levity: much given to scoffing, and passing over many of his evil actions with a jest. In all the other carriages of his life, he maintained no stable and constant course; but declared himself for every present, as well in virtue as in vice, strong, violent, extreme.

In the beginning of his reign he was esteemed a most accomplished prince; and seemed not so much of power to bridle himself from vice, as naturally disposed to abhor it. Afterwards, either with variation of times, or yielding to the pleasures which prosperity useth to engender even in moderate minds, or perhaps his nature beginning to disclose that which he had cunningly concealed before, corruptions crept up, and he waved uncertainly between virtue and vice. Lastly, being emboldened by evil teachers, and by continuance both of prosperity and rule, he is said to have made his height a privilege of looseness, and to have abandoned himself to all licentious demeanour; wherein he seemed little to regard God, and nothing man.

Assuredly, there is no greater enemy to great men, than too great prosperity in their affairs; which taketh from them all judgment and rule of themselves; which maketh them full of liberty, and bold to do evil. And yet I cannot conceive that this king was so bold, so careless, so shameless in vices, as many writers do report. It is certain that he doubted of some points of religion, at that time without any great contradiction pro-

fessed; and namely, of praying to saints, worshipping of relics, and such like. It is certain also, that out of policy in state, he endeavored to abate the tumorous greatness of the clergy at that time; as well in riches, as in authority and power with the people: and that he attributed not so much to the see of Rome, as divers kings before him had done. Insomuch as he restrained his subjects from going to Rome, and withheld the annual payment of Peter pence, and was oftentimes heard to give forth, that 'they follow not the trace 'of St. Peter, they greedily gape after gifts and rewards, they retain not his power, whose 'piety they do not imitate.' These were causes sufficient for the writers of his time (who were for the most part clergymen) to enlarge his vices beyond the truth, to surmise many vices untruly, to wrest his true virtues to be vices.

And this I do the rather conjecture, for that I do not find his particular actions of like nature, with the general imputation which is cast upon him; for that also I find the chief of these general imputations to be these: 'That he was grievous to the church, of no de-'votion to God, preferring respect of temporal state before the rules of the gospel.'[42] Verily, it is hard to do that which will bear a clear beauty in the eyes of all men; and if our actions have not the favour of time, and the opinion of those men who do estimate and report them, they are much dimmed with disgrace.[43] Out of all doubt he was a magnanimous prince, merciful and liberal, and in martial affairs most expert, diligent and prosperous; wise to contrive his best advantage, and most courageous to achieve it. But two things chiefly obscured his glory; one, the incomparable greatness of his father, to whom he did immediately succeed; the other was the prowess of those men, against whom he did contend in arms; especially of Malcolm King of Scots, and of Robert Duke of Normandy. To these I may add, that he died in the principal strength and flourish of his age, before his judgment had full command over his courage.

Many do attribute his excellent beginnings to Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury: who during the time of his life, partly by authority, and partly by advice, supported the unstable years and disposition of the king: which after the death of Lanfranc returned by degrees to their proper sway. But I do rather attribute many of his first virtues to the troubles which happened in the very entrance of his reign; which partly by employment, and partly by fear, held his inclination in some restraint. For Odo Bishop of Bayon and Earl of Kent, the king's uncle by the mother's side, had drawn the greatest part of all the prelates and nobility that were Normans, into a dangerous confederacy against the King; to deject him from his state, and to advance Robert his elder brother for their king.

The secret cause of this conspiracy was partly upon a general discontentment, at the great, though worthy estimation and authority (a most capital offence in the eye of envy) of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury; by means whereof many of the conspirators lived in far meaner reputation, than their ambitious minds could easily break: but chiefly it was upon a more particular grudge, which Odo did bear against the same Lanfranc; because by his persuasion, Odo had been committed to prison by King William the elder. For when the king complained to Lanfranc of the intolerable both avarice and ambition of his brother Odo, the archbishop gave advice, that he should be restrained of his liberty. And when the king doubted, how he being a bishop, might be committed to prison, without impeaching the privileges of the church; "indeed (answered Lanfranc) you may not imprison the Bishop of Bayon, but you may do what you please with the Earl of Kent."

The public and open pretences were these. Robert Duke of Normandy had the prerogative of birth; which being a benefit proceeding from nature, could not be reversed by his father's act. He had also won a most honourable reputation for his military virtues; and had by many travels of war wasted the wild follies of youth. He was no less famous for courtesy and liberality, two most amiable ornaments of honour; being so de-

[42] Nubrig. lib. i. ca. 3.

[43] *Nihil est quod male narrando non possit depravarier.* Ter. in Enn.

sirous that no man should depart discontented from him, that he would oftentimes promise more than he was able to perform, and yet perform more than his estate could expediently afford. As for King William, besides that he was the younger brother, his nature was held to be doubtful and suspect, and the judgment of most men inclined to the worst. "And what are we then advantaged, (said they) by the death of his father; if whom he hath fleeced, this shall flay; if this shall execute those whom he hath fettered and surely bound; if after his severities that are past, we shall be freshly charged with those rigours, which tyrants in the height and pride of their fortune are wont to use?" And as stronger combinations are always made between men drawn together by one common fear, then between those that are joined by hope or desire; so upon these jealousies and fears, accompanied also with vehement desires, the confederates supposed that they had knit a most assured league.

Now it happened that at the time of the death of William the Elder, Robert his eldest son was absent in Almaine; and at once heard both of the death of his father, and that his brother William was acknowledged to be king. Hereupon in great haste, but greater heat both of anger and ambition, he returned into Normandy: and there whilst he was breathing forth his discontentment and desire of revenge, he received a message from the confederates in England; that with all speed he should come over unto them, to accomplish the enterprise, to furnish their forces with a head: that they had no want of able bodies; they wanted no means to maintain them together; they wanted only his person both to countenance and conduct them. The duke thought it no wisdom, to adventure himself altogether; upon the favour and faith of discontented persons: and he had been so loosely liberal before, that he was unprovided of money, to appoint himself with any competent forces of his own. Hereupon he pawned a part of Normandy to his brother Henry, for waging soldiers: many also flocked voluntarily unto him; upon inducement, that he who of his own nature was most liberal and full of humanity, would not fail both of pay and reward, unless by reason of disability and want.

In the mean time the confederates resolved to break forth in arms, in divers parts of the realm at once; upon conceit, that if the king should endeavour to repress them in one place, they might more easily prevail in the other. And so accordingly Odo fortified and spoiled in Kent; Geoffrey Bishop of Exeter, with his nephew Robert Mowbray Earl of Northumberland, at Bristol; Roger Montgomery in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire; Hugh de Grandmenill, in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire; William Bishop of Durham, in the north parts of the realm; divers others of the clergy and nobility in Herefordshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, and all the countries adjoining to Wales. And as in time of pestilence all diseases turn to the plague; so in this general tumult, all discontentments sorted to rebellion. Many who were oppressed with violence or with fear; many who were kept lower either by want or disgrace than they had set their mounting minds, adjoined daily to the side, and increased both the number and the hope. And thus was all the realm in a ruinous rage against King William, who wanted neither courage to bear, nor wisdom to decline it.

And first he endeavoured by all means to make the English assured unto him. And albeit few of them were at that time in any great place, either of credit or of charge, but were all wounded by his father's wrongs; yet for that they were the greatest part, he made the greatest reckoning of them. For this cause he released many English lords who had been committed to custody by his father. He composed himself to courtesy and affability towards the people, and distributed much treasure among them. But especially he won their inclination by promises of great assurance, to restore unto them their ancient laws, to ease them of tributes and taxations, and to permit them free liberty of hunting: which being their principal pleasure and exercise before, was either taken away, or much restrained from them by King William the elder. Herewith he applied himself to appease the mutinous minds of his nobility, to sever the confederates, to break the faction; to divide it first, and thereby to defeat it.

To this purpose he dealt with Roger Montgomery, who next unto Odo was a principal both countenance and strength to the revolt; he dealt also with divers others, inferior unto him in authority and degree; that he could not conjecture for what cause they were so violent against him: did they want money? His father's treasure was at their devotion: desired they increase of possessions? they should not be otherwise bounded than by their own desires: that he would willingly also give over his estate, in case it should be judged expedient by themselves, whom his father had put in trust to support him: that they should do well to foresee, whether by overthrowing his father's judgment in appointing the kingdom unto him, they should not do that which might be prejudicial to themselves; for the same man who had appointed him to be king, had also conferred unto them those honours and possessions which they held. Thus sometimes dealing privately with particulars, and sometimes with many together, and eftsoons filling them with promises and hopes, and that with such new vehemency of words as they believed could not proceed from dissembled intents; he so prevailed in the end, that hereby, and by example of some inducing the rest, Roger Montgomery and divers others were reconciled to the king; in whom was thought to rest no small matter to hold up the reputation of the enterprise.

And further he prepared a navy to guard the seas, and to impeach the passage of his brother into England. He prepared great forces also by means of the treasure which his father had left, and disposed them in places convenient, either to prevent or to repress these scattered tumults. But the success of his affairs was by no means so much advanced, as by Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury, and by Woolstane Bishop of Worcester: the authority of which two men, the one for his learning, wisdom, and mild moderation, the other for his simple sanctity and integrity of life, was greatly regarded by all sorts of people. By encouragement of Woolstane not only the city of Worcester was maintained in firm condition for the king, but his enemies received there a famous foil; the greatest part being slain, and the residue dispersed. This was the first sad blow which the confederates took; afterward they declined mainly, and the king as mainly did increase.

The king in person led his chief forces into Kent, against Odo his uncle, the principal firebrand of all this flame. He took there the castle of Tunbridge and of Pemsey, which Odo had fortified: and lastly he besieged Odo himself in the castle of Rochester, and with much travail took him prisoner, and compelled him to abjure the realm. Upon these events, the Bishop of Durham, advising only with fear and despair, fled out of the realm; but after three years he was again restored to the dignity of his see. The residue did submit themselves to the king's discretion; and were by him received, all to pardon, some to gracious and dear account. For in offences of so high nature, pardon never sufficeth to assure offenders, unless by further benefits their loyalty be bound.

Robert Duke of Normandy was busied all this time, in making preparation for his journey into England: but his delays much abated the affections of those who favoured either his person or cause. At the length, having made up a competent power, he committed to sea; where, his infelicities concurring with his negligence, divers of his ships which he had sent somewhat before him, to assure the confederates of his approach, were set upon and surprised by the navy of King William. After this he arrived in England, sent unto many of his secret friends, and made his coming known unto all: but no man resorted to him, he received no advertisement from any man; but plainly found, that by the fortunate celerity of King William, the heart of the conspiracy in all places was broken. So the duke returned into Normandy, having then good leisure, to look into the error of his leisurely proceedings.

When the king had in this sort either wisely reconciled, or valiantly repressed his domestical enemies; because an unperfect victory is always the seed of a new war, he followed his brother with a mighty army, and removed the seat of the war into Normandy. For he conjectured (as in truth it fell out) that the duke his brother upon his return, would presently disperse his companies, for want of money; and for the same

cause would not easily be able to draw them together again. So his valour and his power being much advantaged by his sudden coming, joined to the want of foresight and preparation in the duke, he took in short time the castles of Walerick and Aubemarle, with the whole country of Eu; the abbacy of Mount St. Michael, Fescampe, Chereburg, and divers other places; which he furnished with men of arms, and soldiers of assured trust.

The duke feeling his own weakness, dealt with Philip King of France, and by liberal promises so prevailed with him, that he descended into Normandy with a fair army, and bent his siege against one of those places which King William had taken. But he found it so knotty a piece of work, that in short time wearied with hardness and hazards of the field, he fell to a capitulation with King William, and so departed out of Normandy; receiving a certain sum of money in regard of his charges, and conceiving that he had won honour enough, in that no honour had been won against him.

The money that was paid to the King of France, was raised in England by this devise. King William commanded that twenty thousand men should be mustered in England, and transported into Normandy, to furnish his wars against the French. When they were conducted near to Hastings, and almost ready to be embarked, it was signified to them from the king; that as well for their particular safeties, as not to disfurnish the realm of strength, whosoever would pay ten shillings towards the waging of soldiers in Normandy, he might be excused to stay at home. Among twenty thousand scarce any was found, who was not joyful to embrace the condition; who was not ready to redeem his adventure with so small a sum: which being gathered together, was both a surer and easier means to finish the wars, than if the king had still struggled by force of arms. For when the French king had abandoned the party, Duke Robert, being prepared neither with money, nor constancy of mind to continue the war, inclined to peace; which at the last, by diligence of friends, was concluded between the two brothers, upon these conditions.

'That the duke should yield to the king the county of Eu, the abbey of Fescampe, the 'abbey of St. Michael's Mount, Chereburge, and all other castles and fortifications which 'the king had taken.

'That the king should subdue to the use of the duke, all other castles and holds, which 'had revolted from him in Normandy.

'That the king should give to the duke certain dignities and possessions in England.

'That the king should restore all those to their dignities and lands in England, who had 'taken part with the duke against him.

'That if either of them should die without issue male, the survivor should succeed in his 'estate.'

These articles were confirmed by twelve barons on the king's part, and as many on the part of the duke; so long observed, as either of them wanted either power or pretence to disannull them.

This peace being made, the duke used the aid of King William to recover the fort of Mount St. Michael, which their brother Henry did forcibly hold, for the money which he had lent to the Duke of Normandy. Forty days they laid siege to this castle; having no hope to carry it, but by the last necessity, which is hunger. Within the compass of this time, as the king straggled alone upon the shore, certain horsemen sallied forth and charged upon him; of whom three struck him together so violently with their lances, as because he could not be driven out of his saddle, together with his saddle he was cast upon the ground, and his horse slain upon the place, for which he had paid the same day fifteen marks. Extremity of danger (as it often happeneth) took from the king all fear of danger: wherefore taking up his saddle with both his hands, he did therewith defend himself for a time. But because to stand upon defence only is always unsure, he drew his sword, and would not depart one foot from his saddle; but making shew of brave joy, that he had nothing to trust unto but his own valour, he defended both his saddle and himself, till rescue came. Afterward when some of his soldiers in blaming manner expos-

tulated with him, wherefore he was so obstinate to save his saddle, his answer was, that a king should lose nothing which he can possibly save: 'It would have angred me, (said 'he) at the very heart, that the knaves should have bragged, that they had won the saddle 'from me.' And this was one of his perpetual felicities, to escape easily out of desperate dangers.

In the end Henry grew to extreme want of water, and other provisions: by which means he was ready to fall into the hands of those, who desired to avoid necessity to hurt him. And first he sent to the duke his brother, to request some liberty to take in fresh water. The duke sent to him a tun of wine, and granted a surcease of hostility for one day, to furnish him with water. At this the king seemed discontented, as being a means to prolong the war. But the duke told him, that it had been hard to deny a brother a little water for his necessity. Herewith likewise the king relenting, they sent for their brother Henry; and wisdom prevailing more than injuries or hate, they fell to an agreement, that upon a day appointed, Henry should receive his money at Rouen; and that in the mean time, he should hold the country of Constantine in mortgage. The king entertained with pay many of his brother Henry's soldiers; especially he received those who overthrew him, to a very near degree of favour. And thus all parties ordered their ambition with great modesty; the custom of former wars running in a course of more humanity, than since they have done.

The king was the more desirous to perfect these agreements of peace, for that Malcolm King of Scots (as princes often times make use of the contentions of their neighbours) took occasion upon these confusions, to enterprise upon the parts of England which confined upon him. So as he invaded Northumberland, made great spoil, took much prey, carried away many prisoners; whose calamity was the more miserable, for that they were to endure servitude in a hard country. For this cause the king with his accustomed celerity returned into England, accompanied with the Duke of Normandy his brother; and led a mighty army against the Scots by land, and sent also a navy to infest them by sea. But by a sudden and stiff storm, by a hideous confusion of all ill-disposed weather, his ships were cruelly crushed; and having long wrought against the violence and rage of the tempest, were in the end dispersed, and divers of them cast away. Many of his soldiers also perished, partly by penury and want, and partly by the evil qualitied air.

Notwithstanding the Scots, knowing the King of England to be an enemy mighty and resolute, began to waver in their assurance: framing fearful opinions, of the number, valour and experience of his army. Hereupon some overtures of peace were made; the Scots expecting that the king, by reason of his late losses, would be the more moderate in his demands. But he then shewed himself most resolute and firm; following his natural custom, not to yield to any difficulty. King Malcolm conjecturing that such confidence could not be without good cause, consented at the last to these conditions.

'That King Malcolm should make a certain satisfaction for the spoils which he had done 'in England.

'That King William should restore to him certain lands in England.

'That King Malcolm should do homage to King William.'

Now the day was come wherein Henry was appointed to receive his money at Rouen, from the Duke of Normandy. But as affairs of princes have great variations, so they are not always constant in their counsels. And so the duke, carried by his occasions, and ready to lay down his faith and word more to the train of times, then to the preservation of his honour; instead of paying the money, committed his brother Henry to prison: from whence he could not be released, until he renounced the county of Constantine, and bound himself by oath never to claim any thing in Normandy.

Henry complained hereof to Philip King of France; who gave him a fair entertainment in his court, but was content rather to feed than finish the contention: either expecting thereby some opportunity to himself, or else the opinion of his own greatness not suffering him to fear, that others might grow to have fortune against him. Henry had

not long remained in the court of France, but a Norman knight named Hacharde conveyed him disguised into Normandy; where the Castle of Damfronç was delivered unto him; and in short time after he got all the country of Passays, and a good part of Constantine; either without resistance, or without difficulty and peril.

Hereupon the duke levied his forces, and earnestly assayed to recover Damfronç: but then he found that his brother Henry was secretly, yet surely underset by the King of England. Hereupon, incensed with the fury of an injured mind, he exclaimed against his brother of England, and almost proclaimed him a violator of his league. On the other side, the King of England justified his action, for that he was both a means and a party to the agreement: and therefore stood bound in honour, not only to urge, but enforce performance. So the flame broke forth more furious than it was before, and over went King William with an able army; where he found the duke also in good condition of strength commanding the field. And albeit in so near approach of two mighty enemies, equal both in ambition and power, it is hard to contain men of service; yet was nothing executed between them, but certain light skirmishes, and surprizements of some places of defence. In the end, the king hearing of new troubles in England, and the duke finding himself unable either to prevail with few soldiers, or to maintain many, and both distrusting to put a speedy end to the war; they were easily drawn to capitulations of peace. And thus ended the contention between these brethren; who until this time had continued like the waves of the sea, always in motion, and one beating against the other.

Besides these businesses which befel the king, against his nobility, against the Duke of Normandy his brother, and against the king and nation of the Scots; the Welshmen also (who always struggled for liberty and revenge) perceiving that the king was often absent, and much entangled with hostile affairs; enforced the favour of that advantage, to free themselves from subjection of the English, and happily to enlarge or enrich themselves upon them. So having both desire and opportunity, they wanted not means to assemble in arms, to expel the English that were amongst them, and to cast down the castles erected in their country, as the principal yokes of their subjection. Afterwards, rising in boldness with success, they made divers incursions upon the bordering parts of England; spoiled the city of Gloucester, and exercised all those outrages, which uncivil people, incensed both with want and with hate do not usually omit. But being a company neither in discipline nor pay, raw and unarmed, they proceeded more like to robbers than to soldiers; having no intention to vanquish, but to spoil.

Hereupon the king twice in person invaded Wales, but with small shew of success for the present. For the Welsh enemies scattered the war, by dividing themselves into small companies, and retiring into the mountains and woods, and other places of natural defence. Here they travailed the king with a fugitive fight; flying when they were pursued, and hovering upon him when they were given over: cutting off many straggling soldiers, and taking some carriages, which in those rough places could not easily either be passed or defended. And so by shifting always into places of advantage, they sought at one time, both to avoid fighting, and to hinder the king from doing any thing of importance. At the last, the king having made sufficient proof how vain it is, to follow a light footed enemy with a heavy army, pestered with train of carriage, in places where the service of horsemen is almost unprofitable; he gave over the pursuit, and retired into England. But first he repaired those castles which the Welsh had destroyed, and built new castles also upon the frontiers and within the bosom of Wales; which he furnished with so sure garrisons, as might suffice with favour of opportunity, either to weary or consume the enemy.

And indeed the Welsh, being by this means, always exercised, and daily wasted; declined in short time, no less to cowardice than to weariness and want; so as Hugh Earl of Chester, and Hugh Earl of Shrewsbury, dispossessed them of the Isle of Anglesey, which they had surprised not long before. The Welsh that were there taken, were very hardly, or rather unmercifully and cruelly entreated; some had their eyes pulled out, some their hands cut off, some their arms, some their noses, some their genitals. An aged priest

named Kenredus, who had been a chief director of the common affairs, was drawn out of a church whereinto he had fled, had one of his eyes pulled out, and his tongue torn from his throat. I make no doubt but these severities were used against them, upon some savage outrages which they had done; wherein the less compassion was borne to their calamities, for the cowardice which they shewed in their own defence.

Shortly after, Magnus, King of Norway, the son of Olaus, the son of Harold Harfager, having brought the isles of Orkney under his dominion, subdued also from the Welsh the Isle of Man; and enterprised upon the Isle of Anglesey against the English. But at his landing he was encountered by the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Chester; in which fight the Norwegians were vanquished and repelled, but the Earl of Shrewsbury with too brave boldness lost his life: leaving his honourable both actions and end as an excellent ornament to his posterity. Afterwards the Earl of Chester led an army into Wales; and found the people so consumed by the English garrisons, that he easily reduced many to profess obedience to the crown of England; and disabled others, having no leaders of experience and valour, for shewing their faces as enemies in the field.

Also upon some variances which did rise between Justinus, son to Gurguntus, Earl of Glamorgan and Morganock; and Rhesus son to Theodore Prince of South Wales: Justinus, not of power to maintain either his right or his will, sent Æneas, son to Genidorus, sometimes Lord of Demetia, to crave aid in England. This he obtained, not only readily, but in greater measure than the service did require. Robert Fitzhamond was general commander of the English army; who encountered Rhesus at a place called Blackhill; and in that fight Rhesus was slain: after whose death the name of king ceased in Wales. Then Justinus failing, and happily not able to perform such conditions as in necessity he had assured, Fitzhamond turned his forces against him; chased the Welsh out of the champain country, and divided the same among his principal gentlemen. These erected castles, in places convenient for their mutual aid; and so well defended themselves, that they left the country to their posterity. Thus was the lordship of Glamorgan and Morganock, which containeth twenty-seven miles in length, and twenty-two in breadth, subdued to the English; giving example how dangerous it is for any people, to call in a greater force of strangers to their aid, than, being victorious, they may easily be able to limit and restrain. This being a lordship marcher, hath enjoyed royal liberties, since the time wherein it was first subdued. It hath acknowledged service and obedience only to the crown. It hath had the trial of all actions, as well real as personal, and also held pleas of the crown; with authority to pardon all offences, treason only excepted.

Whilst the king was entertained with these chases, rather than wars, in Wales, he lay at Gloucester many times; as not esteeming that his presence should always be necessary, and yet not far off if occasion should require. To this place Malcolm King of Scots came unto him, upon an honourable visitation. But the king having conceived some displeasure against him, refused to admit him to his presence. Hereupon King Malcolm, full of fury and disdain, returned into Scotland, assembled an army, invaded Northumberland, harassed and spoiled a great part thereof; having done the like four times before. Such is the heat of hate in minds that are mighty; who seldom hold it any breach of justice, to be revenged of him who offereth dishonour. When he was come near to Alnwick, and his soldiers were much pestered with prey, (a notable impediment both for readiness and resolution to fight) he was set upon both suddenly and sharply by Robert Mowbray Earl of Northumberland; his troops hewn in pieces, himself together with his eldest son Edward slain. The third day ensuing, Margaret wife to King Malcolm, and sister to Edgar Atheling, not able to bear so sad and heavy a blow of fortune, ended also her life. She was famous for piety and for modesty, two excellent endowments of that sex. By her persuasion Malcolm made a law, that whereas by a former law made by King Eugenius, the lord enjoyed the first night with any new married woman within his dominion; the husband might redeem that abuse by payment of half a mark of silver.

King Malcolm being slain, Dunwald his brother usurped the kingdom; but after a few days he was dispossessed thereof by Duncan, bastard son to K. Malcolm. In this action

Duncan was chiefly supported by the King of England; with whom he had remained in hostage, and to whom he had made his submission by oath. And because the Scots did either see or suspect that he bare a favourable affection to the English, they would not receive him for their king, but under promise that he should not entertain any English or Norman, either in place of service, or as follower at large. The year next following Duncan was slain, and Dunwald was again possessed of the kingdom. Hereupon King William sent Clito Edgar with an army into Scotland; by whose means Dunwald was despoiled again of his kingdom, and Edgar son to King Malcolm, advanced to his father's estate.

These were the principal adventures by arms which concerned England, during the reign of K. William the Second: wherein he so behaved himself, that he did worthily win an opinion to be one, who both knew and durst. In all actions he esteemed himself greatly dishonoured, if he were not both in arms with the first, and with the forwardest in fight; doing double service, as well by example, as by direction: in which heat of valour, the favour of his fortune excused many of his attempts from the blame of rashness. He was oftentimes most constant, or rather obstinate in pursuing those purposes which with small deliberation he undertook.

At a certain time when he was hunting within the New Forest, he received advertisement, that Mans was surprised by Helie, Count de la Flesch, who pretended title thereto in right of his wife: that he was aided in this enterprise by Fouques d'Angiers, an ancient enemy to the dukes of Normandy: and that the castle which held good for the king, must also be rendered, if in very short time it were not relieved. Upon these news, as if he had been in the heat of a chase, he presently turned his horse; and his passion not staying to consult with reason, in great haste rode towards the sea. And when he was advised by some to stay a time, and take with him such forces as the importance of the service did require; with a heart resolute and a violent voice he answered, "That they who loved him, would not fail to follow; and that if no man else would stir, he alone would relieve Mans."

When he came to Dartmouth, he commanded ships to be brought for his passage. The winds were then both contrary and stiff, and the sea swelled exceeding big; for which cause the shipmasters persuaded him to await a more favourable season, and not to cast himself upon the miserable mercy of that storm. Notwithstanding the king, whose fear was always least when dangers were greatest, mounted upon shipboard, and commanded them to put to sea; affirming, that it was no prince-like mind to break a journey for foulness of weather; and that he never heard of any king that had been drowned. And so for that the chief point of rescue rested in expedition, he presently committed to sea; taking few with him, and leaving order that others should follow. After he had long wrestled with the winds and waves, he arrived in France, where running on in the humour of his courage and forwardness, he acquitted himself with greater honour than at any time before. So effectual is celerity for the benefit of a service, that oftentimes it more availeth, than either multitude or courage of soldiers.

In this expedition, Helie the principal commander against him was taken. And when he was brought to the king's presence, the king said pleasantly unto him: "Ah master! in faith I have you now; and I hope I shall be able to keep you in quiet." Then he: "It is true indeed, the success of my attempts have not been answerable to the resolution of my mind; by mere adventure now you have me: but if I were at liberty again, I do better know what I had to do, and would not so easily be held in quiet." The king with a brave scorn replied: "I see thou art but a foolish knave; unable to use, either thy liberty or thy restraint aright. But go thy ways, make good thy confidence: I set thee free and at liberty again; use thy advantage, and do thy worst." Helie daunted more with this high courage, than before he had been with the victory of the king, submitted himself, and made his peace under such conditions as it pleased the king to lay upon him. Certainly this magnanimous example hath seldom been equalled, never excelled by those, who are admired for the principal worthies of the world.

He little favoured flatterers; the flies which blow corruption upon sweetest virtues; the

miry dogs of the court, who defile princes with fawning on them; who commonly are fatted with bread which is made with the tears of miserable people. He was most firm and assured in his word: and to those who did otherwise advise him, he would say; "That God did stand obliged by his word."[44]

He is commended for his manly mercy; in releasing prisoners, and in pardoning offences of highest quality: which to a people that then lived under a law, both rigorous, and almost arbitrary, and (as well for the novelty as for the uncertainty thereof) in a manner unknown, was a most high valued virtue. He not only pardoned many great offenders, but partly by gifts, and partly by advancements he knit them most assuredly unto him. And therefore although in the beginning of his reign, most of the nobility, and many gentlemen of best quality and rank endeavoured to displace him, and set up Robert his elder brother for their king; yet doth it not appear, either that any severity was executed upon them, or that afterwards they were dangerous unto him. Notwithstanding in some actions he was noted of cruelty, or at the least of sharpness and severity in justice. For albeit he promised to the English, whilst his first fears and jealousies continued, that they should enjoy free liberty of hunting; yet did he afterwards so severely restrain it, that the penalty for killing a deer was death.

Robert Mowbray Earl of Northumberland, after he had defeated the Scots and slain Malcolm their king, not finding himself either honoured or respected according to his service; first refrained, and afterwards refused to come unto the court. Hereupon the king, overruled indifferently with suspicion and hate, (two violent passions in minds placed in authority) sent his brother Henry with an army against him; who spoiled the country, took the earl, and committed him to prison. Then was he charged with divers crimes, which were sufficient (although but surmised) to undo an innocent. Many examinations were also made, but for appearance only and terror, not to any bottom or depth. The especial matter objected against him was, for contriving to despoil the king both of life and state, and to set up Stephen Albemarle his aunt's son for king. And thus it often happeneth, that great deserts are occasions to men of their destruction; either because princes generally love not those to whom they are exceedingly beholding, or else for that thereby men do grow proud, insolent, disdainful, bold, immoderate both in expectation and demand, discontented, impatient if they be not satisfied, and apt to break forth into dangerous attempts.

Of those who any ways declared themselves in his favour or defence, some were despoiled of their goods, some were banished the realm; others were punished with loss of their eyes, or of their ears, or of some other part of their body. William d'Owe was accused in a council holden at Salisbury, to be an accomplice of this treason. And albeit he challenged his accuser to the combat, yet his eyes were pulled out, and his stones cut off by commandment of the king. And yet some authors affirm, that he was overcome in combat before. For the same cause the king commanded William Alverie to be hanged; a man of goodly personage and modest behaviour; the king's sewer, his aunt's son, and his godfather. Before his execution he desired to be whipped through many churches in London; he distributed his garments to the poor, and bloodied the street as he went with often kneeling upon the stones. At the time of his death he took it upon the charge of his soul, that he was clear of the offence for which he suffered. And so committing his innocency to God, and to the world his complaints, he submitted himself to the executioner's hands; leaving an opinion in some, a suspicion in many, that others also died without desert. For the king gave an easy ear to any man, that would impeach others for his advantage; whereby it sometimes happened, that offenders were acquitted by accusing innocents.

He was liberal above measure; either in regard of his own abilities, or of the worthiness of the receivers. Especially he was bountiful (if that term may be applied to immoderate lavishing) to men of war; for which cause many resorted to him from far countries

[44] καλόν τὶ γλῶσσα ὅτῳ πίϛις παρῇ. Eurip. *Res pulchra lingua cui siet fides.*

for entertainment.[45] To win and retain the favour of these, he much impoverished his peaceable people. From many he took without justice, to give to others without desert: esteeming it no unequal dealing, that the money of the one, should be adventured and expended with the blood of the other.

He much exceeded in sumptuousness of diet and of apparel, wherewith great men use to dazzle the eyes of the people: both which ways he esteemed the goodness of things, by their price. It is reported, that when his chamberlain upon a certain morning brought him a new pair of hose, the king demanded what they cost; and the chamberlain answered, three shillings. Hereat the king grew impatient, and said, "What? heavy beast! dost thou take these to be convenient hose for a king? Away, beggar, and bring me other of a better price." Then the chamberlain departed and brought a far worse pair of hose (for a better could not at that time be found) and told the king that they cost a mark. The king not only allowed them for fine enough, but commended them also as exceeding fit. Assuredly this immoderate excess of a king is now far exceeded by many base shifting unthrifts.

In building his expences were very great. He repaired the city and castle of Carlisle, which had been wasted by the Danes two hundred years before. He finished Newcastle upon Tyne. Many other castles he erected or repaired upon the frontiers of Scotland; many also upon the frontiers and within the very breast of Wales. He much enlarged the Tower of London, and environed it with a new wall. He also built the great hall at Westminster, which is two hundred and seventy feet in length, and seventy-four feet in breadth. And when many did admire the vast largeness thereof, he would say unto them, that it was but a bed chamber, but a closet, in comparison of that which he intended to build. And accordingly he laid the foundation of another hall, which stretched from the river Thames to the king's high-street: the further erection whereof, with divers other heroical enterprises, ceased together with his life.

Thus partly by reason of his infinite plots and inventions, and partly by his disorders and unbridled liberalities, he always lived at great charges and expences; which whilst the large treasure lasted which his father left him, were borne without grievance to the subjects: but when that was once drained, he was reduced to seek money by extraordinary means. So many hard taxes were laid upon the people, partly for supply to his own necessities, and partly to imitate the policy of his father; that the people being busied how to live, should retain small either leisure or means to contrive innovations. For this cause he was supposed, upon purpose to have enterprised many actions of charge; that thereby he might have colour to impose, both employments and taxations upon the people.

And because the riches of the clergy at that time were not only an eye-sore unto many, but esteemed also by some, to be very far above due proportion, he often fleeced them of great sums of money. For which cause it is evident, that the writers of that age (who were for the most part clergymen) did both generally inveigh against him, and much deprave his particular actions. He withheld his annual payment to the see of Rome, upon occasion of a schism between Urban at Rome, and Clement at Ravenna. He claimed the investiture of prelates to be his right: he forbad appeals and intercourse to Rome: for which and other like causes he had a very great contention with the clergy of his realm, especially with Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The seeds of this contention were cast, when Anselm was first received to his see. For at that time two did strive for the papacy of Rome; Urbanus and Guibert, called Clement the Third: some Christian states favouring the one, and some the other. King William inclined to Clement the Third, and with him the realm generally went; but Anselm did fully go with Urban; making so his condition before he did consent to accept his dignity.

[45] τὲς ςρατιώτας πλετίζετε, των ἄλλων πάντων καταφρονείτε. *Milites ditate, reliquos omnes spernite.* Severus *apud* Dionem.

When he was elected and before his consecration, the king demanded of him, that such lands of the church of Canterbury as the king had given to his friends since the death of Lanfranc, might still be held by them as their lawful right: but to this Anselm would in no case agree. Hereupon the king stayed his consecration a certain time; but at length by importunity of the people he was content to receive his homage, and to give way to his consecration. Not long after, the archbishop desired licence of the king to go to Rome, to receive his pall; which when the king refused to grant, he appealed to the see of Rome. Now this was the first appeal that ever before had been made in England. For appeals were not here in ordinary use, until after this time, under the reign of King Stephen; when Henry Bishop of Winchester, being the Pope's legate, brought them in.

Wherefore the king offended with this novelty, charged Anselm with breach of his fealty and oath. Anselm answered, that this was to be referred to the judgment of a council, whether it be a breach of allegiance to a terrene prince, if a man appeal to the vicar of Christ. The king alleged; that the custom of his realm admitted no appeal from the king; that supreme appeal was a most principal mark of majesty, because no appeal can be made but to a superior; that therefore the archbishop by appealing from him, denied his sovereignty, derogated from the dignity of his crown, and subjected both him and that to another prince, to whom as to a superior he did appeal; that herein he was an enemy and a traitor to him and to the state. Anselm replied, that this question was determined by our Lord, who taught us what allegiance is due to the Pope, where he saith; 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church,' &c. And again; 'To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of Heaven,' &c. And again in general; 'He that heareth you heareth me, and who despiseth you despiseth me.' And again, 'He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye.' But for the allegiance due to the king, he saith; 'Give to Cæsar that which belongeth to Cæsar, and to God what pertaineth to God.' To this the king finally said; That having made themselves masters to interpret and give sense to the Scriptures, it was easy to maintain by them whatsoever they desired or did; it was easy for them to burst their ambition with their swelling greatness. But well he was assured, that Christ intended not to dissolve orders for civil government, to ruin kingdoms, to embase authority and right of kings, by means of his church: this right of a king he had, and this right he would maintain.

In this contention few of the bishops did openly take part with Anselm; but some, and especially the Bishop of Durham, did directly declare against him. The residue, when he asked their advice, would answer him, 'That he was wise enough, and knew what was best for him to do; as for them, they neither durst nor would stand against their lord.' By assistance of these the king purposed to deprive Anselm, and to expel him out of the realm. But Anselm avowed, 'That as he was ready to depart the realm, so would he take his authority with him, though he took nothing else.'

Now the king had sent two messengers to Pope Urban at Rome, to intreat him to send the pall to the king; to be disposed by him as he should think fit. These messengers were by this time returned; and with them came Guibert the Pope's legate, who brought the pall. The legate went first privily to the king, and promised that if Urban should be received for Pope in England, the king should obtain of him whatsoever he would. The king required that Anselm might be removed. The legate answered, that it could not be, that such a man without just cause should be removed; notwithstanding some other things being granted to the king, Urban was declared to be lawful pope; and the king was content to swallow down that morsel, which had been so unpleasant for him to champ on. The pall was carried to Anselm with great pomp, in a vessel of silver; and he came forth bare-footed, in his priestly vestments to meet and to receive it.

The year next following the king invaded Wales; where he repressed the rebellious enemies, and returned victorious. Anselm prepared to go unto him, to salute him, to congratulate his good success. But the king prevented him by messengers, who laid to his charge, both the small number and evil appointment of the soldiers, which he sent to that service; and therefore warned him to appear at the court, to make his answer.

Happily also the king was incensed by matters more light; but taken in the worst part, as it commonly falleth out in suspicions and quarrels. At the day appointed Anselm appeared, but avoided his answer by appealing to the Pope: for prosecution whereof, he made suit for the king's licence to go to Rome. The king said as before; that this appeal was against the custom of the realm, and against the dignity of his crown, to both which Anselm had sworn. Anselm answered, That he was sworn to neither of them, but so far as they were consonant to the laws of God, and to the rules of equity and right. The king replied, That no limitation being expressed, it was not reasonable that upon his own conceit of piety or equity, he should slip out of the band of his oath. Thus was the contention on both sides obstinately maintained; and for a long time Anselm was commanded to attend the court.

At the last he was released, but under the express charge, that he should not depart out of the realm; or if he did, that it should never be lawful for him to return. Anselm departed from the court, went strait to Dover, with purpose to pass the seas into France. Here he was either awaited or overtaken by William Warlewast the king's officer; not to stay him from his passage, but to rifle him of all that he had. Others also were appointed to seize his goods in other places, and to convert the profits of his archbishoprick to the use of the king; making a bare allowance to the monks, of meat, drink and cloathing. So the archbishop crossed the seas into France, rested awhile at Lyons, and then travelled over the Alps to Rome; where he was entertained by Pope Urban with more than ordinary ceremonies of honour.

And first the Pope wrote to the King of England on the behalf of Anselm; and retained him in his palace until he should receive answer from the king. When the messenger was returned with such answer as Anselm did not like, he desired of the Pope to be discharged of his dignity; which he had found (he said) a wearisome stage, whereon he played a part much against his will. But hereto the Pope would in no case agree; charging him upon virtue of his obedience, That wheresoever he went, he should bear both the name and honour of Archbishop of Canterbury. "As for these matters, (said he) we shall sufficiently provide for them at the next council, where yourself shall be present."

When the council[46] was assembled, Anselm sat on the outside of the bishops; but the Pope called him up, and placed him at his right foot with these words; *Includamus hunc in orbe nostro, tanquam alterius orbis Papam.* Afterwards, in all general councils, the Archbishop of Canterbury took that place. In this council the points of difference between the Greek and Latin churches were strongly debated; especially concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, and for leavened bread in the administration of the Eucharist: wherein Anselm shewed such deep learning, weight of judgment, and edge of wit, that he approached nearer admiration than applause. These matters determined, complaints were brought against the King of England, and the Pope is said to have been ready to excommunicate him: but Anselm kneeled before the Pope, and obtained for the king a longer term. The Pope was then at great contention with Henry the fourth emperor, who had been excommunicated before by Hildebrand, and was then again excommunicated by Urban: being the first Christian prince with sovereign power, who was ever excommunicate by any Pope. And for that Urban at that time had his hands full against the emperor, for that also he would not make the example too odious at the first, he was willing enough to forbear excommunication against the king. And the rather for that Anselm had intelligence from his friends in England, that the excommunication would not be regarded. Hereupon, accounting it a sufficient declaration of his power for the time, to have menaced excommunication, he caused a general decree to be made; that as well all lay-persons who should give investiture of churches, as those of the clergy who should be so invested; also all those who should yield themselves in subjection to lay-men for ecclesiastical livings, should be excommunicate.

This general sentence was pronounced. The pope also signified by letters to the king,

[46] *Concilium Baronense.*

that if he would avoid particular proceeding against himself, he should forthwith restore Anselm to the exercise of his office in his church, and to all the goods and possessions pertaining thereto. Hereupon the king sent messengers to the Pope, who declared unto him; That their great master the king marvelled not a little, wherefore he should so sharply urge the restitution of Anselm; seeing it was expressly told him, that if he departed out of England without licence, he should expect no other usage. "Well, said the pope, have you no other cause against Anselm, but that he hath appealed to the apostolical see, and without licence of your king hath travelled thither?" They answered, no. "And have you taken all this pains (said he) have you travelled thus far to tell me this? Go tell your lord, if he will not be excommunicate, that he presently restore Anselm to his see: And see that you bring me answer hereof the next council, which shall be in the third week after Easter: make haste, and look to your term, lest I cause you to be hanged for your tarryance.'

The messenger was herewith much abashed; yet collecting himself, he desired private audience of the Pope: affirming, that he had some secret instructions from the king to impart unto him. What this secret was it is unknown. Whatsoever it was, a longer day was obtained for the king, until Michaelmas then next ensuing. And when that day was come, albeit complaints were renewed, yet was nothing done against the king. The archbishop seeing the small assurance of the Pope, returned to Lyons in France, and there remained until the death, first of Pope Urban, and afterwards of the king; which was almost the space of three years.

By this great conflict the king lost the hearts of many of the clergy; but his displeasure had seasoned revenge with contentment: and finding himself sufficient, both in courage and means to bear out his actions, he became many other ways heavy unto them. When any bishoprick or monastery fell void, he kept them vacant a long time in his hands, and applied the profits to himself: at the last he would set them to open sale, and receive him for prelate, who would give for them the greatest price. Here hence two great inconveniences did ensue; the best places were furnished with men of least sufficiency and worth; and no man hoping to rise by desert, the general endeavour for virtue and knowledge were laid aside: the direct way to advancement, was by plain purchase from the king.

In this seizing and farming and merchandizing of church-livings, one Ranulph, commonly called the king's chaplain, was a great agent for the king. He was a man of fair use of speech, and lively in wit, which he made servants to licentious designs; but both in birth and behaviour base, and shameless in dishonesty; a very bawd to all the king's purposes and desires. He could be so evil as he listed, and listed no less than was to his advantage. The king would often laugh at him, and say; that he was a notable fellow to compass matters for a king. And yet besides more than ordinary favour of countenance, the king advanced him, first to be his chancellor, and afterwards to be Bishop of Duresme. By his advice, so soon as any church fell void, an inventory was made of all the goods that were found, as if they should be preserved for the next successor; and then they were committed to the custody of the king, but never restored to the church again. So the next incumbent received his church naked and bare, notwithstanding that he paid a good price for it. From this king the use is said to have first risen in England that the kings succeeding had the temporalities of bishop's sees so long as they remained void. He also set the first informers to work, and for small transgressions appointed great penalties. He is also reported to have been the first king of this realm, who restrained his subjects from ranging into foreign countries without licence.

And yet what did the king by this sale of church dignities, but that which was most frequent in other places? For in other places also few attained to such dignities freely. The difference was this: here the money was received by the king, there by favourites or inferior officers: here it was expended in the public uses of the state; there to private and many times odious enrichments: this seemeth the more easy, that the more extreme pressure, as done by more hungry and degenerous persons: this may be esteemed by some

the more base, but assuredly it was the better dealing. And further, it is evident that the king did freely advance many excellent persons to principal dignities in the church; and especially Anselm to the archbishopric of Canterbury, who was so unwilling to accept that honour, that the king had much to do thrust it upon him. And the rather to induce him, he gave him wholly the city of Canterbury, which his predecessors had held but at the pleasure of the king. This Anselm was one whose learned labours do plainly testify, how little his spirits were fed with the fulsome fumes of surfeiting and ease; which to many others, together with their bodies, do fatten and engross their minds. He so detested singularity, that he accounted it the sin which threw angels out of Heaven, and man out of Paradise. This detestation of singularity might happily incline him to the other extreme; to adhere over lightly to some common received errors. It is attributed to him that he would often wish, to be rather in hell without sin, than with sin in heaven.

The king also advanced Robert Bloet, to the bishoprick of Lincoln: a man whose wisdom was highly graced, with goodly personage, and good delivery of speech: from whom notwithstanding the king afterwards wiped five thousand marks. He also freely received Hugh de Floriaco, a man for his virtue much esteemed, to be abbot of the monastery of St. Augustines in Canterbury, and likewise divers others to other ecclesiastical preferments: whereby I am confirmed in opinion, that many odious imputations against the king, were either altogether invented, or much enlarged above the truth.

It happened upon avoidance of a certain monastery, that two monks went to the king, either of them contending, as well by friends, as by large offer of purse, to procure to be made abbot of the place. The king espying a third monk standing by, who came with the other two, either to accompany them, or to obtain some inferior place under him that should prevail, demanded of him what he would give? The monk answered, that he had small means and less mind, to purchase that or any other dignity of the church: for with that intention did he first betake himself to a religious life, that holding riches and honour (the two beauties of the world) in contempt, he might more freely and quietly dispose himself to the service of God. The king replied, that he judged him most worthy of that preferment; and therefore first offered it unto him, then intreated, and lastly enjoined him to accept it. Assuredly, the force of virtue is such, that oftentimes we honour it in others, even when we little esteem it in ourselves.

He is charged with some actions and speeches tending to profaneness. The Jews at Roan so prevailed with him by gifts, that they drew him to reprehend one who had forsaken their superstition. At London a disputation was appointed between certain Christians and Jews. The Jews a little before the day prefixed, brought to the king a rich present; at which time he encouraged them (no doubt but by the way of jollity and mirth) to acquit themselves like tall fellows, and if they prevailed by plain strength of truth, he sware (as was his usual) by St. Luke's face, that he would become one of their sect. These things happily not much spoken amiss, might easily be depraved by report.

It is affirmed of him that he so much exceeded in bodily lust, (than which nothing maketh a man more contemptible) that thereby he seemed to decline from the majesty of a prince. This vice did cast a great mist over his glory. And yet neither is it unfrequent in lusty bodies, placed in a state both prosperous and high, neither can the pleasure of one man that way extend itself to the injury of many. The worst was, that after his example, many others did follow licentious traces; examples of princes being always of greater force than their laws, to induce the people to good or to evil.[47] As the king turned the prosperity of his actions to serve his vanities and delights, so his followers by felicity became insolent, and let go at adventure serious affairs; not receiving into their thoughts any other impression than of bravery and pleasure. And they who were greatest in the councils and favours of the king, respected all things no further, than as they were advantageable to themselves.

[47] *Hæc conditio principium ut quicquid facient præcipere videantur.* Quint. declam. 4.

Then rose up costly apparel, and dainty fare, two assured tokens of a diseased state; the one the vainest, the other the grossest prodigality that can be. Then was brought into use the laying out of hair, strange fashions and disguisings in attire, and all delicacies pertaining to the body. Then were practised nice treadings, lascivious looks, and other dissolute and wanton behaviour: many effeminate persons did accompany the court, by whose immodest demeanour the majesty of that place was much embased. From hence also the poison brake forth, first into the city, and afterwards into other places of the realm; for as in fishes, so in families, and so likewise in states, putrefaction commonly beginneth at the head.

In the second year of this king's reign Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, ended his life: a man highly esteemed, with good men, for his learning and integrity; with great men, for his diligence and discretion to sound deeply into affairs; with the common people for his moderate and modest behaviour. King William the First did honour and embrace him with great respect, and was much guided by his advice. He was a protector to King William the Second. When he went to Rome to obtain his pall, the pope rose from his chair, stepped forwards to meet him, and with many ceremonies of courtesy did entertain him. Then he returned to his seat and said: "Now Lanfranc, I have done to thee what is due to thy virtue, come thou and do to me what appertaineth to my place." He was an earnest enemy to all vices, especially to avarice and pride, the two banes of all virtues. He renewed the great church of Canterbury, and enriched it with 25 manors. He repaired the walls of that city, and built two hospitals therein; one of St. John, the other Harbledown. He gave a thousand marks towards the repairing and enlarging of the abbey of St. Albans, and procured Redbourne to be restored thereto. By his testament he gave to the same church 1000 pounds, besides many rich ornaments. He took great pains in purging ancient authors from such corruptions as had crept into them: divers works also he wrote of his own, but the greatest part of them are perished. Thus he lived in honour, and died with fame; his time employed in honest studies and exercises, his goods to good and religious uses.

The same year a strange and great earthquake happened throughout all the realm; after which ensued a great scarcity of fruit, and a late harvest of corn, so as much grain was not fully ripe at the end of November.

In the fourth year of the reign of this king, a strong stroke of lightning made a hole in the abbey steeple at Winchcombe, near to the top; rent one of the beams of the church, brake one of the legs of the crucifix, cast down the head thereof, together with the image of the Virgin Mary that was placed by it; herewith a thick smoke darkened the church, and breathed forth a marvellous stink, which annoyed the church a long time after. In the same year a mighty wind from the southwest did prostrate 606 houses in London: and breaking into the church of St. Mary Bow, in Cheap, slew two men with some part of the ruins which it made, raised the roof of the church, and carried many of the beams on such a height, that, in the fall, six of them, being twenty-seven or twenty-eight feet in length, were driven so deep into the ground (the streets not then paved with stone) that not above four feet remained in sight: and so they stood, in such order and rank as the workmen had placed them upon the church. The parts under the earth were never raised, but so much was cut away as did appear above the ground; because it was an impediment for passage. The Tower of London at the same time was also broken, and much other harm done.

The next year, Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, finished the cathedral church of Old Salisbury; and the fifth day after the consecration, the steeple thereof was fired with lightning.

The year following much rain fell, and so great frosts ensued, that rivers were passable with loaden carts.

The year next ensuing was exceeding remarkable both for the number and fashion of gliding stars, which seemed to dash together in manner of a conflict.

About this time Pope Urban assembled a council at Clermont in Auvergne, wherein

he exhorted christian princes to join in action for recovery of Palestine, commonly called the Holy Land, out of the servile possession of the Saracens. This motion was first set on foot, and afterwards pursued by Peter the hermit of Amiens; which falling in an age both active and religious, was so generally embraced, as it drew 300,000 men to assemble together from divers countries; and that with such sober and harmless behaviour, that they seemed rather pilgrims than soldiers. Among others, Robert, Duke of Normandy, addressed himself to this voyage; and to furnish his expences therein, he laid his duchy of Normandy to gage to his brother of England for 6666 *li.* or as other authors report, for 13,600 pounds of silver.

This money was taken up part by imposition, and part by loan, of the most wealthy inhabitants within the realm: but especially the charge was laid upon religious persons; for that it was to furnish a religious war. When many bishops and abbots complained, that they were not able to satisfy such sums of money as the king demanded of them, unless they should sell the chalices and silver vessels which pertained to their churches, "Nay, answered the king, you may better make means with the silver and gold which vainly you have wrapped about dead mens bones;" meaning thereby their rich relicks and shrines.

The year following a blasing star appeared, for the space of fifteen days together; the greatest bush whereof pointed towards the east, and the lesser towards the west. Gliding stars were often seen, which seemed to dart one against another. The people began (as to minds fearful all fancies seem both weighty and true) to make hard constructions of these unusual sights; supposing that the heavens did threaten them, not accustomed to shew itself so disposed, but towards some variation.

In the 13th year of his reign, the sea surmounted his usual bounds, in divers parts of England and Scotland: whereby not only fields, but many villages, castles, and towns, were overflowed, and some overturned, and some overwhelmed with sand; much people, and almost innumerable cattle was destroyed. At the same time certain lands in Kent, which did once belong to Godwin Earl of Kent, were overflowed and covered with sand, which to this day do bear the name of Godwin's sands. Thunders were more frequent and terrible than had been usual; through violence whereof divers persons were slain. Many fearful forms and apparitions are reported to have been seen; whether errors, or inventions, or truths, I will not avow. The heavens often seemed to flame with fire.[48] At Finchamstead in Berkshire, near unto Abingdon, a spring cast up a liquor for the space of fifteen days, in substance and colour like unto blood; which did taint and infect the next water brook whereinto it did run. The king was often terrified in his sleep with uncouth, ugly, unquiet dreams: and many fearful visions of others were oftentimes reported unto him. At the same time he held in his hands three bishopricks, Canterbury, Winchester, and Salisbury; and twelve abbeys.

The same year upon the second of August, a little before the falling of the sun, as the king was hunting within the new forest, at a place called Choringham (where since a chapel hath been erected) he struck a deer lightly with an arrow. The deer ran away, and the king stayed his horse to look after it; holding his hand over his eyes, because the beams of the sun (which then drew somewhat low) much dazzled his sight. Herewith another deer crossed the way; whereat a certain knight, named Sir Walter Tyrrell, aimed with an arrow: and loosing his bow, either too carelessly at the deer, or too steadily at the king, struck him therewith full upon the breast. The king having so received the wound, gave forth a heavy groan, and presently fell down dead; neither by speech nor motion expressing any token of life. Only so much of the arrow as was without his body was found broken; whether with his hand, or by his fall, it is not certainly known. The men that were near unto him (especially Sir Walter Tyrrell) gallopped away; some for astonishment, others for fear. But a few collecting themselves returned again, and laid his body upon a collier's cart, which by adventure passed that way; wherein it was

[48] *Quæ fato manent quamvis significata non vitantur.* Tacit. 1 Hist.

drawn by one lean evil-favoured, base beast, to the city of Winchester; bleeding abundantly all the way, by reason of the rude jogging of the cart. The day following he was buried, without any funeral pomp, with no more than ordinary solemnities, in the cathedral church or monastery of St. Swithin; under a plain flat marble stone, before the lectorn in the quire. But afterwards his bones were translated, and laid by King Canute's bones.

Most writers do interpret this extraordinary accident to be a judgment of God for the extraordinary loose behaviour of the king. But it may rather seem a judgment of God, that King William the First, who threw down churches, and dispeopled villages and towns; who banished both the service of God, and society of men, to make a vast habitation for savage beasts, had two sons slain upon that place. It may also seem a judgment of God, that King William the Second, who so greatly favoured beasts of game, that he ordained the same penalty for killing of a deer, as for killing of a man; should as a beast, and for a beast, and among beasts be slain. And thus God doth often punish us by our greatest pleasures; if they be either unlawful or immoderately affected; whereby good things become unlawful.

He died in the principal strength, both of his age, and of his distasteful actions; wherein he had been much carried by the hot humour of his courage and youth; his judgment not then raised to that staidness and strength, whereto years and experience in short time would have brought it.[49] He reigned in great variety of opinion with his subjects (some applauding his virtues, others aggravating his vices) twelve years, eleven months wanting eight days: and was at his death forty and three years old. At this time he presumed most highly, and promised greatest matters to himself, he projected also many difficult adventures, if his life had continued the natural course; wherein his hopes were nothing inferior to his desires.

He gave to the monks of Charity in Southwark his manor of Bermondsey, and built for them the great new-church of Saint Saviour. Also of an old monastery in the city of York, he founded an hospital for the sustentation of poor persons, and dedicated it to St. Peter. This hospital was afterward augmented by King Stephen, and by him dedicated to St. Leonard.

King Henry the First, sirnamed Beauclerc.

ROBERT Duke of Normandy, the eldest brother to King William the Second, was in Palestine when King William was slain; being one of the principal leaders in that heroical war which divers christian princes of Europe set up, to recover Jerusalem out of the power and possession of the Saracens. In this expedition he purchased so honourable reputation, for skill, industry, and valour of hand, that when the christian forces had surprised Jerusalem, and divers other cities in those quarters, the kingdom thereof was offered unto him. But the duke, whether he conjectured the difficulties of that war, for that the enemy was both at hand, and under one command, but the army of the christians was to be supplied from far, and also consisted of many confederates; in which case albeit sometimes men perform well at the first, yet in short time inconveniences increasing, they always either dissipate and dissolve, or else fall into confusion. Or whether he heard of the death of his brother, to whose kingdom he pretended right; as well by prerogative of blood, as by express covenant between them confirmed by oath; refused the offer, which was the last period of all his honour, and in short time after took his journey from Palestine towards France.

But Henry the king's younger brother, apprehending the opportunity of the duke's absence, did forthwith seize upon the treasure of the king, and thereby also upon his

[49] *Seris venit usus ab annis.* Ovid. 6 Metam.

state, and so was crowned at Westminster upon the second[49] day of August, in the year 1100, by Maurice, bishop of London; because Anselm archbishop of Canterbury was then in exile. This enterprise was much advanced by the authority and industry of Henry Newborough Earl of Warwick, who appeased all opposition that was made against it. The people also, albeit they had been managed so tame, as easily to yield their back to the first sitter; yet to Henry they expressed a prone inclination, for that he was born in England, at a place called Selby in Lincolnshire, since his father was crowned king: whereas Duke Robert his brother was born before his father attained the kingdom.

This served Prince Henry not only to knit unto him the affections of the people, but also to form a title to the crown. For it hath been a question often debated, both by arguments and by arms, and by both trials diversly decided; when a king hath two sons, one born before he was king, and the other after, whether of them hath right to succeed?

Herodotus writeth,[50] That when Darius the son of Hydaspis King of Persia, made preparation for war against the Grecians and Egyptians, he first went about to settle his succession: because by the laws of Persia, the king might not enter into enterprise of arms, before he had declared his successor. Now Darius had three children before he was king, by his first wife the daughter of Gobris. After he was king he had other four, by Atossa the daughter of Cyrus. Artahazanes, or (as other term him) Arthemenes was eldest of the first sort; Xerxes of the second. Artahazanes alledged that he was the eldest of all the king's sons, and that it was a custom among all nations, that in principalities the eldest should succeed. Xerxes alledged, that he was begotten of Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, by whose valour the Persians had obtained their empire. Before Darius had given sentence, Demaratus the son of Aristo, cast out of his kingdom of Sparta and then living an exile in Persia, came unto Xerxes, and advised him further to alledge, that he was the eldest son of Darius after he was king; and that it was the custom of Sparta, that if a man had a son in private state, and afterwards another when he was king, this last son should succeed in his kingdom. Upon this ground Artabazanes was rejected, and Darius gave judgment for Xerxes. This history is likewise reported by Justine, and touched also by Plutarch: although they disagree in names, and some other points of circumstance.[51]

So when Herod King of Judea, appointed Antipater his eldest son, but born to him in private state, to succeed in his royalty, and excluded Alexander and Aristobulus his younger sons, whom he had begot of Mariamne, after he had obtained his kingdom; Josephus plainly reprehendeth the fact,[52] and condemneth the judgment of Herod for partial and unjust. So Lewes born after his father was Duke of Milan, was preferred in succession before his brother Galeace, who was born before.[53] And so when Otho the First was elected emperor, his younger brother Henry pretended against him; for that Otho was born before their father was emperor, and Henry after.[54] In which quarrel Henry was aided by Everhard Earl Palatine, and Giselbert Duke of Lorrain, with divers other princes of Almaine: but when the cause came to be canvassed by the sword, the victory adjudged the empire to Otho.

Furthermore, this right of title seemeth to be confirmed by many grounds of the imperial law. As[55] that sons born after their father is advanced to a dignity, do hold certain privileges, which sons formerly born do not enjoy. That[56] those children which are born after a person is freed from any infamous or servile condition, do participate only of that liberty, and not they who were born before. That if a man taketh a wife in the province wherein he holdeth office, the marriage is good, if after the time his office shall

[49] [Read *fifth.*] [50] In Polyhim. [51] Just. lib. 2. Plut. de fraterna benevolentia.
[52] Antiq. lib. 16. cap. 3. [53] Guicc. l. b. 1. Blond. decad. 2. lib. 2. [54] Sigeb. in Chron.
[55] L. neque Doroth. 61. l. doctitij. 63. l. neminem. 64. cum l. pen. et ult. C. de decur. lib. 10. l. ex. libera 6. C. suis et legit.
[56] L. imperialis. 23. § his illud. C. de nupt. l. quicunque 7. C. de princip. agent. in reb.

expire, they continue in the same consent:[57] but so that the children born before, shall not be thereby held for legitimate. That[58] those children which are born after their father is honoured with the title of Clarissimus, do enjoy the rights due unto that degree of dignity, and not they who were born before. That as a son born after the father hath lost his kingdom, is not esteemed for the son of a king:[59] so neither he that is born before the father be a king.[60]

And although these and divers like passages of law commonly alledged, do seem little or nothing pertinent to this purpose; for that they concern not any universal right of inheritance, which is due unto children after the death of their parents; but certain particular privileges and rights attributed unto them whilst their parents were in life, which for the most part are arbitrary and mutable, as depending upon the pleasure of the prince: yet many interpreters of both laws have been drawn by these reasons to subscribe their judgments for this kind of title: and namely, Pet. Cynus, Baldus, Albericus,[61] Jac. Rebuffus, and Luc. Penna.[62] Also Panormitane,[63] Collect.[64] Dynus,[65] Franc. Cremen.[66] Marti. Laud.[67] Card. Alexander,[68] Phil. Decius,[69] Alceat,[70] Bon. Curti.[71] And lastly, Anton. Corsetta,[72] delivereth it for a common received and followed opinion. Which must be understood with this distinction, if the kingdom be either newly erected, or else newly acquired by conquest, election, or any such title, other than by hereditary succession according to proximity in blood. For if the kingdom be once settled in a certain course of succession, because the dignity is inherent in the blood of that stock; because it is not taken from the father but from the ancestors; because it is not taken only from the ancestors, but from the fundamental law of the state; the eldest son shall indistinctly succeed, although he were born before his father was king.[73] And therefore after the kingdom of Persia had been carried by succession in some descents, when Darius the king had four sons, Artaxerxes the eldest, Cyrus the next, and two others; Parysates the wife of Darius having a desire that Cyrus should succeed in the kingdom, alleged in his behalf the same reason wherewith Xerxes had prevailed before: to wit, that she had brought forth Artaxerxes to Darius, when he was in private state; but Cyrus was born to him when he was a king. Yet Plutarch affirmeth,[74] that the reason which she used was nothing probable, and that Artaxerxes the eldest son was appointed to be king. And so Blondus and Ritius do report,[75] that Bela the King of Hungary being dead, Geysa succeeded, although born unto him before he was a king.

Others inferior in number, but not in weight of judgment do affirm, that whether a kingdom be settled in succession, or whether by any other title newly attained, the right to succeed by all true grounds of law pertaineth to the eldest son; albeit born before his father's advancement to the kingdom, in case there be no express law of the state to the contrary. The principal reason is, because this is the nature of all successions by way of inheritance: for, if a father purchaseth lands, leases, cattle, or other goods, the inheritance shall be transmitted to his eldest son, although born before the purchase. Likewise if a father be advanced to any title of honour, as duke, earl, marquis, &c. it was

[57] L. eos qui. 65. D. de rit. nupt. l. Etsi 6. C. de nupt. [58] L. senator. 11. C. de dignit. lib. 10.
[59] L. emancipatum. 7. D. de Senat. facit l. Divo Marco. 11. C. de quæst. l. 3. D. de Interd. et vel. l. 2. C. de lib. et eor. libe.
[60] Gl. in d. l. Imperialis. Bar. in l. si senator. C. de dig. li. 12. Bald. in l. cum suis. D. de lib. posth. Anch. et Phil. Franc. in c. ne aliqui de privil. li. 6. 4. Ana. in c. 2. de Judæ. facit l. ex libera. C. de su. et le. l. j. § fi. D. de bo. po. co. ta. l. si neque. § si deport. D. de bon. libert. l. filii. § senatores. D. ad municipia. l. quicunq. C. de princ. agen. in reb. lib. 12. et ib. Luc. Pen.
[61] In d. l. Imperialis. § illud. [62] In l. si Senat. C. de dign. li. 12. [63] In c. licet. de Vot.
[64] In c. ex tenore. qui fil. sunt legit.
[65] In l. 2. § in filiis. D. de Decu. et in l. moris. § sed utrum D. de pœnis. [66] Sing. 50. et ib. addit.
[67] In tract. primogen. [68] In c. Adrianus. di. 63. [69] In c. inter cæteras de rescrip.
[70] In l. bona fides. D. deposit. [71] In tract. nobilitatis. part. 3. ad fin.
[72] In tract. de poten. et excellentia regia.
[73] Pet. Jac. in arb. succ. Reg. Franc. Jo. Ray. in c. prætercà. de prohi. feud. ali. et in tract. nobil. q. 10. Jac. à S. Georgio. in tract. feud. D. Benedict. in rep. c. Ramutius. n. 200. de test.
[74] In Artax. [75] Blond. dec. 2. lib. 6. Mich. Ritius. de Reg. Hung. lib. 6.

never, I will not say denied, but once doubted, but that the eldest son should succeed in the same, albeit he was born before the advancement. And therefore seeing this is the general rule of all other inheritable successions, and there is no reason of singularity in a kingdom; it followeth, that in like case the succession of a kingdom should also descend to the eldest son, although born before the kingdom were achieved.

Again, the son who was born before his father was a king, had once a right to succeed in the kingdom; for if another son had not afterwards been born, without all question he should have succeeded. But a right which a man by his own person hath acquired; albeit in some cases it may be diminished, yet can it not be altogether extinguished by any external or casual event, which hath no dependency upon himself. And so the right which the eldest son hath to his father's inheritance, may be diminished by the birth of other children, in regard of those goods which are to be distributed in parts among them; but it cannot possibly be extinguished. Neither can it be diminished in those things which are not of nature to be either valued or divided (of which sort a kingdom is the chief) but do pass entirely unto one. For the right of blood which only is regarded in lawful successions, is acquired and held from the nativity of the child, and doth not begin at the father's death; at which time the inheritance doth fall.

Lastly, if it be true in sons, that he shall succeed in a kingdom who is first born, after the father is exalted to be a king; then is it true also in other remote degrees of consanguinity. And hereby it should often happen, that when a king dieth without issue of his body, they who are not only inferior in age, but more remote in degree, should exclude both the elder and the nearer in blood; because perhaps born after the kingdom was attained: which is against all laws of lawful succession.

Howsoever the right standeth, Henry the younger brother to King William Rufus, upon advantage of the absence of Duke Robert his eldest brother, formed this title to the crown of England. In which pretence he was strongly supported, first by a general inclination of the common people, for that he had both his birth and education within the realm, and they were well persuaded of his good nature and disposition. Secondly, by the favour and travail of many of the nobility, especially of Henry Newborow Earl of Warwick. Thirdly, (for that the sails of popular favours are filled most violently with reports) by his giving forth, that his brother Robert intended never to return; for that he was elected King of Jerusalem, and of all those large countries in Asia, which the christians had lately wrung out of the Saracens' hands. Lastly, by using celerity, the very life of actions; for he was crowned at Westminster (as it hath been said) upon the fifth day of August, in the year 1106, which was the third day after his brother's death.

In person he was both stately and strong; tall, broad-breasted, his limbs fairly formed, well knit, and fully furnished with flesh. He was exceeding both comely and manly in countenance, his face well-fashioned, his colour clear, his eyes lively and fair, his eyebrows large and thick, his hair black and somewhat thin towards his forehead. He was of an excellent wit, free from ostentation; his thoughts high, yet honourable and just: in speech ready and eloquent, much graced with sweetness of voice. In private he was affable, open, wittily pleasant, and very full of merry simplicity: in public he looked with a grave majesty, as finding in himself cause to be honoured. He was brought up in the study of liberal arts at Cambridge, where he attained that measure of knowledge, which was sufficient both for ornament and use; but ran not into intemperate excess, either for ostentation, or for a cloak to unprofitable expense of time. By his example the young nobility of the realm began to affect a praise for learning: insomuch as, at a certain interview between the king and Pope Innocent the Second, the sons of Robert Earl of Mellent, maintained open disputations against divers cardinals and chaplains of the pope.

He was an exact esteemer of himself, not so much for his strength as for his weaknesses: less inclined to confidence than to distrust; and yet in weighty affairs resolute and firm; never dismayed, and always fortunate; his spirits being of force to oppose against any sort of difficulties or doubts. Extremities made him the more assured; and

like a well knit arch, he then lay most strong when he sustained the greatest weight. He was no more disposed to valour, than well settled in virtue and goodness; which made his valour of more precious valuation. He had good command over his passions; and thereby attained both peace within himself, and victory over others. In giving he was moderate, but bountiful in recompence; his countenance enlarging the worth of his gift. He was prone to relieve, even where there was least likelihood of requital. He hated flattery, the poisoned sugar, the counterfeit civility and love, the most base brokery of words: yet was no music so pleasing unto him as well deserved thanks. He was vigilant and industrious in his affairs; knowing right well that honour not only hath a painful and dangerous birth, but must in like manner be nourished and fed.

He was somewhat immoderate and excessive, as well in advancing those he favoured, as in beating down and disabling his enemies. The sword was always the last of his trials; so as he never either sought or apprehended occasions of war, where with honour he could retain peace. But if it were injuriously urged, he wanted neither wisdom, nor diligence, nor magnanimous heart to encounter the danger; to bear it over with courage and success. He was frugal of the blood and slaughter of his soldiers; never adventuring both his honour and their lives to the hazard of the sword, without either necessity or advantage. He oftentimes prevailed against his enemies more by policy than by power; and for victories thus attained, he attributed to himself the greatest glory. For wisdom is most proper to man, but force is common and most eminent in beasts; by wisdom the honour was entire to himself; by force it was participated to inferior commanders, to every private ordinary soldier: the effects of force are heavy, hideous, and sometimes inhuman; but the same, wrought to event by wisdom, is, as less odious, so more assured and firm.

After that he was mounted into the seat of majesty, he neglected no means to settle himself most surely therein, against the return of his brother Robert. To this end he contracted both amity and alliance with Edgar King of Scots, by taking his sister Matilda to wife: by which means he not only removed his hostility, but stood assured of his assistance, in case his occasions should so require. She was daughter to Malcolm King of Scots, by Margaret his wife; who was sister to Edgar surnamed Atheling, and daughter to Edward, son to Edmund Ironside, the most valiant Saxon king, the scourge and terror of the Danes. So as after the death of Atheling who left no issue, this Matilda was next by descent from the Saxon kings to the inheritance of the crown of England: and by her intermarriage with King Henry, the two families of Normans and Saxons were united together both in blood and title to the crown. This more than any other respect made the whole nation of the English not only firm to King Henry, against his brother, but loyal and peaceable during all his reign: for that they saw the blood of their Saxon Kings restored again to the possession of the crown.

She was a lady virtuous, religious, beautiful and wise: far from the ordinary either vices or weaknesses incident to her sex. She had been brought up among the nuns of Winchester and Rumsey, whether professed, or only veiled, our writers do diversly report; but most affirm that she was professed. Yet for the common good, for the public peace and tranquillity of the state, she abandoned her devoted life, and was joined to King Henry in marriage, by consent of Anselm, without any dispensation from Rome. Of this Matilda the King begat William a son, who perished by shipwreck; and Matilda a daughter, first married to Henry the fifth emperor, by whom she had no issue; afterward to Geoffrey Plantagenet Earl of Anjou, by whom she brought forth a son named Henry, in whom the blood of the Saxon kings was advanced again to the government of this realm.

Now to purchase the favour of the clergy, he called Anselm out of exile, and restored him both to the dignity and revenues of the see of Canterbury. Other bishoprics and abbeys which King William kept void at the time of his death, he furnished with men of best sufficiency and reputation. He committed Radulph Bishop of Durham to prison, who had been both author and agent to King William in most of his distasteful actions

against the clergy. This Radulph was a man of smooth use of speech, witty only in devising, or speaking, or doing evil: but to honesty and virtue his heart was a lump of lead. Envious above all measure; nothing was so grievous to his eyes as the prosperity, nothing so harsh to his ears as the commendations of others. His tongue always slavish to the prince's desires; not regarding how truly or faithfully, but how pleasingly he did advise. Thus as a principal infamy of that age, he lived without love, and died without pity; saving of those who thought it pity that he lived so long.

Further, to make the clergy the more assured, the king renounced the right which his ancestors used in giving investitures; and acknowledged the same to appertain to the pope. This he yielded at his first entrance, partly not knowing of what importance it was, and partly being in necessity to promise any thing. But afterwards he resumed that right again; albeit in a council not long before held at Rome, the contrary had been decreed. For he invested William Gifford into the bishoprick of Winchester, and all the possessions belonging to the same. He gave the archbishoprick of Canterbury to Radulph Bishop of London, and invested him therein by a ring and a staff; he invested also two of his chaplains at Westminster; Roger his chancellor in the bishoprick of Salisbury, and Roger his larderer in the bishoprick of Hereford. Further he assumed the custom of his father and brother, in taking the revenues of bishopricks whilst they remained void: and for that cause did many times keep them a longer season vacant in his hands, than many of the clergy could with patience endure.

But especially the clergy did favour him much, by reason of his liberal leave either to erect, or to enlarge, or else to enrich religious buildings. For to these works the king was so ready to give, not only way, but encouragement and help, that in no prince's time they did more within this realm either flourish or increase. And namely the house of St. John of Jerusalem was then founded near Smithfield in London, with the house of nuns by Clerkenwell. Then were also founded the church of Tewksbury, with all offices thereto belonging: the priory and hospital of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, the church of St. Giles without Cripplegate; the college of secular canons in the Castle of Leicester; the abbey without the north gate of the same town called St. Mary *de prato.* Also the monastery of St. John of Lanthony by Gloucester; the church of Dunmow in Essex; the monastery of St. John at Colchester, which was the first house of Augustine Canons in England; the church of St. Mary Overy's, furnished with canons, in Southwark; the priory of the Holy Trinity now called Christ's Church within Aldgate; and the hospital of St. Giles in the Fields: the priory of Kenelworth; the abbey of Kensham; the monastery of Plympton in Devonshire; with the cathedral church of Exeter; the priory of Merton; the college of Warwick; the hospital of Kepar; the priory of Oseney near Oxford; the hospital of St. Cross near Winchester; the priory of Norton in Cheshire, with divers others. The king also founded and erected the priory of Dunstable, the abbey of Circester, the abbey of Reading, the abbey of Sherbourn. He also changed the abbey of Ely into a bishop's see; he erected a bishoprick at Carlisle, placed canons there, and endowed it with many honours. These and many other religious buildings either done, or helped forward, or permitted and allowed by the king, much increased the affection of the clergy towards him.

Now to draw the love of the common people, he composed himself to a sober civility; easy for access, fair in speech, in countenance and behaviour kind: his majesty so tempered with mildness and courtesy, that his subjects did more see the fruits, than feel the weight of his high estate. These were things of great moment with the vulgar sort; who love more where they are lovingly intreated, than where they are benefited, or happily preserved. He eased them of many public grievances. He restored them to the use of fire and candle after eight of the clock at night, which his father had most straightly forbidden. Punishments of loss of member, used before, he made pecuniary. He moderated the law of his brother, which inflicted death for killing any of the king's deer; and ordained, that if any man killed a deer in his own wood, the wood should be forfeited to the king. He permitted to make enclosures for parks; which taking beginning in his time, did

rise to that excessive increase, that in a few succeeding ages more parks were in England than in all Europe beside. He promised that the laws of King Edward should again be restored; but to put off the present performance, he gave forth, that first they should be reviewed and corrected, and made applicable to the present time. And albeit in truth they were never either reviewed or corrected, yet the only hope thereof did work in the people a favourable inclination to his part.

Whilst the king did thus immure himself in the state of England, as well by ordering his affairs, as by winning the hearts of the people unto him, Duke Robert was returning from Palestine, by easy and pleasurable journeys; using neither the celerity nor forecast which the necessity of his occasions did require. He visited many princes by the way, and consumed much time in entertainments and other compliments of court. He took to wife as he came Sibell the daughter of Roger Duke of Apulia and Earl of Cicill, who was a Norman: and the great portion of money which he received for her dower, he loosely lavished forth amongst his followers; of whom he received nothing again, but thanks when he (scattered rather than) gave, and pity when he wanted.

At the last he arrived in Normandy, and forthwith was solicited out of England by letters from many, who either upon conscience or discontentment favoured his title; and especially from Radulph Bishop of Durham, who had lately escaped out of prison, a man odious enough to undo a good cause; that he would omit no time, that he would let fall no diligence, to embark himself in the enterprise for England: that he had many friends there, both powerful and sure, who would partake with him in his dangers, although not in the honour achieved by his dangers: that therewith the people's favour towards the king did begin to ebb, and that it was good taking the first of the tide. Hereupon he shuffled up an army in haste; neither for number, nor furniture, nor choice of men answerable to the enterprise in hand. Then he crossed the seas, landed at Portsmouth, and marched a small way into the country; vainly expecting the concourse and aid which had been assured him out of England. But King Henry had made so good use both of his warning and time to provide against this tempest, that he did at once both cut from the duke all means of aid, and was ready to encounter him in brave appointment. Hereupon many who were unable by arms to relieve the duke, by advice did to him the best offices they could. For they laboured both the king and him to a reconcilement; the king with respect of his new unsettled estate, the duke with respect of his weaknesses and wants; both with regard of natural duty and love, knit between them by band of blood. So after some travail and debatement, a peace was concluded upon these conditions.

That Henry should retain the kingdom of England, and pay to his brother Robert 3000 marks yearly.

That if either of them should die without issue, the survivor should succeed.

That no man should receive prejudice for following the part of the one or of the other.

These conditions being solemnly sworn by the king and the duke, and twelve noblemen on either part, the duke returned into Normandy, and about two years after went again into England, to visit the king, and to spend some time with him in feasting and disport. At which time, to requite the king's kind usage and entertainment, but especially to gratify Matilda the queen, to whom he was godfather, he released to the king the annual payment of 3000 marks. But as a wound is more painful the day following, than when it was first and freshly taken; so this loose levity of the duke, which was an exceeding sad and sore blow to his estate, was scarce sensible at his departure out of England, but most grievous to him after he had remained in Normandy a while: whereby many motions were occasioned, as well in the one place as in the other.

The duke complained, that he had been circumvented by his brother the king: that his courtesies were nothing else but allurements to mischief; that his gifts were pleasant baits, to cover and convey most dangerous hooks; that his fair speeches were sugared poisons; that his kind embracements were even to tickle his friends to death. Robert Belleme Earl of Shrewsbury, a man of great estate, but doubtful whether of less wisdom

or fear, took part with the duke, and fortified the town and castle of Shrewsbury, the castles of Bridgenorth, Tichel, and Arundel, and certain other places in Wales against King Henry. And having drawn unto him some persons of wretched state and worse mind, whose fortunes could not be impaired by any event, he entered Staffordshire, and drove away light booties of cattle; being prepared neither in forces nor in courage, to stay the doing of greater mischief.

But neither was this sudden to the king, neither was he ever unprovided against sudden adventures. Wherefore encountering the danger before it grew to perfection and strength, he first brought his power against the castle of Bridgenorth, which was forthwith rendered unto him. The residue followed the example (which in enterprise of arms is of greatest moment) and submitted themselves to the king's discretion. Only the castle of Arundel yielded upon condition, that Robert Belleme their lord should be permitted to depart safely into Normandy: and upon the same condition they of Shrewsbury sent to the king the keys of their castle, and therewith pledges for their allegiance. Then Robert with his brother Ernulphus, and Roger of Poictiers abjured the realm, and departed into Normandy: where being full of rashness, which is nothing but courage out of his wits; and measuring their actions not by their abilities, but by their desires; they did more advance the king's affairs by hostility, then by service and subjection they could possibly have done.

Also William Earl of Mortaign in Normandy, and of Cornwall in England, son of Robert, uncle to the king, and brother to King William the First, required of the king the earldom of Kent, which had been lately held by Odo uncle to them both. And being a man brave in his own liking, and esteeming nothing of that which he had, in regard of that which he did desire, he was most earnest, violent, peremptory in his pursuit. Insomuch as, blinded with ambitious haste, he would often say, that he would not put off his upper garment until he had obtained that dignity of the king. These errors were excused by the greenness of his youth, and by his desire of rising, which expelled all fear of a fall. Wherefore the king first deferred, and afterwards moderately denied his demand. But so far had the earl fed his follies with assured expectation, that he accounted himself fallen from such estate as his hungry hopes had already swallowed. Hereupon his desire turned to rage, and the one no less vain than the other: but both together casting him from a high degree of favour, which seldom stoppeth the race until it come to a headlong downfal.

For now the king made a counter-challenge to many of his possessions in England; and thereupon seized his lands, dismantled his castles, and compelled him in the end to forsake the realm. Not for any great offence he had done, being apt to the fault rather of rough rage than of practice and deceit; but his stubborn stoutness was his offence; and it was sufficient to hold him guilty, that he thought himself to have cause and means to be guilty. So having lost his own estate in England, he departed into Normandy, to further also the loss of that country. There he confederated with Robert Belleme, and made divers vain attempts against the king's castles; neither guided by wisdom, nor followed by success. Especially he vented his fury against Richard Earl of Chester, who was but a child, and in wardship to the king, whom he daily infested with invasions and spoils; being no less full of desire to hurt, than void of counsel and means to hurt.

On the other side, divers of the nobility of Normandy, finding their duke without judgment to rule, had no disposition to obey; but conceived a careless contempt against him. For he seemed not so much to regard his substantial good, as a vain breath of praise, and the fruitless favour of men's opinions, which are no fewer in variety than they are in number. All the revenues of his duchy he either sold or mortgaged; all his cities he did alien, and was upon the point of passing away his principal city of Rouen to the burghers thereof, but that the conditions were esteemed too hard. Hereupon many resolved to fall from him, and to set their sails with the favourable gale which blew upon the fortune of the king. To this end they offered their submission to the king, in case he

would invade Normandy; whereto with many reasons they did persuade him: especially in regard of the late hostile attempts there made against him, by the plain permission of the duke his brother, and not without his secret support.

The king embraced the fair occasion, and with a strong army passed into Normandy. Here he first relieved his forts, which were any ways distressed or annoyed; then he recovered those that were lost; lastly, he won from the duke the town and castle of Caen, with certain other castles besides: and by the help of the president of Anjou, fired Bayonne, with the stately church of St. Mary therein. Upon these events, all the priories of Normandy, resembling certain flowers, which open and close according to the rising or declining of the sun, abandoned the duke, and made their submission to King Henry. So the king having both enlarged and assured his state in Normandy, by reason of the approach of winter, departed into England: but this was like the recoiling of rams, to return again with the greater strength.

He had not long remained in England, but his brother Robert came to him at Northampton, to treat of some agreement of peace. Here the words and behaviours of both were observed. At their first meeting they rested with their eyes fast fixed one upon the other; in such sort as did plainly declare, that discourtesy then trencheth most deep, when it is between those who should most dearly love. The duke was in demands moderate, in countenance and speech inclined to submissiveness; and with a kind unkindness did rather intreat than persuade, that in regard of the natural obligation between them by blood, in regard of many offices and benefits wherewith he had endeavoured to purchase the king's love, all hostility between them, all injury or extremity by arms might cease. "For I call you (said he) before the seat of your own judgment, whether the relinquishing of my title to the crown of England, whether the releasing of my annuity of 3000 marks, whether many other kindnesses, so much undeserved as scarce desired; should not in reason withdraw you from those prosecutions, where war cannot be made without shame, nor victory attained without dishonour."

The king used him with honourable respect; but perceiving that he was embarked in some disadvantage, conceiving also that his courage with his fortune began to decline, he made resemblance at the first, to be no less desirous of peace than the duke: but afterwards albeit he did not directly deny, yet he found evasions to avoid all offers of agreement.

The more desirous the duke was of peace, the greater was his disdain that his brother did refuse it. Wherefore clearing his countenance from all shews of dejection or grief, as then chiefly resolute when his passion was stirred, with a voice rather violent than quick, he rose into these words.

"I have cast myself so low as your haughty heart can possibly wish; whereby I have wronged both myself and you: myself, in occasioning some suspicion of weakness; you, in making you obstinate in your ambitious purposes. But assure yourself, that this desire did not proceed from want either of courage, or of means, or of assistance of friends: I can also be both unthankful and unnatural if I be compelled. And if all other supportance fail, yet no arm is to be esteemed weak, which striketh with the sword of necessity and justice."

The king with a well appeased staidness returned answer, that he could easily endure the injury of his angry words: but to men of moderate judgment he would make it appear, that he intended no more in offending him, than to provide for defending himself. So the duke observing few compliments, but such as were spiced with anger and disdain, returned into Normandy, associated to him the English exiles, and made preparation for his defence.

The king followed with a great power, and found him in good appointment of arms: nothing inferior to the king in resolute courage, but far inferior both in number of men, and in fine contrivance of his affairs. For the king had purchased assured intelligence, among those that were nearest both in place and council to the duke: in whom the duke found treachery, even when he reposed most confident trust. Herewith Pope Paschal, to attain his purpose in England, for divesting the king of investing bishops; did not only

allow this enterprise for lawful, but encouraged the king, that he should do thereby a noble and a memorable benefit to his realm.

So, many stiff battles were executed between them, with small difference of advantage at the first; but after some continuance, the duke's side (as it commonly happeneth to evil managed courage) declined daily, by reason of his daily increase of wants. At the last the duke, wearied and overlaid, both with company of men and cunning working, resolved to bring his whole state to the stake, and to adventure the same upon one cast: committing to fortune, what valour and industry could bring forth. The king being the invader, thought it not his part to shrink from the shock; being also advertised that the French King prepared to relieve the duke. On the duke's side, disdain, rage, and revenge, attended upon hate: the king retained invincible valour, assured hope to overcome, grounded upon experience how to overcome.

They met upon the same day of the month just forty years after the great battle of William the First against King Harold of England. The king's footmen far exceeding their enemies in number, began the charge, in small and scattering troops; lightly assailing where they could espy the weakest resistance. But the duke's army received them in close and firm order; so as upon the loss of many of the foremost, the residue began somewhat to retire. And now, whether the duke had cause, or whether confidence, the inseparable companion of courage, persuaded him that he had cause; he supposed that he had the best of the field, and that the victory was even in his hand. But suddenly the king with his whole forces of horse charged him in flank, and with great violence brake into his battaile. Herewith the footmen also returned, and turned them all to a ruinous rout. The duke performed admirable effects of valour, and so did most of the English exiles: as fearing overthrow worse than death. But no courage was sufficient to sustain the disorder; the Normans on every hand were chased, ruffled, and beaten down. Hereupon the duke's courage boiling in choler, he doubled many blows upon his enemies; more furiously driven, than well placed and set; and pressing up hardly among them, was suddenly engaged so far, that he could not possibly recover himself. So he was taken manfully fighting, or as some other authors affirm, was beastly betrayed by his own followers. With him were also taken the Earl of Mortaign, William Crispine, William Ferreis, Robert Estotivill, with four hundred men of arms, and ten thousand ordinary soldiers. The number of the slain on both sides, is not reported by any author; but all authors agree, that this was the most bloody medly that ever had been executed in Normandy before: portended as it is thought by a comet, and by two full moons, which late before were seen, the one in the east, the other in the west.

After this victory the king reduced Normandy entirely into his possession, and annexed it to the realm of England. Then he built therein many castles, and planted garrisons; and with no less wisdom assured that state, than with valour he had won it. When he had settled all things according to his judgment, he returned into England, brought with him his brother Robert, and committed him to safe custody in the castle of Cardiff. But either by reason of his favourable restraint, or else by negligence or corruption of his keepers, he escaped away, and fled for his liberty as if it had been for his life. Notwithstanding this proved but a false favour, or rather a true flattery or scorn of fortune. For being sharply pursued, he was taken again, sitting upon horseback; his horse legs fast locked in deep and tough clay.

Then he was committed to straight and close prison, his eyes put out (as if he should not see his misery) and a sure guard set upon him. Thus he remained in desolate darkness; neither reverenced by any for his former greatness, nor pitied for his present distress. Thus he continued about twenty-seven years, in a life far more grievous than death; even until the year before the death of King Henry. So long was he a suitor in wooing of death: so long did the one brother overlive his good fortune, the other his good nature and disposition; esteeming it a fair favour, that the uttermost extremity was not inflicted. Albeit some writers do affirm, that the duke's eyes were not violently put out, but that either through age or infirmity he fell blind: that he was honourably attended and cared for:

that having digested in his judgment the worst of his case, the greatness of his courage did never descend to any base degree of sorrow or grief: that his brave behaviour did set a majesty upon his dejected fortunes: that his noble heart like the sun, did shew greatest countenance in lowest state. And to this report, I am the more inclinable, for that it agreeth best, both to the fair conditions, and to the former behaviours, and to the succeeding fortunes and felicities of the king: for assuredly he had a heart of manly clemency: and this was a punishment barbarously cruel: For which cause Constantine[73] did forbid, that the face of man, adorned with celestial beauty, should be deformed for any offence.

Others avow that he was never blind; but that it was the Earl of Mortaign whose eyes were put out. And this seemeth to be confirmed, by that which Matth. Paris and Matth. Westm. do report. That not long before the death of Robert, the king upon a festival day had a new robe of scarlet brought unto him: the cape whereof being somewhat too strait for his head, he did tear a little in striving to put it on. And perceiving that it would not serve, he laid it aside and said: "Let my brother Robert have this robe, for whose head it is fitter than for mine." When it was carried unto him, being then not perfectly in health, he espied the cracked place, and thereupon inquired, if any man had worn it before? The messenger declared the whole matter. Which when Robert heard, he took it for a great indignity, and said: "I perceive now that I have lived too long, that my brother doth clothe me like his almsman, with cast and torn garments." So he grew weary of his life: and his disease increasing with his discontentment, pined away, and in short time after died, and was buried at Gloucester.

And this was the end of that excellent commander; brought to this game and gaze of fortune, after many traverses that he had trodden. He was for courage and direction inferior to none; but neither provident nor constant in his affairs, whereby the true end of his actions were overthrown. His valour had triumphed over desperate dangers: and verily he was no more settled in valour, than disposed to virtue and goodness; never wilfully or willingly doing evil, never but by error, as finding it disguised under some mask of goodness. His performances in arms had raised him to a high point of opinion for his prowess; which made him the more unhappy, as unhappy after a fall from high state of honour. He had one son named William, upon whose birth the mother died: of this William shall somewhat hereafter be said.

And now, as princes oftentimes do make advantage of the calamity of their neighbours, so upon this downfall of the Duke of Normandy, Fulke, Earl of Anjou,[74] sharing for himself, seized upon Main, and certain other places; made large waste, took great booties and spoils; not only out of ancient and almost hereditary hate against the house of Normandy, but as fearing harm from the King of England, he endeavoured to harm him first. In like sort, Baldwin Earl of Flanders declared in arms against the king for a yearly pension of three hundred marks; the occasion of which demand was this. King William the First, in recompence of the aid which he received in his enterprise for England, from Baldwin, fifth Earl of Flanders, paid him yearly three hundred marks, which after his death was continued to his son. Robert Earl of Flanders from a collateral line, demanded the same pension; but was denied him by K. Henry: wherefore Baldwin his son attempted now to recover it by arms.

With these, or rather as principal of these, Lewis the Gross, King of France, seeing his oversight in permitting Normandy to be annexed to the realm of England, assembled a great army; and upon pretence of a trifling quarrel about the demolishing of the castle of Gisors, declared William son to Robert Curtcuise for Duke of Normandy: and undertook to place him in possession of that state, which his unfortunate father had lost. And besides those open hostilities in arms, Hugh the king's chamberlain and certain others were suborned traitorously to kill the king; but the practice was in good time discovered, and the conspirators punished by death.

[73] L. si quis. C. de pœnis.

[74] Δρῦος πιστὰσις πᾶς ἀνὴρ ξυγγίνεται.

Hereupon the king both with celerity and power answerable to the danger at hand, passed the seas into Normandy: having first drawn to his assistance Theobald Earl of Champaine, the Earls of Cressy, Pissaux, and Dammartine, who aspired to be absolute lords within their territories, as were many other princes at that time in France. These detained the French king in some tarryance in France, whilst the King of England either recovered or revenged his losses against the Earl of Anjou. At the last he was assailed in Normandy on three parts at once: by the Earl of Anjou from Maine, from Ponthieu by the Earl of Flanders, and by the French king between both. The King of England appointed certain forces to guard the passages against the Earl of Anjou: with directions to hold themselves within their strength, and not to adventure into the field. Against the Earl of Flanders he went in person; and in a sharp shock between them the Earl was defeated and hurt, and (as some authors affirm) slain: albeit others do report, that he was afterwards slain in a battle between the two Kings of England and of France.

After this he turned against Lewis King of France, and fought with him before the town of Nice in Normandy; which town the French had surprised and taken from the King of England. This battle continued above the space of nine hours, with incredible obstinacy; the doubt of victory being no less great than was the desire: and yet neither part so hasty to end, as not to stay for the best advantage. The first battle on both sides was hewn in pieces; valour of inestimable value was there cast away: much brave blood was lost; many men esteemed both for their place and worth, lay groaning and grinning under the heavy hand of death. The sad blows, the griesly wounds, the grievous deaths that were dealt that day, might well have moved any man to have said, That war is nothing else but inhuman manhood.

The king's courage, guided with his fortune, and guarded both with his strength and his skill, was never idle, never but working memorable effects. In all places his directions were followed by his presence; being witness both of the diligence and valour of every man, and not suffering any good advantage or advice for want of timely taking to be lost. He adventured so far in performing with his hand, that his armour in many places was battered to his body, and by reason of the sturdy strokes set upon his helm, he cast blood out of his mouth. But this was so far from dismaying his powers, that it did rather assemble and unite them: so as advancing his brave head, his fury did breathe such vigour into his arm, that his sword made way through the thickest throngs of his enemies, and he brake into them even to the last ranks. He was first seconded by the truly valiant; whose undaunted spirits did assure the best, and therewith contemn the very worst. Then came in they whom despair, the last of resolutions, had made valiant; who discerned no means of hope for life, but by bold adventuring upon death. Lastly he was followed by all; being inflamed by this example to a new life and resolution. Generally, the swords went so fast, that the French unable to endure that deadly storm, were utterly disbanded and turned to flight. K. Henry after a bloody chase, recovered Nice; and with great triumph returned to Roan. Afterwards he would often say, That in other battles he fought for victory, but in this for his life: and that he would but little joy in many such victories.

Upon this event the king sent certain forces into France, to harass the country, and to strike a terror into the enemy. The French king, besides the abatement of his power by reason of his late overthrow, was then preparing in arms against Henry the emperor, who intended to destroy Rheims: partly drawn on by Henry King of England, whose daughter he had taken to wife; but chiefly for that a council had been there held against him by Pope Calixtus a Frenchman, wherein the emperor was declared enemy to the church, and degraded from his imperial dignity. This brought the English to a careless conceit, and to a loose and licentious demeanour in their action; a most assured token of some mischief at hand. And so, as they scattered and ranged after prey (as greedy men are seldom circumspect) they were suddenly set upon by Almarick, Earl of Mountfort, appointed by the French king to defend the country, and with no small execution put to the chase. The more they resisted, the greater was their loss: the sooner they fled, the

more assured was their escape. And for that they were dispersed into many small companies, they had the better opportunity to save themselves.

Many other like adventures were enterprised between the two kings and their adherents; some in France, and some in Normandy, with large loss on both sides. But especially the King of France was most subject to harm; for that his country was the more ample, open and rich. The King of England held this advantage, that no advantage could be won against him: which in regard of the number, valour and greatness of his enemies, was a very honourable advantage indeed.

At the last he made peace with the Earl of Anjou; taking the earl's daughter to be wife to his son William, whom he had declared for successor in his estate; to whom all the nobility and prelates were sworn; and who seemed to want nothing through all his father's dominions, but only the name and title of king. This sinew being cut from the king of France, and also for that Henry the Emperor made preparation of hostility against him, he fell likewise to agreement of peace. By the conditions whereof, William son to the King of England was invested into the duchy of Normandy, doing homage for the same to the King of France. In this peace was comprised on the part of the French king, William son to Robert Curtcuise, who had been declared Duke of Normandy. On the part of the King of England, the Earl of Champeign and certain other lords were comprised; who had either served or aided him against the King of France. After this the wars between the Emperor and the French king did forthwith dissolve.

King Henry having happily finished these affairs, returned out of Normandy, and loosing from Barbeflote, upon the 24th of November, towards evening, with a prosperous gale arrived in England; where great preparation was made to entertain him with many well devised honours. His son William then Duke of Normandy, and somewhat above seventeen years of age, took another ship; and in his company went Mary his sister Countess of Perche, Richard his brother, begotten of a concubine as some affirm; and the Earl of Chester with his wife Lucy, who was the king's niece by his sister Adela. Also the young nobility and best knights flocked unto him, some to discharge their duties, others to testify their love and respect. Of such passengers the ship received to the number of 140, besides fifty sailors, which belonged unto her.

So they loosed from land somewhat after the king; and with a gentle wind from the southwest, danced through the soft swelling floods. The sailors full of proud joy, by reason of their honourable charge; and of little fear or forecast, both for that they had been accustomed to dangers, and for that they were then well tippled with wine; gave forth in a bravery, that they would soon outstrip the vessel wherein the king sailed. In the midst of this drunken jollity the ship struck against a rock, the head whereof was above water, not far from the shore. The passengers cried out, and the sailors laboured to wind or bear off the ship from the danger; but the labour was no less vain than the cry: for she leaned so stiffly against the rock, that the steerage broke, the sides cracked, and the sea gushed in at many breaches.

Then was raised a lamentable cry within the ship; some, yielding to the tyranny of despair, betook themselves (as in cases of extremity weak courages are wont) to their devotions; others employed all industry to save their lives, and yet more in duty to nature, than upon hope to escape: all bewailed the unfortunate darkness of that night, the last to the lives of so many persons both of honour and of worth. They had nothing to accompany them but their fears, nothing to help them but their wishes: the confused cries of them all, did much increase the particular astonishment of every one. And assuredly no danger dismayeth like that upon the seas; for that the place is unnatural to man. And further, the unusual objects, the continual motion, the desolation of all help or hope, will perplex the minds even of those who are best armed against discouragement.

At the last the boat was hoist forth, and the king's son taken into it. They had cleared themselves from the danger of the ship, and might safely have rowed to land. But the young prince hearing the shrill shrieks of his sister Mary Countess of Perche, and of the

Countess of Chester his cousin, crying after him, and craving his help, he preferred pity before safety, and commanded the boat to be rowed back to the ship for preservation of their lives. But as they approached, the boat was suddenly so overcharged with those who (struggling to break out of the arms of death) leaped at all adventures into it, that it sunk under them: and so all the company perished by drowning. Only one ordinary sailor, who had been a butcher, by swimming all night upon the mast escaped to land; reserved, as it may seem, to relate the manner of the misadventure. This ship raised much matter of novelty and discourse abroad; but never did ship bring such calamity to the realm: especially for that it was judged, that the life of this prince would have prevented those intestine wars, which afterwards did fall, between King Stephen and Matilda, daughter to King Henry. The king was so overcharged with this heavy accident; that his reason seemed to be darkened, or rather drowned in sorrow. He caused the coasts a long time after to be watched; but scarce any of the bodies were ever found. Afterwards he took to wife Adalisia daughter to Godfrey Duke of Louvaine, of the house of Lorrain: She was crowned at Westminster by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, because Radulph Archbishop of Canterbury, by reason of his palsy was unable to perform that office. And yet because Roger was not appointed by him, the doting old man fell into such a pelting chafe, that he offered to strike the king's crown from his head. And albeit this lady was in the principal flower both of her beauty and years, yet the king had no issue by her.

Now as after a storm a few gentle drops do always fall, before the weather turns perfectly fair; so after these great wars in France, certain easy conflicts did ensue; neither dangerous nor almost troublesome to the king. For Robert Earl of Mellent, who for a long time had continued both a sure friend, and most close and private in counsel with the king, upon some sudden either discontentment on his part, or dislike on the king's, so estranged himself, as it was interpreted to be a revolt; being charged with intent, to advance William, cousin to William, son to Robert Curtcuise, to the duchy of Normandy. Wherefore the king besieged, and at last took his chief castle called Pont. Audomer; and at the same time environed the tower of Roan with a wall. He also repaired and fortified the castles of Caen, Arques, Gisore, Falace, Argentine, Donfronç, Oxine, Aubrois, Nanroye, Iuta, and the town of Vernone in such sort, as at that time they were esteemed impregnable, and not to be forced by any enemy; except God or gold.

In the mean time the Earl of Mellent, with Hugh Gervase his son, and Hugh de Mountfort his sister's son, calling such as either alliance or friendship did draw unto them; besides those whom youthful either age or minds had filled with unlimited desires; whom discontentment also or want did vainly feed with hungry hopes; entered into Normandy in arms; being so transported with desire to hurt, and troubled with fear of receiving hurt, that they had never free scope of judgment, either to prepare or manage the means to hurt. They were no sooner entered the confines of Normandy, but William Tankerville the king's chamberlain came against them, bravely appointed, and resolute to fight. The very view of an enemy turned their evil-guided fury into a fear: and whatsoever they did (proceeding rather from violence of passion than ground of reason) made them stumble whilst they ran, and by their own disorders hindered their own desires. So with small difficulty they were surprised and taken, and brought to the king; who committed them to straight prison at Roan. An ordinary event when rage runneth faster than judgment and power are able to hold pace.

About this time Charles Earl of Flanders as he was at his devotions in the church of St. Donatus in Brussels, was suddenly slain by conspiracy of his own people. And because he left no issue in life, Lewis King of France invested William son to Robert Curtcuis late Duke of Normandy, in the earldom of Flanders; as descended from Earl Baldwin, sirnamed the Pious, whose daughter Matilda was wife to King William the First, and grandmother to this William. This he did, not so much in favour to William, or in regard of his right, as to set up an assured enemy against King Henry: an enemy not only of singular expectation, but proof: whose courage was apt to undertake any danger; whe-

ther for glory, or for revenge. And herein his project did nothing fail. For no sooner was the earl advanced to that estate, but he raised a great hostility against the King of England: as well to recover the duchy of Normandy, as either to relieve or revenge the hard captivity of his father.

In this war the earl did win a great opinion, both for judgment to discern, and for valour to execute what he did discern: shewing himself in nothing inferior to his uncle the king, but only in treasure and command of men. For this cause he craved supply of Lewis king of France; who, as he was the first that blew the coal, so was he always ready to put fuel to the flame. But the King of England entered France with a strong army, where his sword ranged and raged without resistance: and yet more in prosecution of prey, than in execution of blood. He lodged at Hesperdune the space of eight days; no less quietly, no less safely, than if he had been in the principal city of his kingdom. By this means he kept the French king from sending succour to the earl of Flanders. And in the mean season drew Theodorick earl of Holstein, nephew to Robert who had been earl of Flanders, and Arnoldus, sister's son to earl Charles, not long before slain, to invade earl William: both pretending title to his dignity, both bringing several armies, consisting of men, tough in temper, and well exercised in affairs of the field.

Theodorick upon his first approach took Bruges, Ipres, and Gandt; either willingly yielding, or with small resistance; and upon the neck thereof Arnoldus took the strong town of St. Omer. Earl William being thus set as it were between the beetle and the block, was nothing dejected, nothing dismayed, either in courage or in hope. And first he went against Arnoldus, with a small company, but with such a lively countenance of a soldier, that Arnoldus fell to capitulation for his safe departure; and so returned home as if he had been vanquished. Then the earl made head against Theodorick, and gave him battle, albeit far inferior to him, both for number and furniture of his men. The fight between them was long, furious, and doubtful. The Germans confident in their number, which made them trust the less to their valour: the Flemings rather desperate than resolute, upon importance of their danger. And indeed it often happeneth, that good success at the first doth occasion the overthrow of many great actions; by working in the one side a confidence in themselves, and contempt of their enemies; and by making the other more earnest and entire. So at the last the violent valour of the earl, well followed by the brave and resolute rage of his soldiers, did such effects, that the Germans were shaken and disordered, many slain in the field, and the residue chaced out of Flanders.

The earl having now no enemy in open field, laid siege to the castle of Alost, which was defended against him by the English. The assaults were so lively enforced, and with such variety of invention and device; that a wide way was opened through all impediments, and the defendants were constrained by many necessities to desire fair conditions of yielding. This whilst the earl delayed to grant, he received in a certain light conflict a wound in his hand, whereof in a short time after he died: having first raised himself very high in opinion with all men, for his courage, industry, and skill in arms. And thus Duke Robert and his son William were brought to their unhappy ends; rather through the malice of their fortune, than through any bad merit or insufficiency in themselves: whereby the duchy of Normandy, which had been both the cause and the seat of very great wars, was then strongly settled in possession of King Henry.

He was never infested with domestical wars; which in regard of those tumultuous times, is a manifest argument both of his justice and providence; the one not giving cause, the other no hope, for his subjects to rebel. The King of Scots did homage unto him; for what territories I do not determine. Morcard King of Ireland and some of his successors were so appliable unto him, that they seemed to depend upon his command. The Welsh who hated idleness and peace alike, did strive beyond their strength to pull their feet out of the mire of subjection; but in loose straggling companies, without either discipline or head. For this cause he made divers expeditions into Wales, where he had many bickerings, and put many chaces upon them: but found nothing worthy the name, either of enemy or of war. Wherefore by maintaining garrisons, and light troops of sol-

diers, he consumed the most obstinate, and reduced the rest to his allegiance; receiving the sons of their nobility for hostages.

At that time many Flemings inhabited in England; of whom some came over in the time of King William the First, by occasion of his marriage with Matilda, daughter to Baldwin their earl; but the greatest part came under the reign of this King Henry, by reason that Flanders at that time by irruption of the sea, was in many places overflown. The king was willing to entertain them, because they brought with them both industry and trades; because they made the country both populous and rich. For in making a place populous, it is thereby also made rich: draw people to a place, and plenty will follow; drive away people, and it is undone. They were first planted near the river of Tweed; besides those who dispersed into divers towns. But at this time the king sent many of them into Ros in Pembrokeshire, whose progeny did ever since maintain themselves in good condition against the Welsh: being a people even at this day distinguished from all other bordering upon them, both in language and in nature, and in fashion of life.

On a time as the king marched through Powisland in South Wales, he came to certain straits, through which his main army could not pass, by reason of their multitude and train of carriage: wherefore he sent the greatest part a further way about, and himself with a small company took the nearer way through those straits. When he was well entered, he was charged very sharply, but rudely and disorderedly by the Welsh; who having the advantage both in number and in place, did much annoy him from the higher ground; but durst not approach to close fight at hand. The king himself was smitten with an arrow full upon the breast: whereat he swore, By our Lord's death (which was his usual oath) that it was no Welsh arm which shot that arrow. Many of his men also were hurt, and the residue strangely disordered; the amazement being far greater than the distress. But the king with a firm countenance retired in time, the enemies not daring to pursue him any further, than they might be assured by advantage of place. Then he sent peaceably unto them, and after some overtures, brought them to agree, that for a thousand head of cattle the passage should be left open unto him.

In his politic government he so managed the state, that neither subjects wanted justice nor prince obedience. He repaired many defects, he reformed many abuses, which would in the mean time enfeeble, and at last oppress the commonwealth. He ordered his affairs with such moderation, that he was not only well obeyed by his subjects, but highly honoured and respected by foreign princes: whereby it appeared, that learning may be both a guard and a guide to princes, if it be not so immoderately affected, as to bereave them, either of the mind, or time for action. He used much severity in punishing offenders; severity, the life of justice; of justice, the most assured preserver of states; affording no more favour for the most part, than dead merciless law did allot. Against thieves he provided, that no money should save them from hanging. He ordained that counterfeiters of money should lose both their eyes, and be deprived of their privy parts. He took away the deceit which had been occasioned by variety of measures, and made a measure by the length of his own arm: which hath been commonly used ever since by the name of a yard.

And whereas there are two infallible signs of a diseased state; excess in eating and in attire; which could never be restrained by penalties or fear, but the more the people are therein forbidden, the more are they ravished into riot and vanity: the king by two means cast a general restraint upon them both: by example, and by reproof: which by reason of the inclination of men to imitate and please their prince, have always been of greater force than laws, to reform abuses in that kind. He much abhorred excess in eating and drinking, and was so moderate in his own diet, that he seemed to feed only for necessity of nature. He both used and commended civil modesty in apparel: especially he could not endure an absurd abuse of men in those times, in wearing long hair like unto women. And when their own hair failed, they set artificial peruques, with long locks upon their

heads; whereas by censure of the Apostle,[75] it is reproachful for men to wear long hair. He discharged his court of many loose lascivious persons; affirming, that they were no good instruments of the kingdom; as being in peace chargeable, and unprofitable for war.

During his absence in Normandy, which was sometimes three or four years together, he committed the government of his realm to Roger Bishop of Salisbury: a man harmless in life, in mind flourishing and fresh, in intention upright: most wise in taking, and most faithful and fortunate in giving advice. He had governed the king's expenses of house when he was but a prince of private estate; whereby he gained that reputation for integrity and skill, which advanced him to a higher trust. He was doctor of the canon and civil laws, as most of the bishops at that time were, and did bear the title and name of *Justiciarius totius Angliæ*. He built the Devises in Wiltshire, the castles of Malmesbury and Sherborn. He repaired the Castle of Salisbury, and environed the same with a wall; he built the stately church at Salisbury, destined to a longer life than any of his other works. And further, by reason of the king's much abode in Normandy, the provisions of his house were valued at certain prices, and received in money, to the great contentment and ease of the people.

In these times were mighty woods about the place where the two high-ways Watling and Ikening do join together; which woods were a safe covert and retreat for many robbers, who much infested those high-ways. The most famous thief among them was named Dunne, a man mischievous without mercy, equally greedy of blood and of spoil, the first infamy of his name: he was in a sort as the most villanously adventurous and vile; (for in lewd actions the worst are greatest) commander over the rest, and of him the place was called Dunstable. To repress this annoyance, the king caused the woods to be cut down, built there a borough, to which he granted fair and market, and that the burgesses should be so free as any other burgesses within the realm. He erected there also a palace for himself, and also a fair church or priory; whereto he gave large privileges and endowments. By these means he made the place first populous, and consequently both plentiful and safe.

Many other royal works he performed, some for religion, as the religious buildings specified before; some for strength, as divers castles in Normandy, in Wales, and some also in England: and namely the Castle of Warwick, of Bristol, the castle college and town of Windsor on the hill, about a mile distant from the old town of Windsor; which afterward was much encreased by King Edward the Third, and after him by many kings and queens succeeding. Many palaces also he built for ornament and pleasure. And to this end he maintained his park at Woodstock, wherein he preserved divers sorts of strange beasts; which because he did, with many demonstrations of pleasure, both accept and esteem, were liberally sent unto him from other princes.

He first instituted the form of the high court of parliament, as now it is in use. For before his time, only certain of the nobility and prelates of the realm were called to consultation about the most important affairs of state: he caused the commons also to be assembled, by knights and burgesses of their own appointment, and made that court to consist of three parts; the nobility, the clergy, and the common people; representing the whole body of the realm. The first council of this sort was held at Salisbury, upon the nineteenth day of April, in the sixteenth year of his reign.

His severity in justice, the very heart-string of a commonwealth, his heavy hand in bearing down his enemies, in disabling those from working him harm whom he knew would never love him at the heart; was traduced by some under terms of cruelty. And yet was he always more mindful of benefits than of wrongs; and in offences of highest nature, even for bearing arms against him, he punished oftentimes by imprisonment or exile, and not by death.

When Matilda his daughter was given in marriage to Henry the Fifth Emperor, he took

[75] 1 Cor. xi. 14.

three shillings of every hide of land throughout the realm: which being followed by succeeding kings, did grow to a custom of receiving aid, whensoever they gave their daughters in marriage. For albeit the same be found in the great custumier of Normandy, yet was it never practised in England before. This happened in the fifteenth year of his reign: and he never had the like contribution after, but one for furnishing his wars in France. So the people were not charged with many extraordinary taxations, but their ordinary fines and payments were very great; and yet not very grievous unto them. For that they saw them expended, not in wanton waste, not in loose and immoderate liberality, but either upon necessity, or for the honour and dignity of the state: wherein the preservation or advancement of the common good, made particular burthens not almost sensible.

But both his actions and exactions were most displeasing to the clergy; the clergy did oftentimes not only murmur, but struggle and oppose against his actions: as taking their liberties to be infringed, and their state diminished, by abasing their authority, and abating both their riches and power. When any bishoprick or abbey fell void, he did apply the revenues thereof for supply of his necessities and wants: and for that cause kept some of them many years together vacant in his hands. He would not permit appeals to Rome. Canons were not of force within the realm, unless they were confirmed by the king. Legates from the pope were not obeyed; and no man would come to their convocations. In so much as one of the pope's legates in France did excommunicate all the priests of Normandy, because they would not come to his synod. For this cause the king sent the bishop of Exeter to Rome, albeit he was both blind and in years, to treat with the pope concerning that business. He gave investitures to prelates, by cross, ring and staff: and is charged to have received of some of them great sums of money for their places. About this time the marriage of priests was forbidden in England; but the king for money permitted them to retain their wives, and in the end set an imposition in that respect upon every church throughout the realm. It availed not any man to say, that he had no purpose to keep a wife: he must pay for a faculty to keep a wife if he would.

For these causes they fastened the infamy of covetousness upon him. For these causes, and especially for investing and receiving homage of prelates, he had a stiff strife with Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury. For the king said, that it was against the custom of his ancestors, it could not stand with the safety of his state; that the prelates, who at that time held the principal places both of trust and command in his kingdom, who in very deed ruled all the rest, should not be appointed only by himself; should not swear faith and allegiance unto him; should either be advanced or depend upon any foreign prince. On the other side Anselm refused not only to confirm, but to communicate or common friendly with those who had been invested by the king: reproaching them as abortives and children of destruction; traducing the king also, as a defiler of religion, as a deformer of the beauty and dignity of the church. Hereupon by appointment of the king, they were confirmed and consecrated by the Archbishop of York. Only William Gifford, to whom the king had given the bishoprick of Winchester, refused consecration from the Archbishop of York; for which cause the king deprived him of all his goods, and banished him out of the realm.

Then the king required Anselm to do him homage, and to be present with him at giving investitures; as Lanfranc his predecessor had been with King William his father. Against these demands Anselm objected the decrees of the council lately held at Rome; whereby all lay-persons were excommunicate, who should confer any spiritual promotions; and all those accursed, who for ecclesiastical dignities, should subject themselves under the homage or service of any layman. Hereupon messengers were dispatched from both parties to the pope: who determined altogether in favour of Anselm, or rather in favour of himself. Notwithstanding the king desisted not to urge Anselm, to swear homage unto him. Anselm required, that the pope's letters should be brought forth; and he would do as by them he should be directed. The king answered, that he had nothing to do with the pope's letters; that this was a sovereign right of his crown; that if any

man may pull these royalties from his crown, he may easily pull his crown from his head: that therefore Anselm must do him homage, or else depart out of his kingdom. Anselm answered, that he would not depart out of the realm, but go home to his church, and there see, who would offer him violence.

Then were messengers again sent to the Bishop of Rome; two bishops from the king, and two monks from Anselm. The king wrote to the pope, first congratulating his advancement to the see of Rome; then desiring the continuance of that amity which had been between their predecessors; lastly he tendered all honour and obedience, which in former times the kings of England did yield to the see of Rome; desiring again, that he might not be abridged of such usages as his father did enjoy: concluding, that during his life, he would not suffer the dignities of his crown to be impaired; and if he should so do, yet the nobility and common people of the realm would in no case permit it, but would rather recede from obedience to his see.

The pope wrote back again to Anselm; that for one man's pleasure he would not reverse the decrees of former popes; and therefore gave him both encouragement and charge, to continue constant, and to see them observed in every point. He directed also his letters to the king, which the king did suppress: but his ambassadors declared by word, that the pope permitted investitures to the king, so as in other things he would execute the office of a good prince. Anselm called for the pope's letters. The king answered, that his bishops were to be credited before the monks, who were disabled either for voice or testimony in secular affairs. Anselm said, that he was desirous to yield unto the king, but he durst not although it should cost him his head, unless he had a warrant from Rome: and therefore he would send thither again, to have a more full and ample answer. The king and divers of the nobility persuaded him to go in person, to travel to the pope, and to travel with him, for the quiet of the church, and of his country. With much ado he was entreated, and so set forth on his journey towards Rome: and after followed the king's ambassador William Warlewast, new elect Bishop of Exeter.

When the bishop came to the pope's presence, he declared unto him; what great commodities did rise out of England to the see of Rome; that the investing of prelates had been an ancient right to the crown of that realm; that as the king was by nature liberal, so was he stout and resolute in courage; that it should be a great dishonour to him, who in power exceeded any of his ancestors, if he should not maintain the dignities which they held; that for this cause the pope should do well to prefer to his consideration, what prejudice might follow to his estate, if he should remit nothing of the severities of those canons which had been lately made.

The pope gave an attentive ear, and seemed to pause upon that which had been said. Which the king's ambassador taking to be a degree of yielding, did more earnestly insist, and said: that the king his master would not for the crown of his realm lose the authority of investing his prelates. Hereto the pope with a starting voice and countenance answered; "Neither will I lose the disposing of spiritual promotions in England, for the king's head that beareth the crown; before God (said he) I avow it." His flattering followers applauded this speech, as proceeding from a magnanimous courage, or rather as some flash of divine inspiration: and the king's ambassador not a little abashed, was content to descend to lower demands. In the end it was ordered, that the king should be restored to certain customs which had been used by his father; but that all they who had been invested by the king should be excommunicate, and that their satisfaction and absolution should be committed unto Anselm.

Thus Anselm, with full sail of victory and joy returned towards England; but the king's ambassador stayed behind, to essay whether by any means he could work the pope to a milder mind. But when he saw that he travailed in vain, he followed Anselm, and overtook him at Placentia, and there delivered unto him certain private instructions from the king: that if he would come into England, and behave himself as his predecessors had done towards the king's father, he should be welcome; "otherwise, you are w se enough (said he) you know what I mean, and may easily conjecture what will ensue." With

these words he flung suddenly away; by occasion whereof his speeches settled with a more strong impression, and multiplied many doubtful constructions. So the ambassador returned to the king; but Anselm went to Lyons, and remained there a year and half.

In the mean time much posting was made between England, Lyons, and Rome; but nothing was concluded, nothing could please: for neither the pope would yield to the king, nor the king to Anselm. At the last Anselm threatened to excommunicate the king: whereof the king being advertised by the Countess Adela his sister, he desired her to come to him into Normandy, and to bring Anselm with her. Here the king restored Anselm to his former possessions; but his return into England was respited, until the pope had confirmed certain things which Anselm did assure. So the king took his passage into England, and Anselm abode at the abbey of Beck. Then were dispatched for Rome, William Warlewast mentioned before, and Baldwine abbot of Ramsey; by whose means the controversy was composed between the king and the pope; that the king should receive homage of bishops elect, but should not invest them by staff and ring. After this the king went into Normandy, and there agreed to Anselm in these points following.

1. 'That all his churches which had been made tributary to King William the Second 'should be set free.

2. 'That the king should require nothing of the said churches, whilst the see should 'remain vacant.

3. 'That such priests as had given money to the king to retain their wives, should sur-'cease from their function the space of three years; and that the king should take no 'more after such manner.

4. 'That all such goods, fruits and possessions as the king had taken from the see of 'Canterbury, should be restored to him at his return into England.'

Thus Anselm returned into England, and after a short time the king followed; having taken his brother prisoner, and subdued Normandy to his subjection.

Forthwith Anselm by permission of the king assembled a great council of the clergy at Westminster; wherein he so wrought with the king, that at length (albeit not without great difficulty) it was newly decreed; that no temporal man should give investiture with cross, or with ring, or with pastoral staff. Also he directed injunctions to the priests of his province, that they and their wives should never meet within one house; that they should not keep any woman in their house, but such as were next in kindred unto them; that he who held his wife and presumed to say mass within eight days after, should solemnly be excommunicate. That all archdeacons and their officials should be sworn not to wink at the meetings of priests and their wives for any respect, and if they would not take this oath, then to lose their office; that such priests as would forsake their wives, should cease forty days from ministration in their office, and perform such penance as should be enjoined them by their bishop. The execution of these canons importing both a great and sudden alteration, occasioned much disquiet and disorder in many parts of the realm.

In the same council the censure of excommunication was cast upon those, who did exercise the vile vice of sodomy: and it was further decreed, that the same sentence should be published every Sunday in all the parish churches of England. But afterward it was esteemed fit, that this general excommunication should be repealed. The pretence was, for that the prohibiting, yea, the publick naming of that vice might inflame the hearts of ungracious persons with desire unto it. But wise men conjectured, that after this severe restraint of marriage in the clergy, it did grow so frequent and familiar among them, that they would not give way to so general a punishment. It is certain that in this king's days Jo. Cremensis a priest cardinal, by the king's licence came into England, and held a solemn synod at London; where having most sharply inveighed against the marriage of priests, the night following he was taken in adultery, and so with shame departed the realm. It is certain also that Anselm, the most earnest enforcer of single life, died not a virgin; as by the lamentation which he wrote for the loss whereof it may appear.

Not long after Anselm died, being of the age of seventy years. He had bestowed much money on Christ's Church in Canterbury; as well in buildings, as in ornaments, and increase of possessions. Other works of charge he left not many; neither in very deed could he, by reason of his often banishments, and the seizures of the revenues of his church. But this he did more than liberally supply by the eternal labours of his pen. After his decease the archbishoprick remained void five years: during which time the king applied the fruits to himself. The like he did to other vacant churches; and compounded also with priests for retaining their wives; and made his profit by ecclesiastical persons and livings, more largely and freely than he had done before. For which cause it is not unlike that the imputation of covetousness was fixed upon him. At the last Radulph Bishop of Rochester was advanced to the see of Canterbury; and notwithstanding all former agreements and decrees, the king invested him with ring and with staff.

But howsoever we may either excuse or extenuate the two vices of cruelty and covetousness, wherewith he is charged, his immoderate excess in lust can no ways be denied, no ways defended: and when age had somewhat abated in him the heat of that humour, yet was he too much pleased with remembrance of his youthful follies. For this vice it is manifest, as well by the sudden and unfortunate loss of his children, as for that he was the last king by descent from males of the Norman race, that the hand of God pressed hard upon him.

As Radulph succeeded Anselm in the see of Canterbury, so after the death of Thomas, Thurstan, the king's chaplain was elected Archbishop of York. And because he refused to acknowledge obedience to the see of Canterbury, he could not have his consecration, but was deprived of his dignity by the king. Hereupon he took his journey to Rome, complained to the pope, and from him returned with a letter to the king: that the putting of a bishop elect from his church, without judgment, was against divine justice, against the decrees of holy fathers: that the pope intended no prejudice to either church, but to maintain the constitution which St. Gregory, the apostle of the English nation, had stablished between them: that the bishop elect should be received to his church, and if any question did rise between the two churches, it should be handled before the king.

Upon occasion of this letter a solemn assembly was called at Salisbury, where the variance between the two prelates was much debated. Radulph would not give imposition of hands to Thurstan, unless he would profess obedience. Thurstan said, that he would gladly embrace his benediction, but profess obedience to him he would not. The king signified to Thurstan, that without acknowledgment of subjection to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he should not be consecrated Archbishop of York. Thurstan replied nothing; but renounced his dignity, and promised to make no more claim unto it.

Not long after, Calixtus Bishop of Rome assembled a council at Rheims; and Thurstan desired licence of the king to go to that council. This he obtained under faithful promise, that he should there attempt nothing to the prejudice of the church of Canterbury. In the mean time the king dealt secretly with the pope, that Thurstan should not be consecrated by him. This the pope did faithfully assure; and yet by means of some of his cardinals, whom Thurstan had wrought to be suitors for him; by reason also of his hate against Radulph, for taking investiture from the king; the pope was drawn to give him consecration, and therewith the pall. For this cause the king was displeased with Thurstan, and forbad him to return into the realm.

After this, the pope came to Gisors, to which place the king went unto him; and desired that he would not send any legates into England, except the king should so require. The reason was, for that certain legates had come into England lately before, to wit, one Guido, and another named Anselm, and another called Peter; who had demeaned themselves, not as pillars of the church, but as pillagers of all the realm. Also he required that he might retain all such customs as his ancestors had used in England and in Normandy. The pope, upon promise that the king should aid him against his enemies, yielded to these demands: and required again of the king, to permit Thurstan to return

with his favour into England. The king excused himself by his oath. The pope answered, that he might and would dispense with him for his oath. The king craved respite, affirming that he would advise with his council, and then signify to the pope what he should resolve. So in short time he declared to the pope, that for love to him, Thurstan should be received both into the realm and to his church: upon condition, that he should profess subjection to the see of Canterbury, as in former times his predecessors had done; otherwise (said he) so long as I shall be King of England, he shall never sit Archbishop of York.

The year following the pope directed his letters to the king, and likewise to Radulph. And herewith he interdicted both the church of Canterbury and the church of York, with all the parish churches of both provinces; from divine service, from burial of the dead, from all other offices of the church; except only baptizing of children, and absolution of those who shall lie at the point of death: unless within one month after the receipt of the same letters, Thurstan should be received to the see of York, without acknowledging subjection to the see of Canterbury. It was further signified to the king, that he should also be excommunicated, unless he would consent to the same. Upon these letters Thurstan was sent for, and reconciled to the king, and quietly placed in his church at York. And thus when the bishops of Rome had gained absolute superiority over the state of the church, even for managing external actions and affairs (which seem to be a part of civil government) there wanted nothing but either a weak prince, or a factious nobility, or a headstrong tumultuous people to give him absolute superiority over all.

In the second year of this king's reign the cities of Gloucester and Winchester were for the most part wasted with fire.

In the fourth year a blazing star appeared, and four circles were seen about the sun. The year next following the king prevailed much in Normandy, and so did the sea in Flanders: insomuch as a great part of that country lay buried in the waters.

In the seventh year a blazing star appeared: and upon Thursday night before Easter, two full moons were seen, one in the east, and the other in the west. The same year Robert Duke of Normandy was taken and brought prisoner into England.

In the tenth year the abbey of Ely was made a bishop's see, and Cambridgeshire was appointed for the diocese thereof. In regard whereof, the king gave the manor of Spalding to the bishop of Lincoln, for that the shire of Cambridge was formerly under the jurisdiction of Lincoln. The same year a comet appeared after a strange fashion. About Shrewsbury was a great earthquake. The water of Trent was dried up at Nottingham the space of a mile, from one of the clock until three: so as men might pass over the channel on foot. Wars ensued against the Earl of Anjou; a great mortality of men; a murrain of beasts both domestic and of the field: yea, the fowls perished in great abundance.

In the thirteenth year the city of Worcester, and therein the chief church, the castle, with much people, were consumed with fire. A pig was farrowed with a face like a child. A chicken was hatched with four legs. The year next ensuing the river of Medway so failed for many miles, that in the midst of the channel the smallest boats could not float. In the Thames also was such defect of water, that between the tower and the bridge many men and children did wade over on foot. This happened by reason of a great ebb in the ocean, which laid the sands bare many miles from the shore, and so continued one whole day. Much rage and violence of weather ensued, and a blazing star. The city of Chichester with the principal monastery was burnt. The year next following almost all the bridges in England, being then of timber, by reason of a hard winter were borne down with ice.

In the seventeenth year, the town of Peterborough with the stately church were burned to the ground. The city of Bath also was much ruined and defaced with fire. In March there happened fearful lightning, and in December grievous thunder and hail. The moon at both times seemed to be turned into blood, by reason of the evil qualited

vapours through which it gave light. The year following, Matilda the queen departed this life: a woman in piety, chastity, modesty, and all other virtues nothing inferior to her mother; but in learning and judgment far beyond her: who did not act, nor speak, nor scarce think any thing, but first it was weighed by wisdom and virtue. When the king desired her in marriage, for the public good and tranquillity of the state, in reducing the Saxon blood to the crown; she first modestly, then earnestly refused the offer; showing no less magnanimity in despising honours, than others do in affecting them. But when she was not so much persuaded as importuned to forsake her profession, she is reported by some to have taken the matter so to heart, that she cursed such issue as she should bring forth: which curse did afterwards lie heavy upon them. For her son William perished by shipwreck, and her daughter Matilda was never void of great vexations. As she travelled over the river of Lee, at the Old-ford near London, she was well washed, and somewhat endangered in her passage: whereupon he caused two stone-bridges to be built over the same river, one at the head of the town of Stratford, the other over another stream thereof, commonly called Channel's-bridge; and paved the way between them with gravel. She gave also certain manors, and a mill called Wiggon mill, for repairing of the same bridges and way. These were the first stone-bridges that were made in England. And because they were arched like a bow, the town of Stratford was afterwards called Bow.

In the twentieth year, a great earthquake happened, in the month of September. In the twenty-second year the city of Gloucester, with the principal monastery was fired again. The year next following, the city of Lincoln was for the most part burned down, and many persons perished with the rage of the flame. In the twenty-seventh year, the king received an oath of the chief of the prelates and nobility of the realm; that after his death, they should maintain the kingdom against all men for his daughter Matilda, in case she should survive, and the king not leave issue male in life.

In the thirtieth year, the city of Rochester was much defaced with fire, even in the presence and view of the king. The year next following the oath to Matilda was received again. About this time the king was much troubled with fearful dreams; which did so affright him, that he would often leap out of his bed, and lay hand on his sword, as if it were to defend himself. This year as he returned out of Normandy into England, when he had been carried not far from land, the wind began to rise, and the sea swelled somewhat big. This weather did almost suddenly increase to so dangerous a storm, that all expected to be cast away. The king, dismayed the more by his son's mishap, reconciled himself to God; and vowed to reform many errors of his life, if he did escape. So after his arrival, he went to the monastery of St. Edmund; and there both ratified and renewed the promise he had made. After this he was better ordered in his actions; he erected a bishoprick at Carlisle, and endowed it with many honours: he caused justice indifferently to be administered; and eased the people of the tribute called Dane-gelt.

In the thirty-second year, Matilda daughter to the king was delivered of a son, who was named Henry. Hereupon the king assembled his nobility at Oxford, where he did celebrate his feast of Easter; and there ordained, that she and her heirs should succeed him in the kingdom. And albeit they were often sworn to this appointment; albeit Stephen Earl of Blois was the first man who took that oath: yet was he the first who did rise against it; yet did many others also join with him in his action. For oaths are commonly trodden under foot, when they lie in the way, either to honour or revenge. The same year the city of London was very much defaced with fire.

The year next following, many prodigies happened, which seemed to portend the death of the king, or rather the troublesome times which did thereupon ensue. In the month of August, the sun was so deeply eclipsed, that by reason of the darkness of the air, many stars did plainly appear. The second day after this defect of light, the earth trembled with so great violence, that many buildings were shaken down. Malmesbury saith, that the house wherein he sat, was lift up with a double remove, and at the third time settled

again in the proper place. The earth in divers places yielded forth a hideous noise; it cast forth flames at certain rifts divers days together, which neither by water nor by any other means could be suppressed.

During the time of the eclipse mentioned before, the king was traversing the sea into Normandy; whither he usually went, sometimes every year, but every third year at the farthest. Here he spent the whole year following, in ordering affairs of state, and in visiting every corner of the country. He never gave greater contentment to the people, as well by his gifts, as by his gentle and courteous behaviour: he never received greater contentment from them, by the lively expressing of their love. But nothing did so much affect him with joy, as that his daughter Matilda had brought forth other two sons, Geoffrey and William: whereby he conceived, that the succession of his issue to the crown of England was so well backed, that he needed not to trouble his thoughts with any fear that his heirs would fail.

At the last he began to languish a little and droop in health; and neither feeling nor fearing any great cause, he rode an hunting, to pass it over with exercise and delight. Herewith being somewhat cheared, he returned home, and eat of a lamprey, albeit against his physician's advice; which meat he always loved, but was never able well to digest. After this, and happily upon this vicious feeding, he fell into a fever; which increased in him by such dangerous degrees, that within seven days it led him to the period of his life. He died upon the first of December, in the 67th year of his age: when he had reigned 35 years and four months, wanting one day. His bowels and eyes were buried at Roan: the rest of his body was stuffed with salt, wrapped up in ox hides, and brought over into England; and with honourable exequies buried in the monastery of Reading, which he had founded. His physician who took out his brains, by reason of the intolerable stench which breathed from them, in short time after ended his life. So of all that King Henry slew, this physician was the last.

He had by his first wife a son named William, who perished by shipwreck; and Matilda a daughter, who was espoused to the Emperor Henry the Fifth when she was scarce six years old, and at the age of eleven years was married unto him. When she had been married unto him twelve years, he died; and she returned to the king her father, both against her own mind, and against the desire of the greatest princes of the empire: who in regard of her wise and gracious behaviour, were suitors to the king more than once, to have her remain as empress among them. But the king would not consent to their intreaty: for that she was the only heir to his crown. Then many great princes desired her in marriage. But the king bestowed her upon Geoffrey, son to Fulke Earl of Anjou: somewhat against her own liking, but greatly to the surety of his estate in France. By him she had Henry, who afterwards was King of England.

Further, the king had by a concubine, Richard a son, and Mary a daughter; who were lost upon the sea with their brother William. By another concubine he had a son named Robert, whom he created Earl of Glocester: a man for valour of mind and ability of body inferior to none; in counsels so advised, as was fit for a right noble commander. By his faith, industry, and felicity chiefly, his sister Matilda did afterwards resist and overbear, both the forces and fortunes of King Stephen. He is reported to have had twelve other bastards; which were of no great either note or continuance, according to that saying of the wise man:[76] 'Bastard plants take no deep root.'

This king in the beginning of his reign made many favourable laws: And namely, 'That he would reserve no possessions of the church upon their vacancies: that the heirs 'of his nobility should possess their father's lands without redemption from him, and that 'the nobility likewise should afford the like favour to their tenants: that gentlemen 'might give their daughters and kinswomen in marriage without his licence, so it were 'not to his enemy: that the widow should have her jointure, and not be compelled to

[76] Sapien. iv. 3.

' marry against her own liking: that the mother or next of kindred should be guardian ' of the lands of her children: that all debts to the crown and certain offences also should ' be remitted.' But these laws afterwards were but slenderly observed.

Three virtues were most famous in him; wisdom, courage, and sweetness of speech. By the last he gained much favour from the people. By the other two he purchased, both peace at home, and victory abroad. He was noted also for some vices: but out of doubt they were far exceeded by his virtues. And for these vices also, being himself of a pleasant disposition, he was well pleased with pleasant reproofs. Guymund his chaplain (observing that unworthy men for the most part were advanced to the best dignities of the church) as he celebrated divine service before him, and was to read these words out of St. James;[77] 'It rained not upon the earth iii years and vi months:' he did read it thus; 'It rained not upon the earth one-one-one years and five-one months.' The king observed this reading, and afterwards rebuked his chaplain for it: but Guymund answered, that "he did it of purpose: for that such readers were soonest preferred by the king." The king smiled, and in short time after preferred him to the government of St. Frideswides in Oxford. In this king failed the heirs male of King William the First: and then the crown was possessed by title of heirs general.

In these times flourished two excellent ornaments of the church; Anselm in England, and Bernard in France: both of them enrolled in the list of saints. And no less infamous for vice was Gerard, Archbishop of York; a man of some learning; not so much in substance, as in seeming and shew; of commendable wit, which he applied chiefly, to give a colour for every vice of his own, and for every virtue of others either a slander or a jest: Of envious disposition; plagued less with his own calamities, than with the well either doing or being of other men; in wiping money from his subjects by dishonest means, subtle and shameless; and no less sordid in his expences: given to magical enchantments as many do affirm. On a certain day as he slept upon a cushion after dinner, in his garden at Southwell, and many of his chaplains walked near him; he was found in such a stiff cold dead sleep, as will require the trump of an archangel to awake him. His face then looked with an ugly hell-burnt hue. His body was carried to York; few vouchsafing to accompany, none to meet it (according to the use of exequies) when it came to the city; but the boys in scorn throwing stones at the hearse. He was basely buried without the church; without any funeral solemnities, without any sign either of honour or of grief.

[77] Jam. v. 17.

London and the Countrey carbonadoed and quartred into severall Characters. By D. Lupton.

Brevis esse laboro. Hor. de Art. Poet.

London. Printed by Nicholas Okes. 1632.

[Duodecimo, containing 157 Pages.]

The author is called Donald Lupton in the British Bibliographer, i. 464, *where the following productions are also ascribed to him. With his personal history I am unacquainted.*

'Objectorum Reductio: *or Daily Imployment for the Soule.*' 1634, 8*vo.*

'*Emblems of Rarities: or Choyce Observations out of Worthy Histories.*' *Lond.* 1636, 18*mo.*

'*Glory of their Times; or Lives of the Primitive Fathers.*' 1640, 4*to.*

'*Warrelike Treatise of the Pike.*' 1642, 12*mo.*

'*England's Command of the Seas; or the English Seas Guarded.*' 1653, 12*mo.*

Of similar publications to the present a copious list has been given in Mr. Philip Bliss's late edition of Dr. Earle's Microcosmography, *which will serve to shew in what estimation this style of characterizing was then held. The collection of Lupton is none of the least rare or curious. Mr. Beloe mentions a 'History of Moderne Protestant Divines, namely, John Hus, Melancthon, Luther, Calvin, Beza, &c. and of Wickliffe, Bale, Tindal, Latimer, &c.' by this writer.* Anecdotes of Literature, i. 189.

To the Right Honorable Lord, the Lord Goring,[1] Baron of Hurster-point, and Master of the Horse to the Queen's Highness.

Right Honourable,

YOUR brother's[2] real worth, shewed to me in the wars abroad, emboldened me to present this new-born babe to your protection; not doubting but to find the same reality of worth in yourself in the court at home, as I found in him in foreign leaguers. The subject is new and merry; the fitter either for court or field. It was conceived and perfected in ten days space, and now desires tuition under your lordship. It is the emblem of my affection, and so hopes to be loved and liked the better and sooner: it is the *first*, but not perhaps to be the *last*.[3] I had thought to have presented it unto your Lordship before this time in print, as I did in the manuscript, had not either some malevolent spirit or envious planet crossed me in my designs. I wish that it may be esteemed never the worse; though from so mean a hand, and so unworthy a person as myself. Lend it a favourable smile to comfort and cherish it, and it shall be the height of my desires. Thus presenting myself, it, and what is or shall be mine, to your honour; I humbly take my leave.

Your Honour's obliged

D. Lupton.

[1] [One of the generals to Charles the First, by whom he was created Baron Goring in 1628, and Earl of Norwich in 1644. He was governor of Portsmouth; but declared for the king, and was reduced by the parliament in 1642. He was defeated by Fairfax at Langport, after the battle of Naseby in 1645: and lived till 1662.]

[2] Lieutenant-Colonel Goring.

[3] [Five others were subsequently published. See Prefix.]

To the Reader.

IF courteous, I love thee: if otherwise, I fear not. Deal by me, as thou wouldst have others do to thyself: if the matter prove as pleasant as the subject is new, I doubt not thy approbation. 'Tis one comfort, thou canst not say I am the first fool in print; nor, as I think, shall be the last. Friends' persuasions prevail much; had they not, I had not showed myself in this kind. I am in press: do not over-press me with prejudicate opinions. I desire thy smile and benign aspect, yet fear not much thy frown. If thou sayest 'tis idle; know, it came not into the world to work much. Like it and love it, if thou please; leave it, if thou wilt; 'tis all I say, if thou lovest me and my child, I love thee and

Thine, as thou art mine,
D. LUPTON.

In Commendation of the Author.

TAKE in good part what here I offer,
'Tis my maiden loving proffer.
I wonder at thy strange device,
That thus thou shouldest charactize,
And how alone that thou shouldst find,
These two new subjects to thy mind.
Brave Overbury, Earle, nay none
Found out this plot, but thou alone.
But most of all, I wonder yet,
How in ten days thou finish'd it.
The mirth, the wit, the stile, the phrase,
All give thee a sufficient praise.
He that thy book shall buy and read,
Shall find I've spoken truth indeed.

Thine,
JOHN BARKER.

To his loving Friend, D. Lupton.

FEAR not Momus, though he carp,
Nor Zoilus, though he snarl or bark.
Mirth is the subject of thy book,
City and Country here may look,
Wonder at thee, and praise thy pain
That labour'd hast, *sans* hope of gain.
Thy wit and learning I commend,
To thee applause I freely lend;
The wise will like: I wish the rest
To spare their censure, it is best.
They'll hurt themselves with their own tongue,
Their snarling can do thee no wrong.

Per SAMUEL PERKINGS,
Philomath.

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1. London.

SHE is grown so great, I am almost afraid to meddle with her; she is certainly a great world, there are so many little worlds in her. She is the great bee-hive of Christendom; I am sure of England. She swarms four times in a year[4] with people of all ages, nations, sexes, callings. Decay of trade, the pestilence, and a long vacation, are three scare-crows to her: she seems to be a glutton, for she desires always to be full: she may pray for the establishment of churches, for at the first view they are her chiefest grace. She seems contrary to all things; for the older she is, the newer and more beautiful. Her citizens should love one another, for they are joined together;[5] only this seems to make them differ, they live one above another: most commonly he that is accounted richest lives worst.[6] I am sure I may call her a gallimaufry of all sciences, arts, and trades. She may be said to be always with child, for she grows greater every day than other; she is a mother well stored with daughters, yet none equal to her for greatness, beauty, wealth. She is somewhat politic, for she enlarges her bounds exceedingly, in giving way to make cities of common gardens; and it is thought her greatness doth not increase her beauty. Certainly she is no puritan, for her buildings are now conformitant; nor she is no separatist, for they are united together.—She hath a very great desire, 'tis thought, to be good; for she is always mending. She may be called a great book, fair printed, *cum privilegio regis*. She is the country-man's labyrinth; he can find many things in it, but many times

[4] [The four terms; which appear to have been far more matters of observance in London formerly than now. But this is only one among a hundred instances of the indifference of the present age to times and seasons.]

[5] [Alluding to the narrowness of the streets.]

[6] [That is, lowest.]

he looseth himself; he thinks her to be bigger than heaven, for there are but twelve celestial signs there, and he knows them all very well; but here are thousands that he wonders at.[7] Well! she is a glory to her prince, a common gain to her inhabitants, a wonder to strangers, an head to the kingdom, the nursery of sciences; and I wish her to be as good as great.

2. The Tower.

Four things make it to be remarkable,—majesty, antiquity, situation, strength; an head fitting so great a body. A royal residence hath graced it.[8] It stands principally now for defence, offence, and punishment of offenders. Anger it, and you shall hear it thunder, farther than you can see it. Time seems to be a little angry with her; for she strives to ruin her beauty, were it not supported by the hand of majesty. Gold and silver, the marrow of our land, receive their allowed forms from hence. A coronation-day is bravely exemplified here. It is faithful; for what is put in here is surely safe: they that are within, need not much fear; for they are sure to be kept well: I cannot say they shall presently be forth-coming. The men that keep it are no sluggards, but are very ready; for they watch and ward continually. I wish it may be my prospective for pleasure, but not my abode by compulsion; I had rather be an honest poor man without it, than otherwise never so great, and justly in it. I think it to be no changeling, for she still keeps the old fashion: it may be said to be the school of moral philosophy, for it civilizes lions and other wild beasts; the officers ought to be faithful stewards, for they are much trusted; they had need be wise, for they do not only keep themselves, but others too. Those that are in it are reserved, still, and well staid men; those that keep it are well paid, for it keeps them; those that come to see it, rather admire at every thing than slight any object. It is the public magazine for warlike provision; it doth seem terrible to those that do offend her prince; for her own part, she hath taken allegiance, and with all loyalty intends to keep it. This land hath afforded this place many brethren, strong fortified castles; but through rebellion, through time's malice and the frowns of princes, they cannot be known almost but by their ruins; this kept her obedience to her rulers, and so escaped destruction. To conclude; she is the glory and strength both of city and kingdom.

3. Of St. Paul's Church.

O, Domus antiqua! a fit object for pity, for charity; further reported of, than known; for it hath the three dimensions of longitude, latitude, and profundity; and has an excellent *over-plus*, famous for height. It was a main point of wisdom to ground her upon Faith,[9] for she is the more likely to stand sure: the great cross in the middle, certainly hath been, and is yet, ominous to this church's reparation. St. Paul called the Church the pillar of truth; and surely had they not been sound, they had fallen before this time. The head of this church hath been twice troubled with a burning fever,[10] and so the City to keep it from a third danger, let it stand without a head. I can but admire the charity of former times, to build such famous temples, whenas these ages cannot find repair to them: but then the world was all church, and now the church is all world; then charity went before, and exceeded preaching, now there is much preaching, nay more than ever, yet less charity; our fore-fathers advanced the church, and kept their land; these times lose their lands, and yet decay the churches. I honour antiquity so much the more, because it so much loved the church. There is more reason to suspect the precise puritan, devoid of charity; than the simple ignorant, fraught with good works. I think truly in this one point, the ends of their actions were for good; and what they aimed at was God's glory,

[7] [All the shops in London were formerly de*sign*ated thus.]

[8] [K. Henry III. an. 1260, lodged in the Tower with his queen: for fear of the barons, says Strype, in his edition of Stow's London. He likewise held a parliament there.]

[9] [In allusion to the parish church of St. Faith, under the choir at St. Paul's, of which it was anciently said

'This church needs no repair at all,
'For *Faith's* defended by *St. Paul.*']

[10] [Twice destroyed by fire before the date of this tract, viz. in 1087 and 1561; and again at the great fire of London in 1666.]

and their own happiness. They builded temples, but our degenerating age can say, 'Come 'let us take them into our hands and possess them.' Amongst many others, this cannot be said to be the rarest, though the greatest. Puritans are blown out of the Church with the loud voice of the organs; their zealous spirits cannot endure the music, nor the multitude of the surplices; because they are reliques, they say, of Rome's superstition. Here is that famous place for sermons, not by this sect frequented, because of the title, 'The 'Cross.'[11] The middle aisle is much frequented at noon with a company of Hungarians,[12] not walking so much for recreation as need; and if any of these meet with a younker, that hath his pockets well lined with silver, they will relate to him the meaning of Tycho Brahe, or the north-star; and never leave flattering him in his own words, and stick as close to him as a bur upon a traveller's cloak; and never leave him till he and they have saluted the Green Dragon, or the Swan behind the Shambles;[13] where I leave them.

Well, there is some hope of restoring this Church to its former glory; the great sums of money bequeathed, are some probabilities, and the charity of some good men already, in clothing and repairing the inside, is a great encouragement;[14] and there is a speech,[15] that the houses that are about it must be pulled down, for Paul's Church is old enough to stand alone. Here are prayers often; but sinister suspicion doubts, more formal than zealous: they should not be worldly, because all churchmen; there are none dumb; for they can speak loud enough. I leave it them; wishing all might be amended.

4. The Bridge.

It is almost Art's wonder, for strength, length, beauty, wideness, height: it may be said to be Polypus, because it is so well furnished with legs: every mouth is four times filled in eight and forty hours, and then as a child it is still; but as soon as they be empty, like a lion it roars, and is wondrous impatient. It is made of iron, wood, and stone; and therefore it is a wondrous hardy fellow. It hath changed the form, but as few do now-a-days, from worse to better: certainly, it is full of patience, because it bears so much, and continually. It is no prison, for any one goes through it: it is something addicted to pride, for many a great man goes under it; and yet it seems something humble too, for the poorest peasants tread upon it. It hath more wonders than arches: the houses here built are wondrous strong, yet they neither stand on land or water: it is some prejudice to the water-man's gain; many go over here, which otherwise should row or sail: it helps many a pennyless purse to pass the water without danger or charges. Nothing affrights it more than spring-tides, or violent inundations: it is chargeable to keep it, for it must be continually repaired: it is the only chief crosser of the water; his arches out-face the water, and like judges in the parliament, are placed upon wool-sacks. One that lives here need not buy strong water, for here is enough for nothing: it seems to hinder the water-bearer's profit, for the inhabitants easily supply their wants by buckets. He is a settled fellow, and a main upholder of houses. He is meanly[16] placed; for there are divers above him, and many under him; and his houses may well be called 'None-such'[17] for there is none like

[11] [The pulpit cross at St. Paul's was of timber mounted upon steps of stone, and covered with lead; in which sermons were preached by learned divines on the morning of every sabbath. In foul and rainy weather these sermons were delivered in a place called the Shrowds, by the side of the church, where was covering and shelter. Both these have been long since disused, but the sermons are preached in the cathedral, and are still called 'Paul's-cross sermons.']

[12] [*Alias* hungry-ones. An allusion to those dinnerless pedestrians who made a promenade of St. Paul's Church, and were said to dine with Duke Humphrey.]

[13] [Probably victualling-houses in the neighbourhood of Paul's.]

[14] [The repairing of this church was begun in April 1633, (the year after that in which Lupton published) there being ready money then in hand for the purpose, to the amount of £5416, and by the end of the year 1643, it appeared that donations had been received to the amount of £101,330. But not more than £35,551 was expended; and the civil dissensions then breaking out, put an end to the work.]

[15] [Rumour, report.]

[16] [*i. e.* Moderately, in a middle situation.]

[17] [Alluding to the ancient palace built by Henry the Eighth at Cuddington in Surrey. See Camden's Britannia.]

them; and, to conclude; he partakes of two elements; his nether parts are all for water, his upper for land; in a word, it is without compare, being a dainty street, and a strong and most stately bridge.

5. Thames.

This is a long broad slippery fellow: rest he affects not, for he is always in motion. He seems something like a carrier, for he is still either going or coming; and once in six or eight hours, salutes the sea, his mother; and then brings tidings from her. He follows the disposition of the wind: if that be rough, so is the water; if that calm, so is this: and he loves it, because, when the wind is at highest, then the water will best show her strength and anger: it is altogether unsteady, for it commonly is sliding away. Man's unconstant state, and uncertain frail condition, is truly resembled by this; always either ebbing or flowing, being in a trice high and low. He will not be a martyr; for he will turn, but never burn. Resolution is absolutely his guide and counsellor; for he will run his course. He cannot be said to be a well, or spring without water; for he is *puteus inexhaustus*. Merchandize he likes and loves, and therefore sends ships of traffick to most parts of the earth. His subjects and inhabitants live by oppression; like hard landlords at land; the greater rule and many times devour the less. The City is wondrously beholden to it, for she is furnished with almost all her necessaries by it. He is wondrously crossed: he is the maintainer of a great company of watermen: he is a great labour, for he works as much in the night as the day. He is led by an inconstant guide, the moon. He is clean contrary to Smithfield, because that is all for flesh, but this for fish; his inhabitants are different from those upon land, for they are most without legs. Fishermen seem to offer him some wrong, for they rob him of many of his subjects. He is seldom without company, but in the night, or rough weather. He meets the sun, but follows the moon; he seems to complain at the Bridge, because it hath intruded into his bowels; and that makes him roar at that place. To speak truth of him, he is the privileged place for fish and ships, the glory and wealth of the city, the highway to the sea, the bringer-in of wealth and strangers; and his business is all for water, yet he deals much with the land too: he is a little sea, and a great river.

6. Exchanges Old[18] and New.

The one of these came from Antwerp,[19] the other from a stable: the one was Dutch, yet made denizen; the other was not so at the beginning, but did exchange his name and nature. The merchants are men generally of good habit; their words are usually better than their consciences; their discourse ordinarily begins in water, but ends in wine. The frequenting of the walks twice a day, and a careless laughter, argues they are sound: if they visit not once a day, 'tis suspected they are cracking or broken: their countenance is ordinarily shaped by their success at sea, either merry, sad, or desperate; they are like ships at sea, top and top-gallant this day, to-morrow sinking. The sea is a tennis-court, their states are balls, the wind is the racket, and doth strike many for lost under line, and many in the hazard. They may seem to be acquainted with Athens: for they all desire news. Some of them do keep two brittle vessels, their ships and their wives: the latter is less ballast, and that makes them so light: the merchants respect the former most, for if that sink or be overthrown, they fall; but the fall of the latter is oftentimes the advancing of their heads. Conscience is sold here for nought, because it is as old sermons, a dead commodity. They will dissemble with, and cozen one another; though all the kings that ever were, since the conquest, overlooked them. Here are usually more

[18] [I know not what is intended by the 'Old Exchange' unless a street, still so called, near Friday-street, which received its name from the king's exchange there kept for the receipt of bullion intended to be coined. See Strype's Stow, lib. iii. p. 140.]

[19] [It appears that Sir Thomas Gresham was instigated to his undertaking by a correspondent at Antwerp, who strongly represented the disgrace which the city of London derived from the deficiency of such a building. This was originally called 'The Burse;' but, by desire of Queen Elizabeth, afterwards took the name of the 'Royal Exchange.' The present building so called, was not erected till after Lupton's time.]

coaches attendant than at church-doors: the merchants should keep their wives from visiting the upper rooms too often, lest they tire their purses by attiring themselves.[20] Rough seas, rocks and pirates, treacherous factors, and leaking ships affright them. They are strange politicians: for they bring Turkey and Spain into London, and carry London thither. Ladies surely love them: for they have that which is good for them—'far 'fetched and dear bought.' They may prove stable men, but they must first leave the Exchange. It is a great house, full of goods: though it be almost in the middle of the city, yet it stands by the sea. There's many gentlewomen come hither, that to help their faces and complexions, break their husbands' backs; who play foul in the country with their land, to be fair and play false in the city. The place (to conclude) is thought to be a great formalist, and an hazardable temporiser: and is like a beautiful woman; absolutely good, if not too common.

7. Cheapside.

'Tis thought the way through this street is not good, because so broad, and so many go in it: yet though it be broad, it's very strait; because, without any turnings. It is suspected here are not many sufficient able men, because they would sell all; and but little honesty, for they show all; and some think, more some time than their own. They are very affable, for they'll speak to most that pass by. They care not how few be in the streets, so their shops be full. They that bring them money, seem to be used worst; for they are sure to pay soundly. Their books of accounts are not like to their estates; for the latter are best without, but the other with, long crosses.[21] There are a great company of honest men in this place, if all be gold that glisters. Their parcel-gilt plate is thought to resemble themselves: most of them have better faces than hearts. Their monies and coins are used as prisoners at sea, kept under hatches. One would think them to be good men, for they deal with the purest and best metals, and every one strives to work best, and stout too: for they get much by knocking, and especially by leaning on their elbows. Puritans do hold it for a fine street, but something addicted to popery, for adorning the cross[22] too much. The inhabitants seem not to affect the standard: the kings and queens would be offended with and punish them, knew they how these barter their faces on their coins. Some of their wives would be ill prisoners, for they cannot endure to be shut up; and as bad nuns, the life is so solitary. There are many virtuous and honest women: some truly so, others are so for want of opportunity. They hold that a harsh place of scripture—'That women must be no goers or gadders abroad.' In going to a lecture, many use to visit a tavern: the young attendant must want his eyes and change his tongue, according as his mistress shall direct; though many times they do mistake the place, yet they will remember the time, an hour and half, to avoid suspicion. Some of the men are cunning landerers of plate, and get much by washing that plate they handle; and it hath come from some of them, like a man from the broker's that hath cashiered his cloak, a great deal the lighter. Well: if all the men be rich and true, and the women all fair and honest, then Cheapside shall stand by Charing-Cross for a wonder; and I will make no more characters. But I proceed.

8. Inns of Court and Chancery.

These were builded for profit, grace, pleasure, justice: the buildings grace the city, the men grace the buildings, justice and learning grace the men. These places furnish our land with law: here nobility, learning, law, gentry, have their residence: here are students and professors: here are students that will not be professors; here are professors and students: here are professors not yet students, and here be some that are neither stu-

[20] [The Exchange was formerly furnished with shops, &c. for the disposal of wares.]

[21] [Allusive to crossing out their book-keeping accounts, when paid.]

[22] [Cheapside-Cross was one of those erected by Edward I. in those places where the funeral procession of his queen Eleanor rested, between Lincoln and Westminster. This cross was the occasion of much puerile controversy in the period of puritanism.]

dents nor professors. Many hold that for an excellent custom in the Temple, immunity from danger of serjeants or such like prowling vermin: some live here for profit, others for grace, some for pleasure, some for all: yet most, for profit and pleasure. They that mean to live by law desire not so much the theory as the practick part. Though many here follow the law, yet all keep it not, but some transgress. They are the seminaries of judgment and justice: he that is most expert in the law, is the most fitting for public employment and the magistracy: these cause Cæsar to have his due, and give the subject his right. That land is likely to flourish where religion and justice are honoured and practised: take away justice, and religion will halt; remove religion and justice will degenerate into tyranny. Let Moses and Aaron rule, and our Israel will prosper. These places moralize, civilize the younger, advance the learned: their founders intended the stablishing of peace, and confirming of religion. Many things that begin with blows and would end in blood, are by these professors mediated, and christian agreement made: their number, unity, great employment, makes them admired. To conclude; they are rich magazines for law, store-houses for policy, bulwarks of equity; let them ever flourish, as long as they are *Deo, regi, patria;* for God, their king, and country.

9. Smithfield.

You may have a fair prospect of this square fellow, as you pass from the streights of Pie-corner. This place is well stored with good harbours for passengers to put into: for flesh and drink and fish it is admirable; but fish harbour appears now but two days in seven above water. Here, thrice in a week, one may see more beasts than men. Butchers, that have money, make this their haven or rendezvous: men that are down fled, and better fed than taught, may see many like themselves, bought here for the slaughter. Butchers surely cannot endure cuckolds, because they kill so many horned beasts; some, I suppose, may be said to buy themselves; such as traffic for calves. Though the place be square, yet here is much cheating in it; here land pirates use to sell that which is none of their own: here comes many horses, like Frenchmen, rotten in the joints; which by tricks are made to leap, though they can scarce go. He that lights upon a horse in this place, from an old horse courser, sound both in wind and limb, may light of an honest wife in the stews. Here's many an old jade that trots hard for't, that uses his legs sore against his will; for he had rather have a stable, than a market or a race. I am persuaded that this place was paved without the consent of the horse-coursers company. This place affords those leather black coats which run so fast upon wheels, they shake many a young heir out of his stock and means. The men that live here, may be said to be well fed, for here's meat enough. This place shows what a rich country England is, and how well it breeds beasts; a man that considers their number and greatness, and how soon consumed, may think there are a world of mouths; or else, that Englishmen are great eaters. Well, I will speak this of Smithfield: it is the greatest, fairest, richest, squarest market-place of this great city or kingdom.

10. Bridewell.

Here comes many that have been at many a dance, but never affected the Bride-well. Here's a palace[23] strangely metamosphosed into a prison: in the outward court were carts, not for the husbandman, but for those that have used the unlawful game of venery. 'It seems to be contrary to nature to make those draw, which were made to bear: a strange invention, to have such a new punishment for such an old sin. Methinks the house complains—*O! quam a dispari Domino!* It may be said of it, that it hath been eminent, great, and majestical: so much may be said of it: yet that the court is where it was. It should maintain virtue, for it punishes vice. They are severe governors, for they are most upon correction. When men have here done their work, they are sure of their wages—

[23] [King Henry VIII. is said to have built a stately and beautiful house here; calling it Bridewell, from its being in the parish of St. Bride's. Edward VI. gave it to the city of London, 'for a chastising house of vagrant crimes.' But this must not be confounded with the Bridewell in Tothil-fields.]

a whip. They are temperate here, for they eat not overmuch: for their drink, if all were to follow their course, it would make malt cheap; for it's water. It may be said of this, as of the palatinate,[24]—would it was restored *in statú quo prius!* Some say there are many idle persons in it: strange! yet work so hard. It is thought there is scarce a true fellow in it; for they all lie hard. There's none can say he works for nothing, for they are all sure of payment. It's the only remembrancer[25] of Egypt's slavery: they have task-masters to hold them to their work. Their whip-master is like a country pedagogue; they many times whip better than himself, and both take a pride in their office: they inflict that upon others which they deserve themselves: they that come out of it need not fear purgatory, for it's thought to be a place of more ease. This is a two-fold comfort unto them, that they may once come out; and then they can scarce light of an harder master or a worse service. They may be papists; for they fast often, have their bodies afflicted, are shut up from the world, seem wondrous penitent,—only, they pray not so often. I leave the place,—wishing they may come out, amend, and never more come into it.

11. Ludgate[26] and Compters.

I'll join all these together, because their natures are not much different. Some of the officers make the places worse than they would be. If a man cannot by monies or good security pay his debts, yet he may lie for them here: the prisoners are like apprentices, desire heartily to be freemen. Certainly, they have been men of great credit, for they have been much trusted. They hate three persons,—an extreme creditor, a cunning lawyer, and a biting serjeant: these three are all 'fishers of men;'—the creditor owns the net, the lawyer places and spreads it, the serjeant hawls and draws it to a purse: the serjeant seems to be most of trust; for he hath the whole business put into his hands, and if he can, concludes it; the lawyer next to him, for he is trusted with the bonds; the creditor himself is of the least note, for he will not be seen in his own business: yet the creditor is lord of the game, the lawyer is his huntsman, the serjeant his blood-hound, the yeoman his beagle, and the debtor is the wild hare: if he be taken, most commonly he is tamed in one of these mewses: a serjeant is worst when most employed, and a lawyer when most trusted, the creditor when without pity, and the debtor when prodigality and ill courses have procured this cage. The attorney and serjeant may be termed hangmen; they procure and serve so many executions. These places are fullest when men break their bonds and make forfeitures: they may be called dens, the serjeant lions, and the debtor the prey. It is an ancient gate,[27] yet not affected by citizens, though a closet for safety. For the compters, they teach wandering nightingales the way unto their nests, and learn them to sing the counter-tenor. The compters seem very courteous, for they will open almost at any hour in the night: they would not have men lie in the streets. Well; they are places that are too full:—the more pity that men either have not better estates, consciences, or manners; to pay their debts, and live uprightly and orderly.

12. Newgate.

It may well answer to the name, and thank the city for her care and charges: it is now well faced and headed.[28] Charity helps much to a decayed estate: but that Saint Paul's is a church, and so to bear no anger or grudge, it would envy the prosperity of the gates and be angry with the citizens for not thinking upon her old age and poverty. Newgate is generally a place of safety, and few come hither but by merit: the captives are men that once would not, now must, live within compass: they should be men of

[24] [The palatinate having been wrested from Frederic, King of Bohemia, through the imbecile measures of his father-in-law, King James; it became a favourite project with his son and successor Charles, to obtain a restitution of those lost dominions: but the project was futile, and the prosecution of it miscarried.]

[25] The lash.

[26] [Lud-gate, like most other gates, was used as a place of confinement.]

[27] [According to Geoffrey of Monmouth it was first built by King Lud: about the year B. C. 66. 'But of 'this (says John Stow) hath been of late some questions among the learned, wherefore I overpass it, as not to 'my purpose.' He allows however Ludgate to be one of the most ancient city gates.]

[28] [It was repaired in the years 1630-1.]

worth, for the keeper will not, dare not, loose one of them. When they are forsaken every where, then this place takes them in, for fear their heels should be as quick as their hands have been. He lays them in irons, that he may be the surer of them. They are, or may be supposed to be, sound men; for they seldom break out; as long as they stay here, they cannot be said to be unstaid fellows or vagrants, for they are sure of a place of stay. They are quick-sighted, for they can see through iron-grates. Some of them seem to be eminent men, for they are highly advanced. They are like fish; have a long time nibbled away the bait, but are now caught. Certainly, they are no libertines, and are convicted of free-will. They are uncharitable, for they seldom love their keeper. They have the power of life and death in their own hands, and put many[29] to be pressed to death. By seeking others' goods, they procured their own hurt. They lived without any thought of judgment: now it is the only thing they fear: they hold a triangle to be a dangerous figure.[30] Of all places they hold Holborn-hill an unfortunate place to ride up:[31] it seems they go that way unwillingly, for they are drawn: they cannot miss their way to their journey's end, they are so guarded and guided. Lice seem to be their most constant companions, for they'll hang with them for company. It seems these men were not made for examples; for at their confession they wish all men not to follow their courses: and most are easily persuaded, for there's very few dare do as they have done. Well, I pass from them:—thus much you may be sure of, once a month you may hear, know, and see (if you please) whether they live or die.

13. Turnbull-street.[32]

It is an ill name, and therefore half-hanged. Here may be some probability of honesty, little or no demonstration, especially *à priori*. Here are lasses that seem to hate enclosures, for they would lay all open. They may seem good subjects, for they love standing or laying for the common. They hold it was a good age when women practised astronomy. They seem to be puritans, for they love private conventicles. They are not altogether unpractised in the law, for they know and love fee-lings. The aspect here is the conjunction: and they hold a noun substantive, a preposition, an interjection, and conjunction the best parts of speech. They have learned thus far in their accidences; that *fœminæ ludificantur viros*. They seem to be no whit addicted to pride, for they desire to be below: they love not Lent, because they delight more in flesh: they seem to be well-wishers to lawyers and to the city, for they love term-times, and pray against the decay of trading: their chiefest desire is to be well-manned. It is hazardable to trust them, because they are much addicted to lying. They love not to wrestle, they had rather take a fall than give one. When this street was builded, surely Mars and Venus were in conjunction. Here are very few men, but they are well arm'd: nay, the women have received press-money, and have performed the service: women though the colder vessels by nature, yet these are the hotter by art. They may be thought to be great scholars, for they partake of all the liberal sciences: for grammar, they know the syntaxis of the figure called Apollo: for logic, they have skill in the antepredicaments and the fallacies: for music, they are not affected with unisons, but are skilful in crotchets and quavers, and love *elah*, because the highest note; for rhetoric, they know the *metonomia adjuncti* and apostrophe: for arithmetic, they love addition and division; for astronomy, they know the motion of Venus and are observers of Mars; for their skill in geography, they know the tropics and the torrid zone: and so being thus experienced in these sciences, they are much frequented and sought to. I wish all in this street to take heed of their cellars, lest they fire first; and to lay their trading down, or else it will lay them down.

[29] Lice. [30] [In allusion to the three-sided gibbet.]
[31] [Because it was the route from Newgate to Tyburn, where executions formerly took place.]
[32] [Or Turnmill-street; near Cow-cross, West Smithfield.]

14. Houns-ditch and Long-lane.

These two are twins: they have both set up one profession; they will buy a man's suit out of his hands, but it shall be hanged or prest for't. A man that comes here as a stranger, would think that there had been some great death of men and women hereabouts, he sees so many suits and no men for them. Here are suits[33] enough for all the lawyers in London to deal withal. The inhabitants are men of many outsides; their faults are not seen easily, because they have so many cloaks for them. They should be well affected to the Roman church; for they keep and lay up old reliques. They are beholden to the hangman, for he furnishes their shops: and most of their creditors wish that they may furnish his three-cornered shop, which often comes to pass; and, as many say, the oftener the better. Broke-curs they are in two respects: most of them were *broke* before they set up, and *curs* for biting so sore ever since they set up. His shop is a hell, and he the devil in it that torments poor souls. The jailor and broker are birds of a feather; the one imprisons the body, the other the clothes; both make men pay dear for their lodging: the broker seems somewhat the kinder, for he lays the clothes in lavender. He is much of a serving-man's nature, lives much upon the reversion of cast clothes: the servingman hath them the cheaper, but the other keeps them the better: they many times do make a bargain. He loves those birds best that oftenest cast their feathers. To conclude: he is no tradesman. If the whole bunch of them be weighed, you shall not scarce find a dram of honesty for a pound of craft.

15. Charter-house.

This place is well described by three things—magnificence, munificence, and religious government. Magnificence is the *terminus a quo;* good orders, the *terminus mediari;* munificence and charity, the *terminus ad quem.* The first shows the wealth of both founder and establisher: the second shows the means to make the good thing done, durable: the third demonstrates his intent that thus established it. Had it been great without good government, it had long ere this time come to ruin: or had it been great and yet devoid of charity, it would have been laughed at and derided: but now charity shows it is well governed; and the good government keeps it firm, and makes it famous. Soldiers and scholars, I think, begin their love here, that they may continue hereafter firm and solid, by living together: callings both honourable, and here bountifully maintained. It is a relief for decayed gentlemen, old soldiers, and ancient serving-men. 'Tis to be pitied, that such religious, charitable houses, increase not in number. This one place hath sent many a famous member to the universities, and not a few to the wars. I will not censure, as some do, that many places are here sold for monies; nay, the reversions also: I'll rather exhort the governors to discharge a good conscience, (and not to suffer their men, or any other whom they affect, to get thirty or forty pounds for the promise of the next vacant place for a youth to come in,) and to observe their first institutions: and those that so suppose, I wish them that they speak not that with their mouths, which they know not in their hearts. The deed of this man that so ordered this house, is much spoken of and commended: but there's none (except only one[34]) that as yet hath either striven to equal or imitate that, and I fear never will. There's many that will not do any such good works, and give out, that they swell something of popery, and therefore not to be imitated. Well, I durst warrant thus much:—let the overseers live religiously, govern civilly, avoid bribery, keep their canons directly; and this house shall stand to upbraid this iron age, and see many brought to beggary for prodigality, when they shall be satisfied and have enough. Well, this is my opinion of it, that the founder[35] is happy; and so are

[33] [Second-hand apparel for both sexes then made Hounsditch and Long-lane what Rag-fair now exhibits. See a severe invective against the pawn-brokers of Hounsditch, in Strype's edit. of Stow's Survey, lib. ii. p. 24. Lond. 1720.]

[34] Sion-College, near Cripplegate.

[35] [Thomas Sutton, an opulent merchant, founded the Charter-house, a short time before his decease in 1611. He had been tampered with by Sir John Harrington, to make the Duke of York (afterwards Charles the First)

all his children that live here, if they degenerate not; and turn from fearing God, obeying their prince, and from living in love amongst themselves.

16. Christ's-hospital.

The former place and this are much of one nature, yet some difference there is: Charter-house is the younger for time, but exceeds for revenues. It was erected by one; this, by many citizens. Christ's-hospital is principally for children's education, that are fatherless and motherless; the other, for men's and children's too. The former is for any, as well as citizens; the latter not. That only it is for children, seems to be conformable to Christ's will—'Suffer little children to come unto me.' None that are in this place can be said to be without portions, for they have education: the city's charity is the less, for she relieves but her own. It's a good means to empty their streets of young beggars and fatherless children. She doth no more than the laws of the land seem to enjoin; to keep those that were born within her. It's a good policy to put them young to this place, because they may learn virtue before vice: and ordinarily, if youth be well seasoned, it is the more hopeful to be good in age. The city doth deserve very great commendation for this action, because it's rare to see so great a company join together for the good of the poor, and last out. You may easily know the children that belong unto this place, by their azure liveries and their sable head-pieces.[36] This house may be termed the children's commonwealth; and to speak truth, it's well governed by good laws. I wish the city not to be proud for her charity, nor to be 'weary of well-doing;' and the hospital to remember their benefactors; and the children to live and learn well, for fear of correction.

17. Paris-garden.[37]

This may better be termed a foul den than a fair garden. It's pity so good a piece of ground is no better employed. Here are cruel beasts in it, and as badly used: here are foul beasts come to it, and as bad or worse keep it: they are fitter for a wilderness than a city. Idle base persons most commonly, that want employment or else will not be otherwise employed, frequent this place: and that money which was got basely here, to maintain as bad as themselves, or spent lewdly. Here come few that either regard their credit or loss of time: the swaggering roarer, the cunning cheater, the rotten bawd, the swearing drunkard, and the bloody butcher, have their rendezvous here, and are of chief place and respect. There are as many civil religious men here, as there are saints in hell. Here these are made to fight by art, which would agree by nature: they thrive most, when the poor beasts fight oftenest: their employment is all upon quarrels as unlawful as unseemly: they cause the beasts first to fight, and then they put in first to part them. It's pity such beastly fellows should be so well maintained: they torment poor creatures, and make a gain and game of it: the beasts come forth with as ill a will as bears to the stake. A bear-ward and an attorney are not much unlike: the attorney seems the more cruel; for those bait but beasts, but these men, their clients. The bear-ward strives to recover the hurts of his beasts, but the attorney regards not the damages of any; and they both follow the trade for profit. Well, I leave the place; and when I intend to spend an hour or two to see an ass and an ape, to loss and charges, I may perhaps come hither:—but as long as I can have any employment elsewhere, I will not come to see such a great company so ill occupied in so bad a place.

his heir, and thereby obtain the honour of a peerage; but this tinsel lure did not seduce the wealthy citizen from his munificent design. Vide Nugæ Antiquæ, i. 376.]

[36] [Blue liveries, yellow stockings, and black head-pieces, are still the costume of the scholars at Christ's-hospital: but the absurd inutility of the latter fashion is apparent to all who walk the streets of London on red-letter days, from seeing the boys wandering about with their scull-caps in their hands, not being able to wear them on their heads.]

[37] [A popular bear-garden on the bank-side, Southwark. Its name is said to have been derived from Robert de Paris, who had a house and garden there in the time of King Richard the Second. It was situated nearly opposite Bridewell, according to a view of London taken about the year 1558.]

18. Artillery-garden.[38]

This place is the city's camp, and Mars's school. Here are four brave flowers in this garden: manhood, courage, activity, arms. The use and expert skill of war may be seen here in peace. Decency, nimbleness, skill, uniform order, and experience, the five qualities gracing military discipline, are usually here to be viewed. In their exercising, how many little bodies may you see, that by their proportionable motion make a great body; and that suddenly altered into any form. Here are brave martial blades, that at three words and three motions will give fire. Here are more arms than heads or feet: yet when one moves, like wheels in a jack, they all move. They are men that must not encroach into one another's ground: but as they are commanders, so they must keep distance: and they seem not to affect confusions, for they all strive to keep order. 'Tis no marvel why soldiers desire so to fight, for they are always in divisions. You may know by their marching wherever either the best gentleman or the ancientest soldier is placed; for he is ever in the right before, or left behind. They are strange men: for in ten yards space of ground, they can all turn their faces about. There's thought to be no steadiness in them, for like Fortune's wheel, they many times suddenly alter and turn. They are generally men of good order and rank. They then are at completest view, when their length and breadth agree, ten every way. They are most disliked, when they are either out, or off, their files: they use to put their worst pieces in the middest. They seem to be suddenly angry, for one word moves them all. Obedience and silence they must practise; to do as they are commanded, and to hearken unto their charge. A good soldier must be like a true maid, seen but not heard: he's more for actions than words. The city did well to provide Mars a garden, as well as Venus an house: no question but when these meet, they will be at push of pike, and often discharge. Before I leave this honourable place, I may speak this of it: that 'tis excellent the oftener used; the best when 'tis fullest and most eminent. Wisdom, courage, experience, policy, be the four colonels: and the four regiments consist of patience, obedience, valour, and constancy: and their colours *Deo, regi, gregi, legi*, for God, their king, law, and country; flourishing all in the field of honour and victory.

19. Bedlam.

Here live many that are called men, but seldom at home; for they are gone out of themselves. Nature hath been a step-mother to some, and misery and crosses have caused this strange change in others. They seem to live here either to rectify nature or forget miseries: they are put to learn that lesson which many, nay all that will be happy, must learn—to know and be acquainted with themselves. This house would be too little, if all that are beside themselves should be put in here. It seems strange that any one should recover here: the cryings, screechings, roarings, brawlings, shaking of chains, swearings, frettings, chafings, are so many, so hideous, so great; that they are more able to drive a man that hath his wits, rather out of them; than to help one that never had them, or hath lost them, to find them again. A drunkard is mad for the present, but a mad man is drunk always. You shall scarce find a place that hath so many men and women so strangely altered either from what they once were, or should have been: the men are all like a ship that either wants a stern, or a steersman, or ballast: they are all heteroclites from nature; either having too much wildness, or being defective in judgment. Here art strives to mend or cure nature's imperfections and defects. Certainly, he that keeps the house may be said to live among wild creatures. It's thought many are kept here, not so much in hope of recovery as to keep them from further and more desperate inconveniences: their faculties and powers of their souls and bodies being, by an ill cause, vitiated and depraved, or defective. The men may be said to be fair instruments of music; but either they want strings, or else, though being strung, are out

[38] [Or Artillery-ground, as now called, near Bunhill-row, Moorfields. It was removed from the neighbourhood of St. Mary Spittal, in the latter end of James I.]

of tune; or otherwise, want an expert artist to order them. Many live here that know not where they are, or how they got in; never thinking of getting out. There's many that are so well or ill in their wits, that they can say they have been out of them, and gain much by dissembling in this kind: desperate caitiffs, that dare make a mock of judgment. Well, if the devil was not so strong to delude, and men so easily to be drawn, this house would stand empty; and for my part, I am sorry it hath any in it.

20. Play-houses.

Time, place, subject, actors, and clothes, either make or mar a play. The prologue and epilogue are like to an host and hostess: one bidding the guests welcome, the other bidding them farewel. The actors are like serving-men, that bring in the scenes and acts, as their meat; which are liked or disliked, according to every man's judgment: the neatest drest and fairest delivered doth please most. They are as crafty with an old play, as bawds with old faces: the one puts on a new fresh colour, the other a new face and name. They practise a strange order, for most commonly the wisest man is the fool. They are much beholden to scholars that are out of means, for they sell them ware the cheapest. They have no great reason to love puritans, for they hold their calling unlawful. New plays and new clothes many times help bad actions: they pray the company that's in, to hear them patiently; yet they would not suffer them to come in without payment: they say, as scholars now used to say, there are so many,[39] that one fox could find in his heart to eat his fellow. A player often changes: now he acts a monarch, tomorrow a beggar; now a soldier, next a tailor: his speech is loud, but never extempore: he seldom speaks his own mind, or his own name. When men are here and when at church, they are of contrary minds; there they think the time too long, but here too short. Most commonly when the play is done, you shall have a jig, or dance of all treads: they mean to put their legs to it as well as their tongues: they make men wonder when they have done, for they all clap their hands. Sometimes they fly into the country: but 'tis a suspicion that they are either poor, or want clothes, or else company, or a new play; or, do as some wandering sermonists, make one sermon travel and serve twenty churches. All their care is to be like apes; to imitate and express other men's actions in their own persons. They love not the company of geese or serpents, because of their hissing. They are many times lousy, (it's strange) and yet shift so often. As an ale-house in the country is beholden to a wild schoolmaster, so an whore-house to some of these; for they both spend all they get. Well; I like them well, if when they act vice, they will leave it; and when virtue, they will follow. I speak no more of them: but when I please, I will come and see them.

21. Fencing-schools.

Here's many a man comes hither, which had rather work than play. Though very few can hit these men, yet any one may know where to have them upon his guard. His scholars seem to be strangely taught, for they do nothing but play. His care seems to be good, for he learns men to keep their bodies in safety. Usually they that set up this science, have been some low-country soldier, who to keep himself honest from further inconveniences, as also to maintain himself, thought upon this course and practises it. The worst part of his science is, he learns men to falsify. He is glad to see any novice that reads his orders with his hat on, for then he hopes for a forfeiture. There are many blows given and taken, yet little or no blood spilt. The more he beats, the better man he is held to be. He will make many dance about his school, as a bear about a stake. A little touch upon your elbow is commonly his first acquaintance and salutation. He hath his discourse, ordinarily, of single combats; and then will show you his wounds and

[39] [No less than seventeen play-houses were built in and about London within three-score years (says R. Howes, who was living in 1629), the last of which was built in the said year near White-Friars. Stow's Survey by Strype.]

cause you to hear his oaths, which are his familiar rhetoric. He is for the most part a potter and piper: and if he be well in age or not, you may know by the sanguine complexion of his nose; and the number of pearls that are usually about it, accompanied with rubies and sapphires, show that he is some jeweller. His school is an introduction to blows: and he makes many a man's head to be the pillow of his cudgel. One must not trust to his looks: for he looks at one place, and strikes at another. You must be sure to keep him off; for he is most dangerous when nearest to you: he seldom strikes down right, but either backwards or forwards. He that loves fighting in earnest, let him go to the wars: he that loves to fight in jest, let him come hither.

22. Dancing-schools.

They seem to be places consecrated: for they that use to practise here, put off their shoes, and dance single-soled. They are not exceeding men; for they teach, and delight, in measures. They seem to be men of spare diet, for they live upon capers. Their trade is not chargeable to begin withall, for one treble viol sets it up. They should be good players at cards, for they teach men to cut and shuffle well. Their scholars' arms are like pinion'd prisoners; not to reach to, or above their heads. Their heels seem to hinder their preferment, and that makes them to rise upon their toes. Whatsoever their actions be, they must carry their bodies upright. The scholars are like courtiers, full of cringes: and their master seems to be a man of great respect, for they all salute him with hat in hand and knees to the ground. The number of five is the dancing A, B, C. Both master and scholars seem to love news, for they both consist much of corantoes.[40] Their eyes must not see what their feet do: they must, when they dance, be like men that have the French disease, stiff in the hams: they are guided by the music, and therefore should be merry men. What they may seem to intend is, that they hope to dance before gentlewomen: but in the next jig you shall be sure to have them turn, like globes, all round. They like a fiddle better than a drum, and hold Venus to be a more auspicious planet than Mars. When they are in the schools, they are antics; when they are out, I think you will judge as I do, they love the feminine gender more than the masculine. Generally, these schools learn men to begin merrily, leave off, sighing; and therefore they are players of tragedies, not comedies. I think he that seldom dances, lives well; but he that never, lives best. When I intend to show my body's strength and my mind's weakness, I will be one of their proficients. I had rather have my body not dance here, for fear my soul should not like the music: give me that place where all is music, but no dancing.

23. Fisher-women.

These crying, wandering, and travelling creatures, carry their shops on their heads: and their store-house is ordinarily Billingsgate or the Bridge-foot, and their habitation Turnagain-lane.[41] They set up every morning their trade afresh. They are easily set up and furnished; get something, and spend it jovially and merrily. Five shillings, a basket, and a good cry, is a large stock for one of them. They are merriest when all their ware is gone. In the morning they delight to have their shop full; at even they desire to have it empty. Their shop's but little; some two yards compass, yet it holds all sorts of fish, or herbs, or roots, strawberries, apples, or plums, cucumbers, and such like ware. Nay, it is not destitute sometimes of nuts and oranges and lemons. They are free in all places, and pay nothing for shop-rent; but only find repairs to it. If they drink out their whole stock, it's but pawning a petticoat in Long-lane, or themselves in Turnbull-street, for to set up again. They change every day almost; for she that was this day for fish, may be to-morrow for fruit, next day for herbs, another for roots: so that you must hear them cry, before you know what they are furnished withall. When

[40] [Or courants; being a name given both to dances and newspapers. The former of these is characterised in Sir John Davis's "Orchestra," a poem expressing the antiquity and excellency of dancing, first printed in 1596, and republished in the editions of British Poets by Dr. Anderson and Mr. Chalmers.]

[41] [A winding thoroughfare opposite to the Monument on Fish-street hill.]

they have done their fair, they meet in mirth, singing, dancing, and in the middle (as a parenthesis) they use scolding: but they do use to take and put up words, and end not till either their money, or wit, or credit, be clean spent out. Well, when in any evening they are not merry in a drinking-house, it is suspected they have had bad return, or else have paid some old score, or else they are bankrupts. They are creatures soon up, and soon down.

24. Scavengers and Gold-finders.

These two keep all clean: the one the streets, the other the back-sides; but they are seldom clean themselves. The one, like the hangman, doth his work all by day: the other, like a thief, doth theirs in the night. The gold-finders hold the sense of smelling the least of use; and do not much care for touching the business they have in hand. They both carry their burdens out into the fields: yet sometimes the Thames carries away their loads. They are something like the trade of the barbers: for both do rid away superfluous excrements. The barber's profession is held chief; because that deals with the head and face, but these with the excrements of the posteriorums. The barber's trade and this have both very strong smells: but the gold-finder's is the greatest for strength; the other's is safest and sweetest. The barber useth washing when he hath done, to cleanse all; and so do these. The barber useth a looking-glass, that men may see how he hath done his work; and these use a candle. They are all necessary in the city: as our faces would be foul without the barber; so our streets, without the scavenger; and our back-sides without the gold-finder. The scavenger seems not to be so great an officer as the gold-finder: for he deals with the excrements chiefly of beasts; but this latter, of his own species. Well, had they been sweeter fellows, I would have stood longer on them; but they may answer, they keep all clean; and do that work, which scarce any one but themselves would meddle withall.

The Country Carbonadoed and Quartered into Characters.

1. Of the Country.

This is the circumference of London. It is the emblem of the city, in folio; and the city of it in decimo sexto. The country justifies that verse to be true, that *Anglia, mons, pons, fons, ecclesia, fœmina, luna.* It doth now of late begin to complain, that the city offers her wrong, in harbouring her chief members of nobility and gentry. Her gentry, for the most part, of late are grown wondrously undutiful; that will scarce otherwise, than upon compulsion, come and live with their mother and maintainer. She allows these more means a great deal than she did their grandfathers: yet these young storks fly from her; the other always lived with her, and loved her. She doth much suspect their faith and love towards her; because, she being as beautiful, as bountiful, as healthy, and as rich as ever, should be thus slighted of her younger sons; yet three or four times in a year, perhaps they will vouchsafe their mother their presence: but it is to be suspected, that either a public proclamation, or a violent plague, or to gather up their rack-rents, move them from the city; or else the pleasure of hawking or hunting, or perhaps it is, to show his new madam, some pretty London bird, the credit of his father's house, but his own discredit, to let it stand for jackdaws to domineer in. Well, this country is the map of the world, the beauty of lands, and may well be called—the rich diamond gloriously placed. It may be emblemed by these nine particulars—a fair great church, a learned college, a strong rich ship, a beautiful woman, a golden fleece, a delightful spring, a great mountain, a fair bridge, and a goodly man. To conclude; it is the life of the city and the store-house of all Christendom, for peace, war, wealth or religion. They that will know more, must either travel to see; or read the description of it by geographers.

2. Hospitality.

This true noble-hearted fellow is to be dignified and honoured, wheresoever he keeps house. It's thought that pride, puritans, coaches, and covetousness, hath caused him to leave our land. There are six upstart tricks come up in great houses of late which he cannot brook—peeping windows for the ladies to view what doings there are in the hall, a buttery-hatch that's kept lockt, clean tables, and a French cook in the kitchen, a porter that locks the gate in dinner-time, the decay of black-jacks in the cellar, and blue-coats in the hall.[42] He always kept his greatness by his charity. He loved three things—an open cellar, a full hall, and a sweating cook. He always provided for three dinners; one for himself, another for his servants, the third for the poor. Any one may know where he kept house, either by the chimney's smoke, by the freedom at gate, by want of whirligig jacks in the kitchen, by the fire in the hall, or by the full furnished tables. He affects not London, Lent, lackeys, or bailiffs. There are four sorts that pray for him—the poor, the passenger, his tenants and servants. He is one that will not hoard up all, nor lavishly spend all. He neither racks nor rakes his neighbours: they are sure of his company at church as well as at home, and gives his bounty as well to the preacher as to others whom he loves for their good life and doctrine. He had his wine come to him by full buts: but this age keeps her wine-cellar in little bottles. Lusty able men, well maintained, were his delight; with whom he would be familiar. His tenants knew when they saw him: for he kept the old fashion, good, commendable, plain. The poor about him, wore him upon their backs; but now, since his death, landlords wear and waste their tenants upon their backs, in French or Spanish fashions. Well, we can say, that once such a charitable practitioner there was; but now he's dead, to the grief of all England: and 'tis shrewdly suspected, that he will never rise again in our climate.

3. Enclosures.

The landlords that inclose their villages, are afraid that either the town or the land would run away, or rebel against them: therefore they beleaguer it with deep trenches, and thorn-roots for palisadoes: they could not make their trenches so easily, if all were true within. But the parson he is like a false cannoneer,[43] that came by his place by simoniac means; and perhaps is sworn either not to molest the enemy at all; or else if he doth give fire, either to shoot over or short, or upon the side, never direct: or else he is poor, covetous, hopes to have some crackt chamber-maid, or some bye-preferment, and so gives leave to the exacting landlord to do as he pleases. In this business, the landlord he is as lord-general: the parson is as his horse, that he rides, galls, spurs on, and curvets with, as he pleases; turns him and rules him any way, by a golden bit, a strong hand, and ticking spurs. The bailiff is his intelligencer: which, if he was either strapt or hanged outright, it was no great matter for his news. The surveyor is his quarter-master, which goes like a bear with a chain at his side, and his two or three parishioners who walk with him, help him to undo themselves. The poor of the parish and other places are his chief pioneers, who like mould-warps cast up earth. The parish he either wins by composition, or famishes by length of time, or banters down by force of his lawless engines. Most of the inhabitants are miserably pillaged and undone. He loves to see the bounds of his boundless desires: he is like the devil; for they both compass the earth about. Enclosures make fat beasts, and lean poor people. There are three annoyances of his flock—the scab, thieves, and a long rot. Husband-men he loves not; for he maintains a few shepherds, with their curs. He holds those that plough the land, cruel oppressors: for they wound it, he thinks, too much, and therefore he intends to lay it down to rest. Well, this I say of him, that when he keeps a good house constantly, surely the

[42] [Black-jacks were leathern vessels used for beer in servants' halls, and blue coats were the general liveries for men servants.]

[43] [That is, an offender against the ecclesiastical canons, which forbid simoniacal contracts.]

world will not last long. There's many one that prays for the end of the one: and I wish it may be so.

4. Tenants by Lease.

Their compass, ordinarily, is three prenticeships in length; one and twenty years. Once in half a year they must be sure to prepare for payment. New-year's day must not pass over without a presentation of a gift. If the land-lord be either rich, good, religious, or charitable, he feasts their bodies ere Christmas run away. If they see the ladies or gentlewomen, or my lady's parrot, baboon, or monkey; you may know what their talk is of, with wonder, when they come home again. Many fill their tenants bodies once, but empty their purses all the year long. They take it for no small grace, when the groom, or the under-cook, or some such great officer, convey them to the buttery to drink. They have done knight's service, if they have drunk to the uppermost gentlewoman: and it's a marvel if they stand not up to perform this point of service, or else blush a quarter of an hour after. They seem merry, for most eat simpering. They dare not dislike any meat, nor scarce venture upon a dish that hath not lost the best face or piece, before it come thither. Many of them sup better at home, than they dine here: it's their own folly. He seems to be a courtier complete, that hath the wit or the face to call for beer at the table. Their landlord fetches their charges out of them, ere half the year pass; by getting them to fetch coal, wood, or stone, or other burdens to his house. The landlord, bailiff, and other informers, are so cunning, that the tenants shall but live to keep life and soul together, if through poverty and hard rents they forfeit not their leases. You may know where they live ordinarily: for leases run now with this clause usually in them—'they must not let or sell away their right to another.' Well, he that hath a good landlord, a firm lease, and good ground, prays for his own life and landlord's, and wishes he had had a longer time in his lease.

5. Tenants at Will.

These are continuers only upon their master's pleasure, their own behaviour, or ability. They are men that will take short warning—a quarter of a year. They are like poor curates in the country, that stand at the old parson's *liberum arbitrium:* they must study how to please, before they speak. When they are discharged, they are like soldiers cashiered: both want a place of stay, or preferment. As they depart suddenly, so they are sure to pay extremely. They are not unlike courtiers; for they often change places. Their landlords love to be upon a sure ground with them: for usually they'll have their rents beforehand. If they come not to be censured for inmates, they may abide the longer: they must always bring security, where they intend to stay. London is one of the freest places for their abode, without questioning them what they are: for if they pay for their lodging and other charges, they need not remove. They are like unto servants gone up on a discharge; and they should reckon their places of abode no heritage. If they be employed in work, and if they will stay at it, they are then most likely to hold their house the longer. They are a degree above a beggar, and one under a tenant by lease. Many of them will not stay too long in a place, lest they should, being ill, be too well known. Upon their journeys many prove true carriers: for they bear their goods, children, and some household-stuff. Well, they are tenants at will; but whether good or bad you that would know must ask their landlord or them. I wish that yet they may come to be snails; have an house of their own over their heads. Winter's the worst quarter to them to shift in.

6. Country School-masters.

If they be well gown'd and bearded, they have two good apologies ready made: but they are beholden to the taylor and barber for both. If they can provide for two pottles of wine against the next lecture-day, the school being void, there are great hopes of preferment. If he gets the place, his care next must be for the demeanour of his countenance: as the emperor over his army. He will not at first be over busy to examine his usher, for fear he should prove, as many curates, better scholars than the chief master. As

he sits in his seat, he must with a grace turn his muchatoes[44] up: his sceptre lies not far from him—the rod. He uses martial law most: and the day of execution ordinarily is the Friday.[45] At six o'clock his army all begin to march: at eleven, they keep rendezvous; and at five or six at night, they take up their quarters. There are many sit in authority to teach youth, which never had much learning themselves: therefore, if he cannot teach them, yet his looks and correction shall affright them. But there are some who deserve the place by their worth and wisdom; who stay'd with their mother, the university, until learning, discretion and judgment had ripened them for the well managing of a school: these I love, respect, and wish that they may have good means, either here or somewhere else. These come from the sea of learning, well furnished with rich prizes of knowledge and excellent qualities: ballasted they are well with gravity and judgment, well steer'd by religion and a good conscience: and these abilities make them the only fit men to govern and instruct tender age. He learns the cradle to speak several languages, and fits them for places of public note. Being thus qualified, 'tis pity he should either want means or employment.

7. Country Ushers.

They are under the head-master: equal with the chief scholars, and above the lesser boys. He is likely to stay two years before he can furnish himself with a good cloak. They are like unto lapwings, run away from the university, their nest, with their shells on their heads. Matriculation was an hard term for him to understand: and if he proceeded, it was *in tenebris*. The chancellor's seal, and a licence for the place, is a great grace to him. At a sermon you shall see him writing: but if the division of the text be expressed in Latin terms; then he could not either hear, or not understand, and so oftentimes loses the division of the text. It's no small credit for him to sit at the nether end of the table with the ministers: he seldom speaks there amongst them, unless like a novice he be first asked: and then he expresses his weakness boldly. He goes very far, if he dare stay to drink a cup of ale, when one hour is past. His discourse ordinarily is of his exploits when he went to school. He hath learned enough in the university, if he know the figures, and can repeat the logical moods: usually he makes syllogisms in baralipton,[46] if he can make any. He holds Greek for a heathen language, and therefore never intends to learn it: for Latin, his black clothes are sufficient proofs to the country fellows that he is well furnished: for Hebrew, it would pose him hard to make a difference in writing betwixt Hebrew and Ebrius.[47] In a word, he is but a great school-boy with a little beard and black clothes; and knows better how to whip a scholar than learn him. If he had been fit for any thing in the university, he had not left her so soon. Yet I confess there are some that deserve better preferment than this, yet accept of it. But it is pity that virtue and learning are so slightly regarded, and that so rich a jewel should be no better placed.

8. Country Chaplains.

They must do, as marigolds; imitate their master, as these do the sun. They are men of grace, before and after dinner and supper. They are men that seem desirous of preferment, for they rise before their lord and master. Their habit is neat, cleanly; if not too curious, it's well. In a well governed house, they perform prayer twice a day, to be commended for; because it shews and teaches zeal and godliness. Their sermons are not long, but generally good and pithy. Their lord's respect and favour makes the servants to respect and love them. Grave modesty and learning, with an affable carriage, wins them regard and reverence. The more private their persons be, the more public their praise. Their studies generally are their best closets, and their books their best counsellors. Such as these deserve to be made of:[48] but there are others of the same profession,

[44] [Mustachios.]
[45] [Because *that* probably was repetition-day, when the lessons of the week were to be recited from memory.]
[46] [A term in logic, directing the first indirect mode of the first figure of syllogisms.]
[47] [A quibble between the words Hebræi and Ebrii, and also between their significations.]
[48] [*i. e.* To be made much of, or highly esteemed.]

yet much different in nature, who strive to satisfy and please, even by smothering, counterfeiting, or imitating their master's faults; and love the strong beer cellar or a wine tavern, more than their studies: whose ambition is to be conversant with the gentlewomen, and now and then to let an oath slip with a grace: whose acquaintance and familiarity is most with the butler, and their care to slip to an ale-house unseen, with the servants. Their allowance is good, if it be twenty mark and thin diet. If they be married, they must be more obsequious and industrious to please: if they come single, it's a thousand to one but they will either be in love or marriage before they go away. I honour both lord and chaplain, when they are godly and religious: but I dislike, when either the lord will not be told of his faults, or the chaplain will not or dare not. I love the life, when zeal, learning, and gravity are the gifts of the preacher: but I dislike it, when by respects, connivancy, or ignorance, with pride, keep the chapel. If they be wise, they will keep close, till they have the advowson of a living. The better they are liked of their master, and the more store he hath of livings, they have the more hopes of a presentation. It's a great virtue in their patron, if he do not lessen it, before they handle it.

9. Ale-houses.

If these houses have a box-bush, or an old post; it is enough to show their profession: but if they be graced with a sign complete, it's a sign of good custom. In these houses you shall see the history of Judith, Susanna, Daniel in the lions' den, or Dives and Lazarus painted upon the wall. It may be reckoned a wonder to see, or find, the house empty: for either the parson, church-warden, or clerk, or all, are doing some church or court business usually in this place. They thrive best where there are fewest. It is the host's chiefest pride, to be speaking of such a gentleman, or such a gallant, that was here, and will be again ere long. Hot weather, and thunder, and want of company, are the hostess's grief: for then her ale sours. Your drink usually is very young; two days old: her chiefest wealth is seen, if she can have one brewing under another. If either the hostess, or her daughter, or maid, will kiss handsomely at parting; it is a good shoeing-horn, or bird-lime, to draw the company thither again the sooner. She must be courteous to all, though not by nature, by her profession: for she must entertain all, good and bad, tag and rag, cut and long tail.[49] She suspects tinkers and poor soldiers most: not that they will not drink soundly, but that they will not pay lustily. She must keep touch with three sorts of men; that is the maltman, the baker, and the justice's clerks. She is merry and half-mad upon Shrove-Tuesday, May-days, feast-days, and morrice-dances. A good ring of bells in the parish helps her to many a tester. She prays the parson may not be a puritan. A bag-piper and a puppet-play brings her in birds that are flush. She defies a wine-tavern, as an upstart outlandish fellow, and suspects the wine to be poisoned. Her ale, if new, looks like a misty morning, all thick. Well; if her ale be strong, her reckoning right, her house clean, her fire good, her face fair, and the town great or rich; she shall seldom, or never sit without chirping birds to bear her company: and at the next churching, or christening, she is sure to be rid of two or three dozen of cakes and ale by gossiping neighbours.

10. Apparitors.[50]

Spiritual business is their profession, but carnal matters are their gain and revenues. The sins of the laity holds them up. Ember-weeks, visitations, and court-days show their calling and employment: then shall you see them as quick as bees in a summer-day. Surrogates, the arch-deacon and the chancellor, they dare not offend. They live upon intelligence. They have much business with the church-wardens and sides-men. They ride well furnished with citations, and some time excommunications. They are glad if they can hear of any one that teaches school, or reads prayers in that diocese without a

[49] [A cant phrase for all sorts and degrees of persons, thought to be derived from the curtailing of animals. See Shakspeare's Merry Wives of Windsor, Act 3.]

[50] [Summoners, or messengers who cite offenders to appear in the ecclesiastical courts.]

special licence. They are to peccant wenches as bad scare-crows, as bailiffs be to desperate debtors. The curate must read prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays *formaliter, sub pœna* of a further charge. They are sworn to their office before admitted: but being admitted, oftentimes they dispense with the oath, sometimes they have eyes, and are tongue-tied: sometimes they have tongues and are blind: but without fees, they will see too much and speak more; and fetch men into their courts with a *coram nomine*. Yet though they do much abuse their office, they make many afraid to sin: either for fear of shame, punishment, or charges. Whatsoever shift a man or woman make for monies, yet they are sure to pay for their faults here. And if he be any thing in age, then in the court he wears a furr'd gown, and ordinarily cries—'Peace, peace there;' when in his heart he means no such matter. They are like a company of straggling sheep, or unruly goats; for they will never agree, or be under one shepherd. Most commonly when they go to the visitation, they ride on poor jades; and their accoutrements, an old saddle, one stirrup, a spur without a rowel, a black box, and an office seal. If the wench that's in fault, want monies to pay her fees; they'll take their pennyworths in flesh. Well; their office is none of the best; and yet it is oftentimes too good for the master. When all wenches prove honest, they may beg: but as long as Venus rules, they will be sure to find employment.

11. Constables.

Their names imply that they should be *constant* and *able* for the discharge of their office. They have the command of four places of note,—the stocks, the cage, the whipping-post, and the cucking-stool.[51] They apppoint and command the watchmen, with their rusty bills,[52] to walk circuit; and do also send hue and cries after malefactors. They are much employed in four occasions, at musters, at pressing forth of soldiers, at quarter sessions, and assizes. Their office many times makes them proud and crafty. If they be angry with a poor man, he is sure to be preferred upon the next service. The ale-houses had best hold correspondency with them: they are bug-bears to them that wander without a pass. Poor soldiers are now and then help'd to a lodging by their means. They'll visit an ale-house, under colour of search; but their desire is to get beer of the company: and then, if they be but mean men, they muster them, and they answer them—'Come 'pay:'—with this usual phrase, 'You are not the men we look for:' and demand of the hostess, if she have no strangers in her house?—Having got their desire, they depart, with this compliment, 'Well, if our business were not extraordinary, we would have stay'd: 'but we must search other places upon suspicion. It is (gentlemen) for the king:' and so depart, with the amazement of the honest company, and laughter to themselves. It is a thousand to one if they give a soldier two-pence, but they will set in their bills—'given six-pence;' and set down—'laid out,' when there is no such matter:—a fine trick to get money by their place. They should seem to be either very poor, or covetous, or crafty men: for they put their charges always upon the parish. If an accompt happen to be among the parishioners, when such or such a thing was done; they'll answer—'in the same year, or thereabouts, I was constable:' in thinking thereby to set forth their own credit. I leave them; wishing them to be good in their office: it is not long they have to stay in it.

12. Courantos,[53] or Weekly News.

These commonly begin with Vienna, and end with Antwerp: the Spanish and French affairs must not be left out. The three names that grace their letters, are the Swedes, Til-

[51] [A machine formerly used for punishing scolds and disorderly women, by ducking them in water: hence, it was also called ducking-stool.]

[52] [These bills had much the appearance of halberds: the representation of a watchman with one of them upon his shoulder, is given by Mr. Stevens in his edition of Shakspeare. See Much Ado about Nothing, Act 3.]

[53] [The term *Courant* has been applied to newspapers both of early and modern date. See p. 324. In "Whimzies," 1631, is given the character of a 'Coranto-coiner, or state news-monger.' See Mr. P. Bliss's highly enriched edition of Dr. Earle's Microcosmography, p. 283.]

lies,[54] or Imperialists. Ordinarily, they have as many lies as lines: they use to lie (as weather-beaten soldiers) upon a book-binder's stall: they are new and old in six days. They are busy fellows, for they meddle with other men's affairs: no pope, emperor, or king, but must be touched by their pen. Nay, they use to interline some great exploit at sea, betwixt the Hollander and Dunkirker; or else betwixt the Hollander and Spaniard, at the Cape, or the Straights of Magellan: and usually they conclude with this phrase, 'The admiral, or vice-admiral, of our side gave a broad-side, to the utter overthrow of the Spa-'niard; with so many men hurt, such a rich prize taken, such a ship sunk or fired:' being faithfully translated out of the Dutch copy, with the first and second part, like ballads. And these are all conceits, ordinarily, which their own idle brain, or busy fancies, upon the blocks in Paul's, or in the chambers, invented. They have used this trade so long, that now every one can say, 'It's even as true as a couranto:' meaning, that it's all false. Now Sweden and the Emperor's war in Germany is their store-house: with how Lubeck, Hamburgh, Leipsic, Breme, and the other Hans Towns, affect the king's majesty's proceedings. If a town be beleaguered, or taken; then they never take care but how they may send their lies fast enough and far enough. Well, they are politic, not to be descried; for they are ashamed to put their names to their books. If they write good news of our side, it is seldom true: but if it be bad, it's always almost too true. I wish them either to write not at all, or less, or more true. The best news is, when we hear no news.

[54] [Count Tilly was the successful general of the Duke of Bavaria, in his war against the Upper Palatinate, which he subdued in 1622.]

A loving and loyal Speech, spoken unto the Excellency of our noble Prince Charles: by Sir Hugh Yaughan, the 2nd of October, at Ragland-Castle in Monmouthshire in Wales, at his happy access and coming thither. Also the manner of his brave entertainment, and a Relation of divers rich presents brought unto him by the gentry and commonalty of the country, humbly tendering their true service to their Prince: with the Prince's Speech, giving them hearty thanks for the kind expressions of their love. Sent from a gentleman of that country, to one Mr. Francis Meredith, unto Mr. Henry Roberts, belonging to the custom-house. London.

Printed for John Johnson. 1642.

[Quarto, One Sheet.]

Ragland-Castle is eminently distinguished in the annals of British history, by the siege which it withstood against the parliamentary army under the command of Fairfax. It was valiantly defended by Henry, first Marquis of Worcester; and, notwithstanding its extended

outworks and scanty garrison, had the honour of being almost the last fortress in the kingdom reduced by the republican troops.

In the midst of the civil commotions, Charles I. made several visits to Ragland Castle, and was entertained with becoming magnificence. Several conversations between him and the Marquis there, are preserved among 'Witty Apothegms delivered at several times, and 'on several occasions, by King James, King Charles I. and the Marquis of Worcester.' Lond. 1658. 8vo. It appears from the following tract that the Prince of Wales, afterward Charles II. paid a similar complimentary visit to the loyal Britons.

A loving and loyal Speech, spoken unto the Excellency of our noble Prince Charles, by Sir Hugh Yaughan, the 2nd of October, at Ragland-Castle in Monmouthshire in Wales.

THIS country of Wales is so filled with joy, by the gracious presence of you their hopeful Prince Charles, so that they know not how to shew it outwardly, or to speak unto you in such language as may declare their unfeigned and hearty gladness by your approach and residence here in Ragland-Castle: The Genius of that ancient building doth seem to rejoice, and the walls are now become a cabinet to keep and preserve the eldest jewel of the royal progeny, and our dearly beloved Prince Charles. It is the glory of the Britons, that we are the two remaining and only one people of this land, and we have always been true in our affections to our king and country, the eldest son of our gracious sovereign having so near relation unto us as to be our prince, and the prince we now behold with tears of joy, with hearts overflowing with an inundation of love, with wishes, with desires, and fervent prayers, that Heaven would be always auspicious to our King and Prince Charles. We know no sun that can with the influence of royal beams, cherish and warm our true British hearts; but the son of our gracious sovereign, who now doth shine in the horizon of Wales. We have no happiness nor hope but what we derive from your gracious aspect, and we reckon it amongst the greatest favours that divine Providence could do us, to send you our hopeful prince amongst us. In what the true and ancient Britons may serve you, you may command us to our uttermost strength, our lives and fortunes to be ready to assist you, the king and the parliament, in all just actions, that none may suffer by the malignity of some ill-affected persons. Our loves, dear Sir, are so true and firm to your princely person, so that all we can promise cannot declare how ready we will be to actuate and express our love in real performances The common people with hands and hearts are ready to help you in all honourable attempts, and our gentry will shew their ancient virtue and valour in your service, and because we will not trouble you with further protestations of our real intentions, we will conclude this brief narration with prayers to God to bless and preserve you: And the general voice of this country doth by this speech bid you thrice welcome to Wales.

The manner of Prince Charles his entertainment in Ragland-Castle in Wales.

AS the Welshmen did in many verbal congratulations manifest the true love and affections of the British hearts unto Prince Charles, now keeping court at Ragland-Castle, so to make their words true expressions of their love and ambition to serve the prince, they did with cheerful forwardness make divers substantial demonstrations of their professed affection; love is always active, and desires to be known and understood by signs, by evidences, and many officious actions, it will appear and be visible: And this was manifest by Prince Charles his late entertainment at Ragland-Castle in Wales; which was performed with much solemnity; the castle was prepared and made ready for his coming before his approach thither, some of the chief rooms were richly hung with cloth of arras,

full of lively figures and ancient British stories; all the other furniture was rich and costly: At the first entering into the Castle, the aforesaid speech was by a person of good rank and quality spoke before the prince, who in thankfulness gave them a brief answer in testimony of his accepting their love and tendered service; and besides, honoured the knight that delivered the aforesaid speech by reaching forth his hand to kiss, whereon the knight imprinted a kiss as the zeal of his affection. Then there was a great feast of divers varieties, especially of fowls, whereof their abundance in those countries; and all this preparation did conclude in a curious banquet, while metheglin and other British drinks were plentifully afforded unto all the courtiers: For the Welshmen are of a true generous disposition, and when they are to give entertainment to common strangers, they will perform it with much civil courtesy; but especially now having the happiness to see their young hopeful prince in the heart of their county, they could not endeavour enough (as they thought) to make it appear that with all cordial and hearty affection, the prince was most nobly welcome into Wales; they shewed a glimpse of their true British love to the king and prince in the aforesaid speech, congratulating his coming into the county, promising him to be his true and faithful servants; and after they had feasted him and all his court in a liberal, free and magnificent manner; they remembered that it was an ancient custom to offer presents unto princes to gratulate their access and coming into a county. Whereupon, to declare that their love was not barren like the sea-sands, which yields nothing, but that as their country was plentiful, abounding with all sorts of provision, so their hearts were large and liberal, as became them who are acknowledged to be the ancient true Britons, and to make their native liberality apparent, they, as soon as the prince was come to Radnor-Castle, brought unto him divers rich presents, and with many expressions of love presented them to the prince, some brought him pieces of plate of great antiquity, as might appear by the fashion thereof; the common people brought in provision for the maintenance of his court, as young kids, sheeps, calves, fish and fowl of all sorts, and some sent in fat oxen, every one striving for the credit and glory of their country, to exceed in several expressions of generous liberality. One Master Lewis-ap-Morgan a private gentleman, sent the prince a piece of plate, with his arms engraven thereon, being very massy and of great value, other gentlemen and squires of the county of Radnorshire being descended of ancient families, came bravely mounted to the prince's court at Radnor-Castle, and there presented him with divers testimonies of their true good will and affection, every one in the delivery of his present desiring, or wishing all accumulations of happiness unto their noble and gracious Prince Charles, offering together with their presents their service unto him, and promising to assist him and his royal father King Charles upon any lawful design, to the maintenance of justice, piety and religion, and defend their persons from all malignants and enemies. The prince being thus entertained and nobly used by the Welshmen, he shewed himself very gracious and loving unto them, and because he could not give particular thanks to every person that presented gifts unto him; therefore in a great assembly of lords, knights, squires, gentlemen, and many common people, the prince made a very loving speech unto them, and to gratify their liberality, and remunerate their bounty, he in this brief speech following, rendered them hearty thanks for their presents offered to him, and for the tender of their service upon all good occasions.

The Prince's Speech at Ragland-Castle in Wales.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE heard formerly of the great minds, the true affections and meanings of the ancient Britons: but my kind entertainment hath made me confide in your love, which I shall always remember. I give you commendations, praise, and thanks for your love, your bounty and liberal entertainment; I know you desire nothing but thanks, you shall be sure of that my favour as long as I am Prince of Wales.

A Letter from the Marquis of Worcester to the Committee of Parliament sitting in the County of Monmouth, concerning his son's landing with Irish forces: and the Committee's Answer thereto.

'Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that this Letter and 'Answer be forthwith printed and published. H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. 'D. Com.'

London, Printed for Edw. Husband, Printer to the honourable House of Commons, June 9, 1646.

[Quarto, One Sheet.]

To the Governor of Chepstow, and the rest of the Committee for the Parliament for the County of Monmouth.

HAVING notice that you are not ignorant of my son's[1] being landed with the Irish forces, I am so much a father, and tenderer of the whole country's ruin and destruction, that if their coming hither be upon the return of your's occasioned to be hastened, you, and not I, must be the occasion of the same, who the whole country will have just cause to curse. I am not able to subsist without my rents and living, which you have taken all from me; if you please to give me undelayed reparations therein, I shall be glad to have occasion to live a quiet neighbour amongst you: if otherwise, it shall be evident to the whole world, that you force me to what mine own nature hath no liking of, and yet no other than the word of God and the law of nature doth warrant and allow. Thus expecting your answer by this messenger, I rest,

As you give occasion,

Ragland, May 29, 1646. H. WORCESTER.

The Committee's Answer.

WE have received your lordship's letter by a drum: your son's landing with Irish, and your other son's news of the king's being in the head of a great army, are pretty Jesuitical inventions to uphold your soldiers' spirits, but cannot discourage us in prosecution of our just cause: We see not how the bringing over of such bloody Irish rebels, agreeth with what your lordship would be esteemed, a father of your country; we believe so unnatural a one can hardly be paralleled, and in charity so your lordship shall forbear imprecations of curses on the author of our miseries, lest we thereby add a greater weight to your score; you know whom to blame for want of rent; your fathership of the country's ruin hath been the cause of depriving both yourself and us from enjoying our own; and had your lordship's will and good nature accepted what was about six months ago respectfully offered, this poor county had not now so groaned under the burthen of war: For your lordship's undelayed reparation, we must try your patience by a little further consideration; your warrant from the word of God or law of nature for your actions we find not, unless Ragland be our antipodes, where the rule is opposition to Britain's true bible, and nature. We shall leave your lordship to your own good inclinations, and in requital of news, and for your lordship's better information, have sent you his majesty's and the

[1] [Edward Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Marquis of Worcester, and better known as the Earl of Glamorgan. Vide Vol. IV. 494 and VIII. 490.]

Scots' declarations, not desiring further to trouble you, but hope we may have occasion to subscribe ourselves

Your Lordship's friends and servants,

Roger Williams,	Rice Williams,
Thomas Hughs,	Chr. Katchmey,
Henry Herbert,	William Blethyn,
William Herbert,	Edward Morgan.

A learned Speech spoken to his Excellency the Earl of Essex,[1] upon his Departure from Northampton to Worcester, concerning the present expedition.[2] By that learned and religious divine, and minister of God's word, Mr. Thomas Springham. Also a true Relation of the present proceedings of his Excellency and his army in their march from Northampton to Worcester, to meet with the King's Majesty.

Printed for Tho. Cooke. Septemb. 27. 1642.

[Quarto, One Sheet.]

Great Sir,

I DO not come about with my small taper to set forth the glory of our mid-day sun; it were high folly in me, if I did strive to add more lustre to you our star new risen from the east. I come, and I may boldly say, all good people come, to pour forth their glad hearts at your approaching. You cannot but know, and I cannot but speak, the dark mists of misery we a long time have been wrapt in; night spread her wings over us, and would have soon suffocated the life we enjoyed, had not your name before your presence, like the day-break, shined in our hearts, and expelled those mists that dwelt upon us. Our past sorrows do not a little contribute to the activity of our joys, that our lord shines here: grief and sorrow have not lasted for an age; and though *Nocte pluit tota*, (yet) *redeunt spectacula mane:* 'sorrow lasteth for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.' I need not speak the hearts of Israel; my lord sees and reads them in their faces: they dare boldly adventure to pass over Scylla or Charybdis, or enter into the Cyclop's cave; having you, their Joshua, to march on before them: and not only the mighty men of valour love and admire you, but also as my lord seeth, the great affection of the whole people is bent on you, as well here, as in that great city, the phœnix of the world from whence you came, now burning in the flames of her affection towards you. From you all jointly look for safety, well-being, nay being itself. You are the planet that must give life unto us by your sweet influence. Suffer not those comets to reign over us that threaten to pour forth their malignity into all our quarters, from whom save us, or we perish. Pardon what danger

[1] [Son to the celebrated earl who was beheaded by Q. Elizabeth. In 1639 he was made lieutenant-general of the foot under Lord Arundel; and in 1641 general of all the forces on the south side of Trent. In 1642 he undertook the command of the parliamentary army: but his military splendour was eclipsed by Fairfax and others. He died in 1646. See Noble Authors, III. 6 edit. 1806.]

[2] [An account of the siege of Worcester, anno 1642, may be seen in Green's History of that city, I. 269.]

our fears make, it is not in any distrust to our lord. But lest I seem to others to forget what most ought to be intended here, and they say to me,

2 Sam. xix. 10. 'Why speak you not a word of bringing the king back?'

Then let not my lord be angry if I add one word:

2 Sam. xix. 41. 'Go with the men of Israel to the king, and say unto the king, Why 'have our brethren, the men of Judah, stolen thee away? and have brought the king and 'his household, and all David's men with him?'

2 Sam. xix. 43. 'Go, for ye have ten parts in the king, and ye have more right in David 'than they.'

And I though the meanest and worst of all the prophets (yet no false one) do bid my lord go forth and prosper.

The Copy of a Letter which was sent with the foregoing Speech, shewing the truth of it; directed to Mr. William Piggott, dwelling in Crutched-Friars in London.

Sir,

I THOUGHT, the last letter I sent you would be the last I should send from Northampton; for, we expected daily when we should march forwards: I should not have troubled you at this time if I had not this token to send you, a thing of much value in the judgment of all the auditors; it is a speech this morning spoken by that learned and religious teacher, Mr. Thomas Springham, before his excellency, on a mistake, he thinking (and we all thought no less) my lord would have departed at that time, because he commanded his whole army to be drawn up in a body, which he did only to see the full strength thereof. By much entreaty I procured this speech from Mr. Springham; it is in his own hand-writing, and I shall entreat you to reserve a copy of it (if you part with it) for me, if it please God to send me a safe return: for none hath a copy of it, because the gentleman (this bearer) was in such haste, that he could not stay till it could be copied out: As soon as he had ended his speech, the people gave a shout and my lord gave him (and all) thanks for their courteous entertainment, and said, "their courtesy was such unto him as that he would not leave them as yet." This is all worth the writing at this present, when I have any thing else worth the writing, you shall not fail to hear from me, till which I rest,

Your true Friend and Cousin,

NATHANIEL WARTERS.

THERE were letters read in the House of Commons upon the 22d of September, declaring that the queen is coming for England, and intends to be here within fifteen days, for which purpose three or four ships are providing to come with her, and it is supposed that she will bring over some store of ammunition, with many cavaliers. It is reported that the king's majesty is coming away from Shrewsbury towards Worcester, and on Thursday a post came to the House with letters from the Earl of Essex, intimating that his excellency had received intelligence by a letter from Mr. Fiennes, that Prince Robert was near unto Worcester, with about five hundred horse, with whom Mr. Fiennes had had a skirmish, at which skirmish four of Mr. Fiennes's men were slain, and eight of Prince Robert's; and withall, that Prince Robert had burned and fired divers houses thereabouts, whereupon his excellency on Thursday about twelve of the clock marched with his forces from Warwick towards Worcester, consisting of four-and-twenty thousand horse and foot, it being reported that his majesty was gone thither, and that Prince Robert and his forces were marched thither: in which letter also his excellency sheweth the reasons which moved him to march towards Worcester, which was well approved of by the parliament, some fortifications being making, and divers pieces of ordnance already brought into the city. Upon Thursday also the petition to his majesty, together with the instructions to his excellency the

Earl of Essex for the ordering of his army, and how far he should have commission to encounter with the enemy, and the proclamation for pardon to all such as within ten days should come in and lay down their arms, excepting some persons therein by them named: all which were fully agreed upon (and dispatched to be sent to his excellency) by both houses of parliament.

The Flower of Fame. Containing the bright Renowne and moste fortunate Raigne of King Henry the VIII. wherein is mentioned of Matters, by the rest of our Cronographers overpassed. Compyled by Ulpian Fulwell. Hereunto is annexed (by the Aucthor) a short Treatise of iii noble and vertuous Queenes: and a Discourse of the worthie Service that was done at Hadington in Scotlande, the seconde Yere of the Raigne of King Edward the Sixt. *Vivit post funera virtus.*

Imprinted at London in Fleete Streate, at the Temple Gate, by William Hoskins, 1575.

[Quarto, Sixty-Five Leaves.]

Ulpian Fulwell, the principal writer of this historical mélange, was (according to Anthony Wood[1]*) a Somersetshire-man born, and a gentleman's son; became a commoner of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, in the year* 1578, ætat. 32; *but whether he took any degree in that university does not appear. While he continued in the said house, where he was esteemed a person of ingenuity by his contemporaries, he partly wrote,*

'*The first part of the eyghth liberal Scyence; entituled* Ars Adulandi, *The Art of Flatterie,* '*with the confutation thereof: both very pleasaunt and profitable; devised and compiled* '*by Ulpian Fulwell. Newly corrected and augmented.*

'*Who reads a booke rashly, at random doth runne;*
'*Hee goes on his errand, yet leaves it undone.*[2]'

Lond. 1579. 4*to.*

'*A pleasant interlude, entituled, Like will to Like, quoth the Devil to the Collier. Where-*'*in is declared what punishment follows those that will rather live licentiously, than esteem* '*and follow good counsel. Lond.* 1587.' 4*to.*

Wood adds, that the name of Ulpian Fulwell stands quoted by John Speed, in his life of Edward VI. '*and therefore I suppose he hath other things printed; for I cannot conceive* '*that John Speed should quote him for any thing out of the two former books.*' *There can be little doubt that this* '*Flower of Fame,*' *which was unknown to Wood, is the piece quoted by Speed.*

[1] [Athenæ Oxon. i. 235.]

[2] [See Oldys's Catalogue of Pamphlets, 386; and Herbert, 1043.]

To the above biographical data, Mr. Gilchrist[3] *has added (probably on the authority of Ritson*[4]*), that Fulwell was in* 1570 *rector of Naunton,* com. *Gloucest. To Mr. Gilchrist's liberal kindness, the Editor is indebted for the ability of including in these supplemental volumes, what is the most curious of Ulpian's productions: all of which are very rare.*

To the ryght honorable and his singuler good lorde, Sir William Cecill, Baron of Burghleygh, Knight of the moste noble order of the Garter, Lorde high treasurer of Englande, Master of the Courtes of Wardes and Liveries, Chauncellour of the Universitie of Cambridge, and one of the Queene's Majestie's privie counsaile, Ulpian Fullwell wisheth long health, with encrease of honor.

BEEING at stryfe with my selfe, (right honorable,) whether I might presume to exhibite the dedication of this my unpolished labour unto your good Lordship or not; I was as oft abashed as I vewed the homelinesse of my style, and eftsons utterly discomfited. But, contrary wise, while I considered with my selfe (as it were, waying in the other balaunce) your noble nature, in accepting the good will of the geever above the valure of the gift, I am againe recomforted; and in the end of this conflict, the noble curtesie of your honour wonne in mee the victorie. Whereupon I was not onely emboldened my self, humbly to desyre your L. patronage, but also (as muche as in mee laye) encouraged my aucthour, Master Edmunde Harman,[5] to offer unto you the grosse fruites of this our labours. The matter meriteth the pen of the best writer, although it hath nowe happened to the handes of an uneloquent compyler. But if it may please your honour to accept the protection hereof, I doubt not but bothe the matter and the worthinesse of the patrone will stirre up some of exquisite skill to furnishe my defect, by the renuying this my begonne attempt: Which I confesse to be by mee taken in hande more willingly then wittilye, respecting more the truthe of the woorkes then the eloquence of wordes. Thus ceasing to trouble your good Lordship any longer, at this present, with my rough and ragged style; in moste humble wise I submit my selfe, and this my sclender travaile, unto your honour; praying Allmightie God to preserve and prosper you in all your noble affaires, to the great comfort of this realme.

Your honour's most humble
ULPIAN FULWELL.

A Table of the Contents of this Booke.

A commendations of King Henrie's noble vertues.

A resitall of King Henrie's fortunate Raigne.

A briefe discourse of the Unyting the two noble houses of Lancaster and Yorke: from which unyted house, King Henrye was the first Kinge that proceaded.

Of the Battaile fought at Bosworth betweene King Henry the Seventh and King Richarde.

Of the Byrth of King Henry the Eyght.

Of King Henry the Eyght, in the time of his Minoritie.

Of his ryding to the Tower of London before his Coronation.

Of his Coronation.

[3] [Censura Literaria, vol. v. p. 164.] [4] [Bibliographia Poetica, p. 213.]

[5] [This person, it afterward appears, was one of the grooms of the privy chamber to Henry VIII. and his contemporaneous testimony, as to some of the facts in this history, may not be without its value.]

Of the winning of Turwin and Turney.

The historie of King James of Scotlande, that was slayne at Branxston fielde; and of his lamentation.

The historie of King Jamie's sonne; who after the death of his father was King of Scottes, being but a chylde. That tooke his death, after the overthrowe of his menne at Solomos, and of his Complaint.

How the Kinges of England and of Fraunce met at Morguison: An. 1532.

Of the winning of Bullaine.

Of the Death of King Henry the Eight.

An Epitaph of his Death.

A Treatise of iii noble and vertuous Queenes.

The historie of the noble Service, that was at Hadington in Scotlande.

A commendation of the English souldiers that served at this siege of Hadington; with the Capitaines names as neare as coulde be called to remembraunce.

To the frindly Reader Ulpian Fullwell wisheth health.

THE wyse and sage philosopher Solon, noting the insolencie of Cressus,[6] (who esteemed him self the happiest man lyving because of his abundant welth) tolde him, 'that no man 'is to bee reputed happie during his lyfe-tyme, because he knoweth not whether it shall 'ende with renoune or infamie:'—Concluding hereby, that a goodly lyfe and a godly death maketh a perfect happie man. Nowe, seing our late Soveraigne Lorde, Kyng Henrye the Eyghth, hath hit the marke of trewe felicitie, and wonne the game of joyfull immortalitie; what ruthe were it, that so singuler an example shoulde not be recorded in the golden booke of perpetuall fame. His noble lyfe, his godly proceedings, his invicted raygne, his fortunate successe, his whole race of lyfe, and ende of the same, deserveth to be engraved in letters of pure golde. If Alexander, the myghtie monarche of Macedon, was offended with a schoolemaster[7] in whose schoole he founde not the fame of Ulisses, written by Homer; howe much more maye wee deeme he woulde checke and reprove all Englyshe gentlemen, that laye not before their faces the booke of King Henrye's lyfe, if he were nowe amongst us. But, happely, it will be sayd unto me, "Sir, if you weare as good an Englyshe poet as Homer was in Greeke, or if the worthinesse of your style were comparable to the matter, wee would the better esteeme of your worke." If that be thy objection, gentle reader, I cannot excuse myselfe: For, I confesse I have not the gifte of flowing eloquence, neyther can I enterlace my phrase with Italian termes, nor powder my style with Frenche-Englishe, or inkhorne-rhethoricke;[8] neyther cowche my matter under a cloake of curious inventions, to feed the daintie eares of delicate yonkers. And, as I cannot, so if I could I woulde not. For I see that manye men are so affected with these premises, that manye good matters are obscured, the authors encombred, the woorkes but meanely commended, and the reader deceaved. For while he coveteth to come to the purpose, he is lead, amasked, in the wylde desert of circumstance and digression; seeking farre and finding little, feeding his humor on pleasant woordes of slender wayght, guyded (or rather giddyed) with plaucible eloquence.

I do not herein condempne, neither discomende, the noble science of Rhethoricke, nor the eloquent rhethoritian; but rather wishe that excellent skill to be employed onlye

[6] [Crœsus. Vide Plutarch's life of Solon.]

[7] [Aristotle appears to be the pedagogue here adumbrated.]

[8] [Tuscanisms, or Italian phraseology; and ink-hornisms, or pedantic triflings; are ridiculed by Gabriel Harvey, by Thomas Nash, and Bishop Hall.]

on such matters as may both commende the speaker, and the thing spoken; or the writer and the thing written; having alwayes the cheefe respect to time and place. For, as it would sounde very absurde to the eares of the skilfull musitian, to heare a gallyard[9] or any other daunce playde on the solemne organs; so no lesse contrarie is it, to daunce after an hymn or other cunning voluntarie. Thus, gentle reader, I desyre at thy handes that thou accept the matter, and beare with my crabbed meeter: Considering well, that often tymes is founde good graffes uppon a crab-tree stocke. Take then the fruite, and accepte my good will. And if thou list bestowe anye fyling[10] upon the roughness of my phrase, I shall be beholding unto thee: If not, yet shall my desyre be satisfied with thy good worde.

ULPIANUS FULWELL.

Ulpian Fulwell to his Booke.

WHEN lustie Ver beginnes to decke
eche bushe and bowe with greene,
And Flora faire, in flaunting wise,
is gorgeous to be seen;

Then Nature's impes tryumphes with joy
till horie Hyemps[11] frowne,
Whose frostie face, with blastes bedewde,
turnes all these upsy downe.

His stormie stoutnesse dryves the byrdes
their warbling notes to seace;[12]
He keepes, as captive, flowers faire,
till Spring do them releace.

Yet can his usage not prevaile
the FLOWER OF FAME to vade,[13]
Whose growing greene shall not be shutt
in griesely Winter's shade.

As Hedera,[14] with hawtie head,
doth scorn syr Boreas' blast,
Even so this pierlesse FLOWER OF FAME
shall stande as firme and fast.

Out of which stately blossom breedes
a bud of Eglentine,
Whose worthinesse adornes the stocke
of Nature's noble lyne.

Not every whiffling taunting wynde,
that flyes from scornefull tong,
Shall shake the stalke, ne yet the flower,
to do it any wrong.

For why? my booke, thy patron's name
such noble sownde doth yelde,
That thou maist thinke thy selfe well bleste,
to shrowde under his shielde.

Before whose feete wee bothe will lye,
and hope such grace to fynde,
That we with joye may passe abrode,
to please thy readers mynde.

Which thing God graunt!

In Ulpiani Fulwelli operis laudem Richardi Coppoci carmen.

Si tibi cognitio rerum, si nuntia veri,
Possideant aliquem pectore pressa locum.
Si studium pacis, seu te laus inclyta belli
Incitet; huc celerum ferto referto pedem.
Hic res non rerum species, hic vivida virtus;
Hic flos conspicuus, conspicienda ferens.
Non hic Ajacis flos est Telamone creati,
Qui domino dignum nil nisi nomen habet:
Nec flos quos Phœbus genitus inscripsit acerbos,
Cum suus Œbalides, morte peremptus erat:

[9] [See Banquet of Conceits, supra, p. 221.]
[10] [Polishing, improving.]
[11] [*Hyems*, Winter.]
[12] [Cease.]
[13] [Fade.]
[14] [Ivy.]

Sed flos hic Famæ merito regalis habendus,
Henrici octavi regia facta ferens.
Fulwello meritas igitur persolvite grates,
Florem virtutis præmia justa manent.

A manifest Description of King Henrye's noble Vertues.

PREPARE your pennes, ye poets fyne,
Your wittes and curious heddes now showe;
In fyled phraes[15] of flowing ryme,
Your stately styles do ye bestow
On hym, whose fame ryght farre doth flye,
And lodged is in starrie skye.

To whome, whyle lyfe in corps did laste,
The myghtie Ceaser would geve place;
The conquerors of worldes past
May yelde unto Kyng Henrye's grace;
Whose onely name was such a shield
As fear'd[16] his forreign foes in field.

His kyngly majestie was such
As joyed eche faithfull subjects hart;
And rebells proude he forct to couch,
By dint of sworde to feele the smart.
A second Alexander hee
In valiantes appeerde to bee.

And that which princes best beseemes,
God's glorie he did much advaunce;[17]
Repressing error, that had beene
Of many years continuance.
This was his cheefe joy and delyght,
Whereby God's gospell shyneth bryght.

His carefull hed, in this respect,
A chaire of state in heaven hath woon;
Where he sojournes with the elect,
A mate with heavenly Father's Sonne;
Whose seat is set in lasting blisse,
And crown'd with crowne that endlesse is.

The fower Vertues[18] were so well
Within his sacred brest yfraught;
Too simple is my pen to tell
The giftes that Nature to him taught;
My skillesse quill is farre too bace,
To paint the prudence of his grace:

A Salomon, for godly witt;[19]
A Solon, for his constant mynde,
A Sampson, when he list, to hit
The furye of his foes unkynde:
Unto his fryndes a gentill lam,
A prince that lovde a valiant man.

Whome God by dyvers meanes did blesse,
As one well worthie of the same,
With victorie for to represse
His enemies, to his great fame:
And many yeres to rule and raine,
To Englande's joy to Scotlande's paine.

Yea, and a blessing more then this,
That doth ryght farre surmount the rest,
Which is to English hartes a blisse,
Wherewith this happie realme is blest;
His Daughter doth him so revyve,[20]
As though the Father were alyve.

In whome such vertues rare are seene,
As makes farre countries marvaile much,
That shee, a virgin and a queene,
In godlynes and wit is such;
Though lyfe from Father be exylde,
His giftes are left unto his Childe.

As worthie prince, by due discent,
The regall scepter for to guyde;
And Christ his foes for to prevent,
By godly zeale shee doth provyde:
The Father's steppes shee treades so ryght,
As doth eche English harte delyght.

So that though royall Henry bee
Returnde to earth, from whence he came;
Elizabeth, yet may we see,
Doth bewtifie her father's fame;
Whome GOD preserve in regall seat,
Till Nestor's yeres be full complete!

[15] [Phrase.] [16] [*i. e.* Made them fear.]
[17] The chiefest thing belonging to a King is to set forth God's glorie. [18] [Cardinal.]
[19] A mirror for all Princes. [20] Queene Elizabeth.

A briefe Resitall of King Henrye's fortunate Raigne.

AMONG the most fortunate kynges and princes that ever raigned, let the fortunes of King Henry the Eyght have a speciall place; whose happie successe in his affaires was comparable unto the events of the mightie conqueror, Kyng Phillip's sonne of Macedon. There were in his tyme raigning more puissant princes together then ever were lyving in any age before; and yet, amongst them all, not one of them equall to the Kyng of Englande in prowess. In so much, that the Jewes were in good hope that one of these noble champions should be ordeined of God to be their Messias, whose comming they have long in vayne expected; refusing the trewe Messias and Saviour of the worlde, Jesus Christ; looking for a champion to bring them home again unto their destroyed Jerusalem.

These were the names of the most famous governours of the world at that tyme. Firste, Henry King of Englande: the Emperor Maximilian, and Frauncis the Frenche King, with the valyant princes that then were in Germanie; and Selimus the Emperor of Turkie, with Barbarossa his great capitaine; besydes a nomber more mentioned by Paulus Jovius and other good aucthors. And among them all, the fame of Kyng Henry shyned farre brighter then the rest; as hereafter followeth. But first, I will note of the blisse and happiness that came unto Englande by his birth. It is manifest that he was the first braunche of the tree of Concorde, after the unyting of the two noble houses of Lancaster and Yorke; that long had beene at discention and open hostilitie, for the imperiall diadem of this realme. For although his brother Prince Arthur were the elder, yet because he lived not to enjoy his father's seignories, neyther left behynde him anye issue; I reckon him that brought forth the fruite to be the cheefe and principall braunche. He was also elect and chosen of God, to be that Ezechias, that should sinsearly set forth his sacred lawes. Yea, he was the verye Hercules that was born to subdue the Romysh Hydra; against whych many-hedded monster, neyther Kyng nor Keysar could prevayle, untill this puissant Hercules tooke the matter in hand; to the glorie of God, and his perpetuall fame. He was also endewed[21] by God with invincible fortitude, alwayes prevayling with glorious victorie. And lyke as when Moses helde up his rodde, the Israelites had the better hande, and while he helde downe the same, their enemies had hope of victorie; so likewyse, on whose syde so ever King Henry helde up his sworde, that parte had alwaye prosperous successe; as the warres betweene the Emperor Charles the Fifth and Frauncis the French kyng may sufficiently shewe. More over, the lyke blessing of God happened unto him, as sceldome, or rather I thinke never, chaunced unto any kyng. For whereas, hee having three children and no mo, at his departure out of this worlde; they have all three succeeded the Father: not as private persons, but successively in the regall seate, governing his landes and territories. Also, his noble magnanimitie was such, that he, being lord of Irelande, was by the erles, lords, and piers of the same realme, desyred to take upon him the name of their king. And they, of their owne accordes, in the name of the whole realm of Ireland, did unto him homage and fealtie.

Besides all this, when Maximilian the Emperor was dead, the princes electors of the empire of Rome, with generall consent committed their full aucthoritie of election, for the space of foure daies unto Kyng Henry (eyther to take the empyre him selfe, or els to nominate whom he would) who thankfully accepted their good willes, rendring unto them againe their authoritie, and refusing to be emperor him selfe. Thus we may saye, and that trewely, that he wan a kingdome without battaile or bludshed. And he was of power not onely to be an emperor, but also to make an emperor. And thus I may boldly assever,[22] that he was blest of God above all kynges and princes that ever I have read of; and happy was that prince, that might stande moste in his favour. For the which dyvers made great suite, and especially when they stoode in neede of ayde against their enemies;

[21] [Endued.] [22] [Asseverate.]

because they perceived that Fortune followed his power, as handmayd to all his proceedings. A rare example no doubt it is, and me seemeth most strange, that one king should raigne 38 yeres, and that almost in continuall warres, and never take foyle;[23] but alwaies prevailed as a victor invicted,[24] which without the assistaunce of Almyghtie God he could never have atchyved: an evident token that God was on his syde; and therefore who coulde stande agaynst hym? But to write, at large, of his worthinesse and incomparable actes, would fill a bigg volume; and were too great a charge for my unskilfull penne. Finally, he was a prince of singular prudence, of passing stoute courage, of invincible fortitude, of dexteritie wonderfull. He was a springing-well of eloquence, a rate spectacle of humanitie, of civilitie, or good nurture, an absolute president, a speciall paterne of clemencie and moderation,[25] a worthie example of regall justice, a bottomlesse spring of larges and benignitie. He was in all the honest artes and faculties profoundlye seene, in all liberall disciplines equall with the best, in no kynde of literature unexperte. Hee was to the world an ornament, to Englande a treasure, to his frendes a comfort, to hys foes a terror, to his faithful and loving subjectes a tender father, to innocents a sure protectour, to wilfull malefactours a sharpe scourge; to his common weale and good people a quyet haven, and ancor of safegarde; to the disturbers of the same, a rocke of extermination: in haynous and intollerable crymes against the comon welth, a sevear judge; in the lyke offences committed against him selfe a redye porte and refuge of mercye, except to such as would persist incorrigiblye. A man he was in all gifts of nature, of fortune, and of grace, peerles; and, to conclude, a man above all prayses. Suche a kyng did God set to raigne over England, whereof this realme may well vaunt above other nations, whose worthines is more treated of by forreign wryters then by any of our owne countreymen: which may justly redownd to the reproche of all our English poets and historiographers.

A Discourse of the Unyting the two noble Houses of Lancaster and Yorke, from which unyted Howse King Henry was the first King that proceeded.

WHEN mightie Jove from heavenly throne
behelde the bloody broyle,
That Mars had made through civill sworde,
within this countrey soyle;

And, pitying the ruthfull rage
that on this realme did rayne,
Most lovingly did bend his eares
to heare oure moane and playne;

The earth, that earst was brewd with blood,
beginneth nowe to joye,
The bore[26] is chaced, that was wont
this realme so to annoy.

The lady Concord came from Heaven
to stablysh this decree,
That Lancaster and Yorke henceforth,
unyted shall agree.

Methought, I hearde the golden wordes
that Concorde did resite,
And eke, mee seemde, myne eyes beheld
this noble heavenly wighte.

Who pierst the skyes with warbling winges,
and scepter in her hande,
Uppon her hed a diadem,
ycompast with a bande.

Whereat my mynde was all amazde,
to muse I could not cease,
Till at the last, I might perceive
it was the bande of peace.

Her face as bright as Phebus' beames,
her heares like burnisht golde,[27]
Her feature like an angell shape,
as joyed mee to beholde.

With comely grace shee did commaund
that scylence should be synde
To rule the prease that then was thear,
till shee had saide her mynde.

[23] [Foil: defeat.] [24] [Invincible: *invictus*, Lat.]
[25] [This, it must be remembered, was written in the reign of his kingly daughter.]
[26] By the *bore*, is meant King Richard. [27] Concord, heavenly wyght.

When all was whusht, and every man
with listning eares was bent,
To heare her speake; then with these wordes
shee shew'd forth her intent.

" Oh, noble lande! since first the tyme
that Brute in thee did raygne,
Whose lyne intestive warre did ende,
as fame doth yet remaine;

" Turmoilde and tost, with civill sworde,
thou sundry times hast bene;
Such was thy lott, and such mishap
as yet in thee is seene.

" Thy noble peares have yeld their soules,
when fatall sworde had slayne,
Unto the theater of Jove,
on Mars for to complayne.

" Thy vulgar sorte, in hugie heapes,
do prease their plaintes to showe
With humble sute, that perfect peace
in English land may growe:

" And Jove, that long have rewde thy case,
hath sent me for to ceace
These bluddie broyles, and now to turne
thy warre to perfect peace.

" Where discorde raignes and breedes debate,
subvertion is at hande,
And dayly proofe doth shewe, that hate
confoundeth many a lande.

" Let Troyans testifye the same,
let Pryam witnesse beare
What seignorie cannot bring forth,
examples bought too deare.

" Desire of rule doth oft tymes dymme,
and clips the fame of lyfe,
When subjects touche the prince's seate,
by sowing seede of stryfe.

" The Romaine rowt can well declare
the smart of Pompeie's broyle,
Numidia remembreth well
the brunt of Jugurthe's spoyle:

" With thousandes more, whom to resite
were tyme but vainly spent,
But ryght shall sit in regall seate,
the tyran[28] to prevent.

" And God that all these turmoyles vewes,
at last will worke his wyll,
When false usurper shall take foyle,
then ryght shall florish still.

" To thee, oh famous realme! I speake,
whose b[r]uite[29] doth pierce the skyes,
Which, for thy wealth, the heavenly heste
this order doth devyse.

" And I, of Jove the messenger,
this newes now bring to thee,
With bande of peace, as faithfull pledge,
if thou thereto agree.

" What losse and languor thou hast had,
thy selfe canst witnesse best,
And mischiefe hath not sparde to spurne,
to purchase thy unrest.

" Wherefore, the God that guydes all thinges,
doth charge thee that with speede
Thou joyne in knott of mariage,
as thus he hath decreede.

" There is a lande in westerne soyle,
that Britaine hath to name,
Which coast doth now retayne the wyght,
that must thy quyet frame:

" A proper youth of pregnant witt,
to whome with speede repayre;
Of Lancaster, that noble house,
he is the ryghtfull heire.

" His princely porte doth well deserve
to wear thy regall crowne,
By due discent to wield the sworde,
with fame and bright renowne.

" This worthie wight shall turne the warre
that long thy wealth hath wast,
This Earle Henry shall redresse
thy wayling woe forepast.

" Now see the sequell of this hest,[30]
that God appointed hath;
Marke well the meane against Syr Mars,
to pacifie his wrath.

" A noble spouse within thy lande,
of ryght must now be found,
To linke in sacred wedlocke's state,
and queene for to be crownde.

[28] [Tyrant, or tyranny.] [29] [Renown.] [30] [Command, injunction.]

" Beholde, a virgin bryght of hue,
with vertues force bedect,
Of personage surpassing all
that Nature hath elect.

" Dianae's peere for chastitie,
a second Susan shee;
Her godly nature well deserves
a goddesse for to bee.

" The daughter of a royall king
that rewlde thy lande of late,
The heyre of Yorke, that long hath beene
with Lancaster at bate.[34]

" Elizabeth, this lady hight,
the late King Edwarde's chylde,[35]
Shee shall bring forth a peerlesse prince,
thy people for to shylde.[36]

" Nowe, sith these houses twaine, hath causde
such ruyne for to raygne,
Which bluddie broyle hath forced thee
to feele the smarte and paine;

" With speede repaire to Britaine land,
this Henry home to call;
And place him in thy regall seate;
be ye his subjectes all.

" As for his foes take ye no feare,
for God his frende doth stande;
He is annoynted of the Lorde,
to rule thy famous lande.

" Which being done, let sacred state
of wedlocke joyne these twayne,
Then be thou sure in perfect peace
hereafter to remayne."[37]

When Concorde had these wordes rehearst,
and all her message tolde;
To see the joye that men did make,
was wonder to beholde.

With clapping handes and cheerefull shoutes,
they shewde foorth great delyght,
And thought eche day to bee a yere
till he shoulde come in syght.

And when that Fame had blowne her blast,
that hee had taken lande,
Determining to chace the bore,
with force of myghtie hande;

Eche man him selfe do then addresse
this royall prince to place;
With courage stoute and loyall hartes,
They serve his noble Grace.

Of the Battaile fought at Bosworth, betweene King Henry the VII. and Richard, that then usurped the Crowne.

AFTER long continuance of blody warre, through civill contention, betweene the two noble houses of Lancaster and Yorke, for the imperiall diademe of this realme; to the great effusion of English blood, as well of the Nobilitie as also of the Commons; it pleased Almightie God to put into the mindes of the nobilitie of this realme, a meane how to prevent this eminent subversion; by joyning in knot of mariage the heires apparent of these two noble houses, (as is aforesaide) to the perfect securitie of this noble nation. And here it is to be noted, that when Kyng Edward the Fourth dyed, who was lineally discended from the house of Yorke, whose variable chaunces of fortune I over passe; he lefte behynde him two sonnes and fyve daughters. The elder of his sonnes was named Edwarde,[38] who was afterwardes proclaymed kyng, being of the age of xi. yeres; his yonger brother had to name Richarde, who was duke of York. Now by reason of the nonage of the yong king, Richard Duke of Gloucester, being uncle unto the yong kyng, intrudes him selfe to the protectorship of the kyng,[39] and the realme; and also wrested into his tuition the kinge's brother, taking him from the queen his mother, who then laye in the sanctuarie at Westminster, for doubt of the cruell tyrrannie of the proctector; whose ambitious mynde shee knewe to bee insatiable of honor and dignities, and wholly bent to cruell

[34] [Debate; strife, contention.] [35] The daughter of King Edward IV.
[36] [Shield.] [37] The end of Lady Concord's oration. [38] K. Edwarde the fifth.
[39] A lambe under the keeping of a wolfe.

tyrannie: which shortly after he put in practyse. For when he had got into his clawze[40] these two yong princes; like a cruell tyger and ravenyng wolfe, moste unnaturally he caused them to be pittifully murthered, within the Tower of London: and caused one Docter Shaw,[41] who better deserved to be called Docter Shame, to preach at Paule's Crosse; perswading the people that King Edwarde the Fowerth, late deceased, was not ryghtfull king: affirming that he was a bastarde, and that the Duke of Gloucester being lawfully begotten, ought to have been king when his brother was; and therefore myght nowe justlye challenge the crowne. Was not this a graceles sonne, that caused his owne naturall and vertuous mother to be proclaimed at Powle's Crosse a harlot? This, and his unnaturall homicide, sownded moste abhominably in the eares of all honest men. Notwithstandinge, by this beastly and detestable policie, (whereunto he also added the death of the Lord Hastinges and other noble men, whome he supposed woulde by all meanes possible have hindered his ungodlye proceedings) he hitt the marke whereat he shot, whiche was the crowne of Englande; and in fine, was crowned king, by the name of Kyng Rycharde the Thirde.

But ere he had raigned little more then two yeres, it pleased God to stir up the nobilitie of this realme to the ayde of Henrye Earle of Richemond, to set him in his ryghtfull inheritaunce of the imperiall diadem of this realme. The large discourse whereof is exquisitely written by Sir Thomas More, as appeareth in the Cronicle written by Edwarde Hall.[42]

In conclusion, this noble Earle of Richemonde, after manye doubtfull casualties and harde events, arryved at Milforde-Haven in Wales, wyth an armye of Britons; and by the ayde of the Welshmen, his power encreased: and manye of the nobilitie of Englande with greate strength came to his ayde, untill he came to a place in Leycestershiere called Bosworth, where he met with Kynge Richarde and his armye; and betweene them was fought a sharpe battaile, in which conflict the King himself was slayne, and his bodie caryed to Leycester on horsebacke, as a butcher caryeth a calfe to the market.[43] After which victorie, won by this noble Earle, he was proclaimed Kyng of England by the name of King Henry the Seventh;[44] and consequently, he maried the Lady Elizabeth, daughter unto King Edward the iiii. and they [were] both crowned King and Queene of Englande, to the greate joy of the whole realme. And thus were the noble houses of Lancaster and Yorke united in one; whiche was the finishing of long warre.

The Byrthe of the puisant prince King Henry the eyght; which was in the yere of our Lorde God, 1490; the xxii of June.

When lady Concorde quencht the broyle,
That cyvill sworde long tyme had bred;
And calmed eke the warlyke toyle
Wherewith this realme but earst was fed;
Our thraldome then shee did remove,
And freedome sent, from God above!

The houses twayne, that long had beene
At deadly foode[45] for regall throne,
Of Lancaster and Yorke I meane,
Were then, by God, conjoynde in one.
This mariage made, Sir Mars geeves place,
And eche man thankt God for his grace.

But he that doth all thinges foresee,
And knowes the sequell of the same,
Knewe that a braunche of that same tree
Should bring forth fruit of endlesse fame,
And yelde such sapp as should delyghte
The heavens, and eke eche English wyght.

The natall day, by God's decree,
Approched on with luckie speede,
When as, the blossome of this tree
Should shewe the fruite of happie seede;
Whereat both heaven and earth rejoyce,
And shewe the same with cheerefull voyce.

[40] [Claws.] [41] A doctor for the devill.
[42] [Printed in 1548 and 1550, and lately reprinted, with most of our other English chronicles.]
[43] A condigne reward for such a tyraun. [44] An. Dom. 1485. [45] [Feud.]

The fower Vertues myght you viewe
Descend from heaven, in golden cloude;
And to beholde, the heavenly crewe
That joyed this birthe, with voyce full loude
Did sounde such tryumphes in the skyes,
That through the worlde around it flyes.

Then Justice tooke the diadem
That shee her selfe was wont to weare,
Her ballaunce eke, and joyned them,
Whereby shee wonts eche cause to heare;
And yeldeth them unto his grace,
In equitie to run hys race.

When Justice had her selfe thus yelde,
Came Fortitude, with courage stoute,
And deckte this babe with sworde and shyelde,
To conquere all the raging route,
That shoulde attempte or take in hande
His princely power to withstande.

Then Temperance and Prudence eke,
So deckte there his sacred mynde,
As never earst was seene the lyke,
Such grace from God to him was synde:[46]
For Solon there did yelde his fame,
And Salomon eke did the same.

The Muses all obeysaunce made,
And eche one gave a lawrell croune;
Sir Mars did there him selfe disgrade,
And yeldeth up his large renowne:
This prince did Jove himselfe ordaine
In endlesse fame on earth to raygne.

And though he were a second[47] sonne,
Yet God foresawe what should ensue;
The royall race that he should run,
Ere he was borne, ryght well he knewe;
And in the wombe did him appoint,
With sacred oyle, and king annoynt.

When tract of tyme had brought this Prince
Unto the age of eyghteen yeres,
His raygne began in this province,
Whose noble courage then appeares,
That English hartes great joy did make,
And forayne foes then 'gan to quake.

Of Prince Henrie's towardlynes, in the tyme of his Minoritie.

As this noble prince grewe in age, so he encreased in vertue and princely demeanure; using such exercises as was commendable in so noble a personage, wherein he excelled all other of his tyme; as in learning, rydyng, and martiall feates. In so muche, that when he was the onely hope of this realme, he was no lesse feared of forreine foes then entierly loved of his owne country-men. And had he not set the feare of God before his eyes, with speciall regarde of obedience towardes his Father, no doubt but he had bene seduced by the wicked suggestions of faccious[48] flatterers, that often tymes inveagled him to take uppon him the governaunce of this realme, his Father being alyve; as he him selfe hath reported, after he came to the crowne. But he alwayes abhorred their ungodly instigations.

At last, it pleased God to call his Father from the earth, to dwell with him in heaven, when he had raygned 23 yeres: and then this royall Prince, his Sonne, succeded him in this realme as hereafter foloweth.

King Henry the eyght, being proclaimed King of Englande, the xxii day of Aprill 1509, goeth to the Tower of London.

BEHOLDE the happie day at hande,
For him to weare the regall crowne,
Whereby to rewle[49] this noble lande,
And wielde the same with high renoune;
Which was declarde by tromp of fame,
That all Europa hearde the same.

Unto this blast of golden sounde
Did forrein Princes binde their eares,
The noyse to heaven eke did rebounde,
That Englande's foes then quake in feares,
And frendes unto the English roye,[50]
With clapping handes 'gan shewe their joye.

[46] ['Sign'd, for assign'd.] [47] [Arthur, his elder brother, died in 1502.] [48] [Factious.]
[49] [Rule.] [50] [King.]

Then, as the auncient custome was,
To London-tower is he brought;
With regall porte he so did passe
That all men joyde in worde and thought:
His countinaunce of regaltie,
Shewde forth a kingly majestie.

So that if thousandes in his way
Had right resemblance of his face,
Yet every man myght judge and saye—
'Lo this is he; God save his grace!'
He did the rest excell so farre,
As doth the sunne the dimmest starre.

Within this noble castle now
This royall king his seat hath take,
Whose speciall carke and care is, howe
In order good his realme to make;
His whole desire and studye is,
For to reforme that was amisse.

Where Prudence rules with good foresyght,
The common-wealth doth prosper well;
Where Wisedome guydes eche thing aright,
Thear Commons sceldome do rebell;
But serve their Prince with loyall hartes,
And nothing slack to do their partes.

The stately porte that princes beare,
With justice joynde ryght to mayntain,
Both holdes the subject in due feare,
And trewe allegeance doth remayne.
This king did his affaires so frame,
As made men feare and love his name.

Of the Coronation of King Henry the VIII.

If Fame foresawe what woulde ensue
as well as thinges forepast,
Shee woulde not rashly sentence geeve,
in blowing up her blast.

Ne woulde shee judge eche tryumph then,
at first for to excell,
But that another might succeede,
to beare away the bell.

What meanst thou, Fame, in auncient tyme
to call the learned trayne
To paynt the pageaunts that were shewde,
when Caesar 'gan his raygne?

And cause them then, with painfull toyle,
the same so to commende,
As though it never shoulde take foyle,
but last unto the ende.

If thou hadst knoune, as now thou doest,
of this most happie day;
I doubt not, but thou wouldst have causde
their painfull pennes to staye.

Yet is this thing not so far past,
but that thou maist reclayme,
If thou recant thy former blast,
by calling backe againe.

Revoke, therefore, thy rashe exployt,
whereat I needes must grudge;
And when thou hast perpended [51] well,
thy selfe shall be the judge:

And plainly see, that Caesar's gestes,
ne his tryumphing fame,
Nor yet his blased pompouse daye,
was equall with this same.

Against the tyme this pierles prince
the stately towne shoulde passe,
That London hight,[52] whose gorgious stretes
so richely decked was,

That Rome, whereof so many write
in pompe for to excell,
Was never yet adornde so brave,
nor furnisht halfe so well.

More lyke a pleasant Paradice
that noble citie seemde,
Then lyke a place of earthie moulde,
as men might well have deemde.

So sumptuously the stately streates
were deckt with every thing,
As though, that Jove from heaven were come,
to be their earthly king.

So joyde men in this royall Prince,
when he his crowne should take,
That sorroes all were set to sleepe,
and solace did awake.

The worthie pageaunts that were shewde,
my pen cannot discharge,
And to descrybe the same aright,
will fill a volume large.

[51] [Weighed, examined.]

[52] [Called, named.]

Which passing sightes so seemely were
set forth to view of eye,
That Rome and Greece, with all the rest,
would let their fame go by.

And Caesar's frendes, that so advaunce
his tryumphes and renowne,
Would come from graves, if that they might
their pennes thearto throwe downe.

Thus, as he passed through the streates
unto the crowning place,
Eche man erectes his cheerefull voyce,
and sayes, 'God save your grace!'

His noble trayne of worthie pieres,
eche one in his degree,
Attende on this most royall king,
a worthie sight to see.

In fine, no shewes of princely pompe
at this tryumphe did want;
The conduites all gush out with wine,
whereof there was no scant.

To Westminster thus 'gan he passe,
to take the crowne his ryght,
Where bothe his Queene and he were crownde,
to Englande's great delyght.

From the tyme of this Kinge's Coronation unto his going into Fraunce, to the siege of Turwin and Turneie, I referre thee (gentle reader) to peruse in Edwarde Hall his Cronicle, who hath largely displaied the courtly exersises wherein he passed the firste iiii yeres of his raygne. Wherin also thou maist read of sundry ambassadours that came unto him from forreine countreys, with the successe of his noble captaines that he sent into Spaine, and into Gelderland and Fraunce, and to scoure the seas. I will treat onely of such matter as appertaineth to his own person, and of the two famous voyages that he made into Fraunce in proper person.

When King Henry purposed his journey into Fraunce, he firste entred in league of frendship with James king of Scots, who had maryed Margaret the kynge's sister; for the confirmation of which league they both received the sacrament, with solemne vowe to keepe the same unvyolate. But what ensued hereof, you may hereafter read more at large.

Now let us go forwarde with setting forth of this royall Voyage.

Of the winning of Turwin and Turnay.[53]

WHO list to reade of matiall actes,
and of Bellonae's trayne,
May in the eyghth kyng Henrye's lyfe
a myrror see most plaine.
Of warre shee is the goddesse stoute,
on whome doth still attend
The noble crewe and armed rowte,
that fatall bowe doth bende.
This direfull goddesse here rehearst,
hath, at a call, alwaye,
Three handmaydes ever readye prest,
her pleasure to obey:
Whereby shee princes doth correct,
and cities stoute subdue,
That lyve and raigne disorderly,
and rule by meanes untrue.
The firste is Blood, by dynt of sworde;
the seconde, Fyer fierce;
The third is Famyn, worst of all;
that cruelly doth pierce.
And eyther of them, by her selfe,
is able to throwe downe
The myghtiest king and conquerour,
that ever yet waer[54] crowne.
But if they all conjoyne in one,
what prince, what realme, or lande,
Or else, what worlde might remaine,
their powers to withstande?
So puissant these damsels are,
that on this goddess wayte,
And being by their lady calde,
they then addresse them strayte,
To shewe dame Nature's dyrefull kynde,
that shee to them hath yelde;[55]
With terror then they shewe their force,
on castle, towne, or feelde.

[53] [Theroünne and Tournay were taken in Aug. and Sept. 1513.]
[54] [Wore.]
[55] [Yielded.]

This goddesse, and her handmaydes three,
with all their myght and maine,
Alwaies attendant myght you see
uppon King Henrie's trayne.
The Scottes can well reporte the same,
who felt thereof the smarte,
When all the cheefetaines of their realme
were slayn by deadly darte.
Now let King James his griesly ghost
awake from fatall sleepe,
And shewe his hap and rufull fall,
that causde all Scotlande weepe.
Let all the Scottish noble peeres
bewayle the wofull hower
When they agreede on Bramston[56] hilles
to meet King Henrye's power.
But sith from Earth they may not ryse,
this dolefull tale to tell;
I will for them declare the truth,
in order as befell.
His foes of Fraunce, whose faithlesse leagues
he ever found untrue,
Can witness beare of his greate force;
they all his stoutnesse knew.
And Turwin first shall testifie
his puissance and myght,
Who felt the smart of Fyer's rage,
with losse of many a knyght.
Now see the sole and onely cause,
that he this siege did laye
In proper person, with his power,
unto this towne's decaye.
When tract of tyme had tryde the truth
that Frenchemen wonts to holde,
Whose breache of truce and prince's peace
no wight could yet withholde.
This roiall King sent foorth his shippes
with hoysed sayles aloft,
Whose force did scoure the coast from foes,
and quaylde their courage oft.
But yet he thought his presence myght
accomplysh many thinges,
That coulde not so in absence bee;
such is the porte of kinges!
A comfort to the subjectes all,
a terror to the foes,
A prince's person in the fielde
doth seldome conquest lose.
His person in the field was suche
as made his souldiours stoute,
His onely name woulde feare his foes,
and make them stande in doubt.
His counsell grave so prudent was,
his wytt so wisely stayde,
That all the rest myght leave consultes,
when he the woord had sayde.
When thus his prudence had perceivde,
with judgement and foresyght,
How that his antique foes of Fraunce
deteyned his due right:
He causde his noble navie then
in readynesse to lye,
And he himselfe determined
Sir Neptune's chance to trye.
The shipmen take their tackles then,
and all thinges redy makes,
With gladsome hartes the soldiers all
this cheerefull voyage takes.
The shippes are rygde,[57] with all thinges meete
for such a royall trayne,
This noble king is nowe embarkte,
his ryght in Fraunce to gayne.
With noise of gunnes and sound of trumpe,
and stroke of rollyng drum,
They cut the rage of foming waves,
tyll they to Fraunce are come.
With marching foorth in warlike wise,
to Turwin towne they bende,
Who then perceyves, it is hye time
her selfe for to defende.
Her walles and towers they are deckt
with tooles of Vulcane's frame,
No thundring noyse of gunne was sparde,
no flashe of fyer's flame.
But when their eyes could witnes beare,
this king encamped then,
And sawe the siege so stoutly set
with lustie valyant men.
Their hartes began to quake and quayle,
their courage then abate,
They knewe his presence in the campe
was to his trayne a gate,
And strong portculleys; to defend
his lusty soldiers stoute,
Whose faithfull hartes unto his grace
for foes did never doute.
A harolde then with blast of trumpe
was sent out of the fielde,

[56] [In the old black letter memorial of the 'Batayle lately don betwene Englande and Scotlande, in which the 'Scottishe kynge was slayne,' this is printed Brainstoun: but Brankstone is the name by which it will now be conveyed by the Marmion of Mr. Walter Scott to latest posterity.]

[57] [Rigg'd.]

To summon them obediently
unto their prince to yielde;
Or else to stande unto the lot
that myght to them befall,
By dint of swoord, of fier's flame,
or famine, worste of all.
Who answerd then, "that they were bent
the chaunce of warre to trye,
And to defend their furnisht walles,
and theron lyve and dye."
Which messadge being then returned,
it was a wondrous sight
To see how soldiers hasted then
with Turwyn men to fight,
The trumpets blewe, the drummes stryke up,
to shewe Sir Mars his lore;
A terror sure it was, to heare
the thundring cannons rore.
The king, right lyke a ventrous knight,
did nothing balke the brunt;
He comforted the souldiers all,
through every bande and front.
"Saint George! Saint George!" they all 'gan crye,
and fiercely do assayle
Their enemies within the towne,
with hope for to prevayle.
No engin was omitted then,
that myght their purpose gayne,
The batt'ry was so fierce and sharpe,
that they in th'ende were fayne
To parle,[58] and to entreat for peace,
their states for to maintayne;
In fine, they cravde for mercye then,
acknowleging their fault,
Desyring his most noble grace
to cease his sharpe assault.
And they his vassayls woulde become,
and faithfull to his crowne:
In token of their loyaltie,
they yelde to him their towne,
And all the furniture thereof,
to use at his owne will:
Desyring that, "he will vouchsafe
their bloods not for to spill."
Whose noble aunswer was againe,—
"Sith you for mercy crave,
We mercy graunt you, for your lyves
from bloody swoorde to save."
With trump and banner then displayde,
he entreth this his towne,
Saint George his flagg is then advaunst,
and all the rest throwne downe.

Anno Domini 1513.

King Henry being confederate with the Emperour Maximilian, and manye of the nobilitie of Brabant, Flaunders, and Holland, having the sayde emperor in wages, under his banner, invaded Fraunce, and first assaulted Turwin with a puissant armye; which towne, in the ende, was enforced to yelde it selfe unto the mercye of King Henry, who mercyfully graunted them pardon of their lyves, and free leave to departe in safegarde; yelding up their towne, with all their furniture and munition, unto the king; who entred the sayde towne with banner displaide as a conquerour. And having taken the ordnaunce, with the rest of the spoyle, within a whyle after he consumed the towne, with fyer; which thing pleased the emperor very well, for that the sayd toune was oftentymes a scourge unto him.

The king at this tyme, to solace him self, rode to Lisley (which is a town of the emperour's) where as he was nobly entertained: and at his entrie into the towne, the keyes of the gates were offered unto him to dispose at his pleasure; who received them thankfully; rendring them againe to him of whome he tooke them. And when he had recreat him selfe thear three dayes, he returned unto his campe againe; whose returne was ryght joyfull unto his souldiers. For, as his presence increased their joyes, so his absence augmented their dolours: so entire he was unto all his loiall subjectes.

Shortly after, he marched forwardes with his whole armie towardes the greate citie of Turney; which citie is saied to have as manye towers in it as be dayes in a yere, which is in nomber 365. And, in fine, after sharpe assault, he obtained the toune; and after possession taken, hee built there a strong castle. In this meane season, he envyted the emperour, and the empresse his wyfe, to this his new-wonne towne of Turney; who ryght joyously came thither, and were there royally feasted, and his trayne had both greate entertainment and bountifull rewardes.

In these warres were manye feates of armes tryed, and sundry noble exploits atchyved;

[58] [Parley.]

and, in conclusion, the cheefe power of Fraunce discomfited. But among the tragicall events that there happened, one pretie accident chaunced by Master Henry Norace, who at that tyme being a yong gentleman, and one of the kinge's henchemen,[59] having on his head the kinge's helmet, was by the fierceness of his horse caryed from the king's campe into the middest of the Frenche armye, that then lay without the towne of Turnay, in battaile ray;[60] and being thus among his enemies, against his will, at laste founde the meanes to turne his horse's hed againe, and so, by good happe, came backe unto the king; whereof the kyng was ryght glad. And being thus escaped, the king offered to make him knight, for this adventure; but he tolde the king, that "his horse rather deserved that dignitie, which caryed him among his enemies against his his will." Whereat the king pleasantly laughed: for he loved this yong gentleman verie well.[61]

And because my aucthor was brought up under this saide gentleman, and by him preferred unto the king, I am occasioned somewhat to digresse, by remembraunce of his worthinesse. This forename master Norace, grewe in suche favour and grace with the king, that he became to be the chiefe gentleman of his privie chamber, and also was master of the blacke rodd; which is an office to the noble order of the garter, which office hath a large prerogative. He was ryghtfullye termed, the father of the court nexte under the king, for his singular order of education in courtly civilitie; as divers noblemen and gentlemen, by him brought up, can full well witnesse: Namely, the Lorde Henry Dudley,[62] the Lord Sheafield,[63] the Lorde Edmund Shandos,[64] with manye more. His nature was to be good to as manye as hee might, and harme to none; his purse was never shut from the needie. Finally, he was endued with all godly and vertuous condicions, living in the courte in great favour and estimation; untill Envye, who alwaies pursueth Vertue, threw at him her spytefull and poysoned dartes, to his decaye. After whose death, the king to shewe his good will towardes him, shewed him selfe gracious lord unto as manye as were servauntes unto the sayde master Norace in his lyfe-tyme: and to expresse the same more at large, he bestowed his daughter, mistresse Marie Norace, in mariage on Sir George Carew,[65] which mariage was solempnized in the court, at the proper costes and charges of the king; to the fame and furtherance of the saide knight, and the yong ladye his wife.

Now to returne to my matter againe. Whyle the king was in Fraunce,[66] King James of Scotlande, notwithstanding his league and solempne vowe before mentioned, made an invasion uppon the borderers adjoyning unto Scotlande; and sent an ambassadour unto the kyng into Fraunce, accusing the borderers for breache of the truce betweene them taken. When the king understoode by the ambassadour, of the king of Scotte's pretence, he rewarded the ambassadour, and so dismissed him.

Nowe the Kinge of Scottes supposed, that all the power of Englande was in Fraunce with King Henry, knowing also that King Henry could not, nor woulde not, breake up his Camp to come against him; and thought, that nowe he had a plaine gappe opened unto him to enter into Englande, and there to woorke his will. But by the providence of the Queene, who was left regent of the realme by the king at his setting foorth, and by the valyanties of the Earle of Surrey, the kinge's lieftenaunt, he was prevented of his purpose. For when he thought to have entered this realme with all his power, he was mett

[59] [Attendants on the royal person, abolished by Queen Elizabeth.]

[60] [Array.]

[61] [Henry Norris does not appear among the number of persons of worth, who had the honour of knighthood conferred on them by Henry VIII. during his expedition into France: and this may have arisen from the sportive observation here recorded.]

[62] [Of Dudley-castle, probably in the county of Worcester.]

[63] [Sheffield: yet the creation of Baron Sheffield did not take place till 1547. See Noble Authors, i. 277, last edit.]

[64] [Chandos, son and heir of Sir John Bruges, first Baron Chandos; with whom he was joined in the trust of the constableship of Sudeley-castle. See Collins's Peerage.]

[65] [Of the family of the ancient barons Carew of Devonshire. He was drowned at Portsmouth in 1545. See Lodge's Illustrations, i. 16.]

[66] An. Do. 1513.

by the Earle of Surrey at a place called Brampston,[67] where betweene them was fought a cruell battayle; not without great effusion of blood on both parties; but in the ende, by God's providence, the victorie fell unto the Englishe men: The King of Scottes himselfe being slayne in the field, with xi of his noble men, being all of them earles; besydes a number of his knyghtes and gentlemen of name, and his whole power made very weake. This battaile being ended, to the renoune of the queene, the earle, the kinge's lieftenant, and the whole realme; the dead bodye of the King of Scottes was founde among the other carcases in the fielde, and from thence brought to London, and so through London streetes on horsebacke, in such order as you have reade before of King Richarde; and from thence it was caried to Sheene[68] neere unto Brainford,[69] wheras the queene then laye. And theare this perjured carcas lyeth unto this day, unburied: a condign end and a meete sepulker for such a forsworn prince! This shamefull ende of the Scottish king kindled the fyer of malyce in the breastes of the Scottes; the flame whereof, in the ende, consumed also their yong king that then was left unto them, as following you may reade. But first I have taken upon mee to introduce King James unto thee, (in forme of the 'Mirror for Magistrates')[70] to utter his complaynt and tell his oune tale, as followeth.

The lamentable Complaint of King James of Scotlande, who was slayne at Scottish Fielde, Anno 1513.

AMONG the rest, whom rewfull fate hath reft,
Whose shrouding sheetes hath wrapt their woful lyves;
Why have not I a place among them left,
Whose fall each tong with dayly talke revyves?[71]
Such is the wheele that froward fortune drives;
To day, a king of puissance and might;
And, in one howre, a wofull wretched wight!

A happie life by happie ende is tride;
A wretched race by wofull ende is known;
Though pleasant wind the ship do rightly guyd,
At last, by rage of stormes 'tis over throwne:
The greatest oke with tempest is fyrst blowne:
Though Fortune seeme a loft to hoyse thy sayle,
Yet Fortune ofte tymes smyles to small availe.

I thought my bower buylt on happy soyle,
Which under-propped was with tickle staye;
Wherfore on sodayne chaunce I tooke the foyle,
In hope for to have had a noble praye;[72]
In search whereof I reapt my fatall daye;
With shamefull death my fame was forcte[73] to bow,
A gwerdon[74] meete for breach of sacred vow!

[67] This field was it we call Flodden-fielde.]

[68] [The old name of Richmond. A view of the palace formerly there, is given in the first volume of Queen Elizabeth's Progresses. See also an engraving prefixed to Mr. Maurice's poem of Richmond-hill.]

[69] [Brentford: appositely characterised by Thomson the poet, as a 'town of mud.' See Cast. of Indolence.]

[70] [A full account of this popular collection of historical poems will be found in Censura Literaria, vol. iii. It would seem that several others had been composed by different writers with a view of extending the collection, but were either rejected or withheld. See some account of these in Mr. Fry's publication of Mary Queen of Scots.]

[71] [This line is remarked by Mr. Gilchrist to afford a corroborative proof of the popularity of those metrical legends comprised in the Mirror for Magistrates. See Censura Literaria, v. 166.]

[72] [Prey.] [73] [Forced.] [74] [Guerdon: reward, recompence.]

A prince his promise ought not to be broke,
Much more his othe of ryght observde should be;
But greedie gayne doth oft the mynde provoke
To breake both othe and vowe, as seemes by mee:
Ambicion blearde myne eyes, I coulde not see;
I fynd, though man with man his faith forgoe,
Yet man with God may not do so.

I was a king, my power was not small;
I ware the croune, to wield the Scottish land;
I raignde and rewlde,[74] the greater was my fall;
The myght of God no kingdome can withstand:
An Earle[75] wan of mee the upper hande,
With blodie sworde my lucklesse lyfe to ende
By shamefull death, without tyme to amende.

Such was the force of Atrops'[76] cruell spight,
Unlooked for to cutt my fatall lyne;
My wretched carcas then was brought in sight
Through London streats; wherat the Scottes repine:
The endeles shame of this mishap is myne.
Like butcher's ware, on horsbacke was I brought;
The King of kinges for me this end hath wrought.

Let princes all by me example take,
What daunger tis to dally in such cace,
By perjurie their faythes for to forsake;
Least feate of shame shall be their endles place:
Foule infamie shall their renoune deface.
Of falsed faith such is deserved hyre,
And he must falle that will too hyghe aspyre.

Ye noble peeres, whose lives with myne did end,
Send forth from graves your griesly ghosts eche one,
To wayle the chaunce that Fortune us did sende:
Let all the Scots poure out their plaints and mone,
That we to hedles[77] haste were apt and prone:
Which rashe beginning, voyde of godly awe,
Had lyke successe, for breache of sacred lawe.

I thought that Englande had beene far to weake
For my strong powre, when Henry was away;
Which made mee light regarde my vow to breake;
But yet I founde they were left in good stay,
With force and strength to purchase my decay.
Thus my aspiring minde had guerdon due,
Which may a Myrror bee for men to vewe.

Whereby to shun the breach of sacred vow,
And not to seeke by lawelesse meanes to rayne;[78]
For right will force usurped rule to bow,
And reape repulse in steade of noble gaine.
Thus truthe, in tyme, doth turne her foe to paine;

[74] [Ruled.]
[75] [The Earl of Surrey; treasurer and marshal of England, and lieutenant-general of the north parts of the same; says the brief black letter history of this encounter, lately reprinted under the revise of Mr. Haslewood.]
[76] [Atropos.] [77] [Heedless.] [78] [Reign.]

And God him selfe doth shield the rightful cause;
Then let men learne to lyve within his lawes.

Nowe that King James hath tolde hys tale, and uttered his complainte; let us see what befell his Sonne, whome he lefte to succeede in his kingdom: whose history I have annexed unto this, although it followed not immediately, that the just judgement of God against perjurie maye the playnelyer appeare: the notable example whereof, may bee a terror unto the large and careless conscience of man. Fyrst reade his storie, and then bestowe the perusing of his complaynte.

The Historie of King Jamie's Sonne; who, after the Death of his Father, was King of Scottes; being but a Chylde.

YOU have hearde before of the death of Kinge James, and the maner thereof, who left behynde him a sonne named after his father James.

This yong King of Scottes was both nevew and godson unto King Henry; by meanes whereof the king was lothe to do anye annoyance unto the realme of Scotlande. But the Scottes, being greedie of revenge for the death of their late king, provoked him to be doing with them; by meanes whereof many incursions were made into Scotlande, to the great detriment of the Scottes, and destruction of many of their castles and villages.[79] But, at the laste, by the mediation of the Queene of Scottes, an abstinence of warre was taken; and shortly after a peace concluded, which continued until the yere of our Lorde 1542; at which tyme King Henry tooke his progress towardes the citie of Yorke, where he made great preparation for to have mett with his Nephewe, the King of Scottes, who promysed unto his uncle King Henry, that he would verye gladly meete him at Yorke, and accordingly prepared so to doo. Wherefore King Henry laye at Pipwell Abbey,[80] whyle great provision was made at Yorke for the meeting of these two noble kings, to the great charges of the King of Englande, at whose proper costes a sumptuous lodging was ordayned for the King of Scottes in the Abbay of York, with offices and furniture accordingly.

While the king laye at Pipwell-Abbay afforesaid, in a readynesse to come unto Yorke by the day appointed, the secretarie unto the King of Scottes came unto King Henry; who was at his handes noblye entertayned, and returned againe into Scotlande, enforming the King his maister what great cost the King of Englande was at in preparing for his cumming. The King of Scottes was as desyrous to see his uncle King Henry, as he was to have seen his Nephew. But when he was in a readiness to come towardes Englande, the Cardinall of St. Andrewes (who was then newely come from Rome) made haste unto the King of Scottes, as he was setting forth toward Yorke; and threatned him that if he proceeded to go into Englande, that another should bee proclaimed King of Scotlande, before he shoulde bee iii myles out of his realme. Whereat, the Kyng was sore abashed, and not without good cause; for a kingdome devyded in it selfe cannot be quieted without great trouble and bloodshed. And the saide Cardinall bare so great a swaye, that the King durst not come into Englande, according to his appointment. It is thought that the Cardinall feared, lest the King of Englande would have perswaded the King of Scottes to abolyshe the Pope's auctoritie out of Scotlande, and to alter the state of religion; and therefore was not willing that this meeting shoulde be betweene the two kinges. King Henry perceiving himselfe to be thus deluded by the King of Scottes, conceived therof great discurtessie; as he myght ful well. Notwithstanding, he went forwarde with all his trayne to Yorke, and made proclamation, 'that if any man had any matters to exhibite unto his 'Grace, that they shoulde be heard, and have justice administred;' which accordingly

[79] An. Do. 1532.

[80] [Near Rockingham-castle in Northamptonshire: founded for Cistercian monks in the reign of Henry II.]

hee accomplished, to as many as came before him. And whereas there had beene an insurrection in the same countrey, a little before this tyme; the King commaunded that all the rebelles which were apprehended, shoulde be placed before him, on the lefte hande of his waye as he passed through the countrey; and having set the countrey in good order, he returned to London againe.

The Cardinall of Sainct Androes who (as is before saide) caused the King of Scottes to breake promise with his uncle King Henry (for doubt least that discourtessie might be reconsiled) to make hys matter sure, set the two kinges at open warre; and caused the Scottes to make a roade into the borders; who spoyled and did much harme. Whereof when King Henry hearde, he sent the Duke of Norfolke with an armie into Scotlande, who burned and spoyled muche of the countrey.[81] But when the Duke was departed from thence into Englande, the Scottes invaded the borders againe, and did theare muche harme. But, at the last, Sir Thomas Wharton[82] (being warden of the marches there) with Sir William Musgrave, and a fewe of the borderers, met with the Scottes, the 14 of November, and overthrew them. In which conflict, the Lord Maxwell, the Earles of Glencarve and Sassiles,[83] with all the captaynes of the Scottish armie, were taken; and on S. Thomas' eeven, the apostle, they were brought into the Starre-chamber, before the Lorde Chaunceller[84] of England and the counsaile; being by the King's charges rychely apparailed, and used more like princes then prisoners; which they did full evil requite. For after they were dismissed, uppon agreement unto certain articles, they not only refused the performance of their promises, but not withstanding the benefites on them bestowed by the King, they rebelled against him.

But now to returne againe unto their Kinge; it is thought of some men, that he him selfe was in the battaile, and thear received his deathe's wounde, but escaped untaken: but it was not so. True it is, that this conflict[85] stroke him to the hart, whereof he dyed incontinently. Whereby wee may bee sure, that God strooke the stroake: and whether it were that God (who stryketh to 'the thirde and fourth generation of them that hate him') did it for his Father's offence, or for his owne; I may not, nor will not judge. But, no doubt, his Father's ungodly perjurie was heavily in his mynde; since whose death the realme of Scotland hath bene sore plaged, and have had little good successe in any attemptes, and especially against England. The firste that brought newes of the Kinge of Scottes' death unto King Henry, was the Earle of Angoes,[86] a Scott; who was banished out of Scotlande and lyved here in Englande, by a pencion that the King gave unto him. This Earle came into the Courte (the King then lying at hys house of Sainct James) betweene tenne and xi of the clocke at nyght, and desyred to speak with the King: which being unto him admitted, he rehearsed unto the King the whole circumstance of the King of Scottes' death; which when he hearde, he was so sorie of that newes, that notwithstanding he warred against him, yet he let fall teares from his eyes, for sorrowe of his Nephewe's death.

The Lamentation of King James; Sonne unto King James before mentioned.

WHAT hard mishap have I among the rest,
Whose froward fate untimely Deth hath wrought;
While youthfull yeres did harbour in my brest,

[81] [An. Dom. 1542. This was Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, lord-treasurer, and a lieutenant-general.]
[82] [Created Lord Wharton, in 1544.]
[83] [Or rather, Glencairn and Cassilis.]
[84] [Thomas Goodrick, Bishop of Ely.]
[85] This conflicte was at a place called Solomesse: [or Solway Moss. Birrell, in his diary, calls it Solew Moss. See Fragments of Scottish History, sign. A. ii.]
[86] [Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, married Margaret, the king's sister, and widow of James IV. of Scotland: whence he became obnoxious to the Duke of Albany, then regent; and, to avoid his resentment, made a precipitate flight into England with his illustrious consort, who proceeded to London, and was received by Henry VIII. with much kindness and hospitable splendour.]

My wretched corpes to lodge in claye is brought,
By haples chaunce contrary to my thought:
But who is sooner trapte by witched wyle
Then he, whose harte is free from craftie guyle?

Shall I exclayme on Fortune's frowarde face,
Or on the wombe that life to mee first gave;
Or on my father's facte, whose foule deface
Hath caused mee this luckelesse lot to have?
Would God, my mother's wombe had bene my grave!
Or els, the ayre that yelded mee fyrst breath
With sodayne dampe, had rendred present death!

Woulde God! my father's facte had beene undon,
When he made vow a faythfull leage to holde!
Or els I woulde I had not beene his sonne,
But rather borne to pen the sheepe in folde!
My father in this poynt was far too bolde,
Whereby he movde Almighty God to spill
Him selfe, and me his sonne, that thought no ill.

What may I deeme of this my father's deede,
Whereof I grounde the chiefe cause of my playnte?
What stonie harte for pittie will not bleede,
To see how Death this pageaunt doth depainte;
In floure of age our lives so to attainte:
The father and the sonne, successivelie,
The realme eke plagde,[87] for one man's perjurie.

I cannot scuse[88] his rage and hautie pride,
What forced mee my Unkle to offende,
Who courteously my comming did abide,
In frendl e wise, a time with joye to spende.
I was constraynde my owne minde to unbende:
The prelasie then bare so great a swaye,
That king and keiser must their mindes obaye.

I was constraynde, contrarye to my will,
Revengement on the English realme to take;
And eke of Mars his lore to learne the skill,
Where I lyke Phaëton my match did make.
My foes mee rulde, my frendes I did forsake;
Though I was king, another bare the sworde,
Whome I durst not offende in deede ne worde.

I call for vengeaunce on thy wretched lyfe,
Thou prelate proude, that hast procurde my fall;
Thou were the cause and aucthor of the strife,
I was thy prince, and yet I was thy thrall.
Take heede therefore by mee, ye princes all;
Where envious subjects beares so great a swaye,
The prince's state is like for to decaye.

Such men they are as fyrst do stier[89] up stryfe,
But they themselves of savegarde will be sure;

[87] [Plagued.] [88] [For *excuse.*] [89] [Stir.]

Their deedes are scant, their words are very ryfe,
They rayse the broyle, the brunte they not endure;
Yet bloody warre they dayly do procure,
And prease[92] foorth princes to avenge their yre,
Whyle they themselves with gredy minds aspire.

Lo, by this meanes my fatall shrouding-sheete
Is now my weede; no other robe have I:
The grave is eke my courte, or pallas[93] meete,
Wherein my wretched corps for aye must lye.
Wo worth those subjectes that aspire so highe,
To rule the prince whome they ought to obay;
Such subjectes rule hath purchast my decaye.

Nowe, that I have passed thorow these tragicall histories of the ii Kinges of Scottes, I will returne to the declaration of the joyfull meeting of the Kinges of England and Fraunce, betweene Callis and Bullaine, whiche was in the yeare of our Lorde 1532.[94]

And althoughe there was a solemne meetyng betweene the kynges of these sayde realmes, and also betweene the Emperoure and Kyng Henrie, in the yeare of oure Lorde 1520; yet, because my aucthor was not there to note anye thing more then is already mentioned by Halle, in his Cronicle, and was present at this that foloweth; I have used his enstruction herein, referring thee to the aforesayd Cronicle, to reade of the other, whereas it is very well described.

Howe King Henry and the King of Fraunce met together betweene Calice and Boloigne, by a place called Morguison, 1532.

My glauncing pen nowe glyded ys
from Mars his bluddie broyle;
And eke my Muse desyres to rest
a whyle in friendship's soyle.
As wayward warre bereves the breath
of many worthie wyghtes,
So frindly peace preserves the lyves
of noble valyant knyghtes:
And Tully doth preferre that peace,
which grounded is on yll,
Before the warre whose quarell ryght
the blood of man doth spill.
In faithfull league of frindship's force
where princes knitt the knot,
Unto those realmes whyle it doth last,
is sure a happie lott.
The prince's sleepe is not unsounde,
for doubt of forraine foes;
The souldier's werye wounded limmes
to rest do then repose.
The marchant sendes hys hoysed[95] sayles
the surging seas to sheare,[96]
Which scoureth through the wandring waves,
devoyde of doubtfull feare.
The publyke state of common wealth
then lyves in quyet rest,
So that recourse from sundrie soyles
doth worke all for the best.
Eche countrey helpeth other then;
and what one lande doth want,
Another doth supply the same;
no needefull thinges are scant.
And eke, through concorde, sclender thinges
to valure great encrease,
But discorde doth consume as fast;
then let us praye for peace!
Which causeth worldly wealth to ryse,
and frindly faith to flowe,
As th'other hath contrary force,
and makes wealth ebbe as lowe.
Nowe frindship, that long tyme had sought
to knitt within her bande,
The King of Fraunce unto the noble king of this oure lande,
Founde out a tyme convenient,
and eke indifferent place,
Whereas these noble princes bothe
together myght embrace.

[92] [Press.] [93] [Palace.]
[94] [This interview took place on the 20th of October, 1532, at Boulogne: Francis returned the visit of Henry at Calais.] [95] [Hoisted.] [96] [To cut, or divide; as the vessel does the surge.]

To treate of faithfull frindship's lore
with one consent they meete,
Where they with joye and tryumphes greate
eche other then do greete.

The thing that both realmes long desyrde,
at that tyme myght you viewe,
The order of which joyfull sight
hereafter doth ensue.

The Declaration of the Meeting of these two noble Kinges, at the place above mentioned.

ALTHOUGH there was bluddie warre and mortall hatred betweene the realmes of Englande and Fraunce, in the fifth yere of this King's raigne, (in which yere the King of Englande wan from the Frenche-men the toune of Turwin, and the great citie of Turnay, as is before declared) yet, for the concluding of a perfet peace betweene bothe the realmes, the same yere a mariage was made betweene the King of Fraunce and the Ladye Marye, sister unto the King of England: but shortly after the saide King of Fraunce dyed, and the Duke of Suffolke maryed the Queene his wyfe. A peace also was concluded betweene the young King of Fraunce and the King of Englande: and, within a whyle, the citie of Turnay was rendred unto the French King;[98] for the whiche he shoulde paye to the King of Englande a notable summe of money. But this amitie did not long continue; for the Frenche King refused to paye his tribute to the King of England, and also detayned the Queene's dowrie: and, moreover, caused all Englishemen's goodes to bee arrested at Burdeaux. Whereupon, the Frenchemen's goods were arrested at London, and they cast in prison. But, in fine, in the xix yere of the king his raigne, a generall peace was proclaymed betweene the Kinges of Englande and Fraunce, during bothe their lyves; and defyaunce sent unto the emperour from bothe the kyngs; and a great power sent into Italy againste the Emperour, who then warred with the Pope, and constrayned him to take a castell, wherein he remained as prisoner, untill the armyes of the Kinges of Englande and Fraunce had expelled the emperour's power out of that parte of Italye; the circumstance whereof of ys very largely declared by Sleydon.[99] This peace, taken betweene the Kinges of Englande and Fraunce, continued a good whyle unviolate; in whiche meane tyme, the ambassadour ledger[100] of Fraunce, that then laye in London, grewe in suche favour with Kynge Henry, that he was often tymes admitted to sit in presence with the king. This ambassadour made humble suite unto the kinge's grace, that hee woulde vouchsave to meete with the Kynge of Fraunce his master, in some convenient place, to salute eche other; declaring that it woulde bee an occasion to knitt them togeather in the insoluble knott of perfect frindship and amitie. Whereunto the King of Englande willingly condiscended and agreed. And the rather, because the Frenche King appointed to have met with the Pope at Marsiles,[101] by meanes wherof King Henry hoped, that the Frenche King might perswade the Pope to some conformitie in the controversie of his divorce from the Ladye Katherin: wherefore, he requested the sayde ambassadour so to informe the Kynge of Fraunce his master; which he nothing slacked to do. And, in conclusion, a tyme was appointed when these two noble kinges shoulde meete, by a place called Morguison, which is betweene two greate hilles, and midway betwixt Calice and Boloigne. According to the apointment, the King of Englande set forward, and came to Callice. The Frenche King lykewise lay at Bolloigne, and on the appointed day they bothe met, by the sayde place called Morguison, with a noble trayne of dukes, earles, lordes, knightes, and gentlemen, on both sydes: and while these noble princes embraced

[98] [The rendition of Tournay was effected by the personal policy, if not the peculation of Cardinal Wolsey. Hall says it was delivered to the King of France on the eighth of February, 1519.]

[99] [Sleidan's Commentaries were printed the year before his death in 1555. A translation of them from the Latin, by John Daus, was published at London, in 1560: and another translation in 1653, by Stephen Wythers.]

[100] [Cardinal Campeius: whose entry became grotesque, from an accidental discovery of the worthless pageantry supplied by Wolsey. See Hall's Chronicle.]

[101] [Marseilles: where the Pope was to have conferred with Francis, respecting the marriage of his second son, the Duke of Orleans, with Catherine of Medici, niece to Pope Clement VII.]

each other, a bishop of Fraunce threwe off a cast of hawkes, called sakers;[102] which hawkes, being cast off, killed a kyte over the kinges' heades, to the great pleasure of bothe the kinges. Then passed they forwarde with princely pastymes into the towne of Boloigne, where was great preparation and noble tryumphes, to entertaine and welcome the King of Englande. When King Henry had passed certaine dayes at Boloigne, with most royall solace and pleasure, he invited the King of Fraunce to the lyke, at his grace's toune of Callice, who in lyke maner came unto Callice with King Henry, where as his former entertainment unto the King of Englande and his trayne was noblye acquyted. And whyle these two royall kinges were thus at Callice, the king of heraldes came unto King Henrie's grace, declaring unto him, that according to the auncient custome, and also being parcell[103] of hys othe, he had set up in the market-place the Emperour's armes and the Frenche Kinge's armes, (for so is the custome when kinges meete together) and desyred his grace to enforme him, what might please him to bee erected in his behalfe? To whom the king aunswered, that nothing shoulde bee set up for him; "neyther I care not (quod he) for anye such matter." Then sayde the heralde, "It is my duitie to erecte somewhat in your Grace's name." "If it be so, (quoth the king) I will, that you depaint an armed arme rysing out of a clowde, holding in the hand a naked sworde with thys poesie under it, '*Celuy au quel je m'adjoiuncts, Dieu aydant, vayncra.*' Whiche is as muche to say—'*Whether parte I take, by God's helpe, shall have victorie.*' This was set over the Emperour's and the Frenche King's armes: and full truely did this poesie prove; as in Sleydon his Commentaries ye may reade at large.

The Historie of the Winning of Bulleyne, by the moste victorious King Henrye the Eyghth, in his owne person.

YF tounes subverted coulde declare,
with tong or paynting pen,
Their rufull falles and finall fate,
their losse of worthie men;
Or, if the ruinous castels olde,
that flatt on grounde nowe lye,
Or else, the walles that earst were deckt
with lofty turrets hye,
Coulde shewe their wofull overthrowes,
by any kynde of waye,
And eke what captains them subdude,
to take the spoyle and praye;
Then Bulleyne, that was wont to bragg
in bravery of her myght,
Woulde clips[104] her fame of large renoune,
that earst did shyne so bryght.
This stately forte, whose furnisht walles
felt never yet annoye,
Nowe playnly shewde the auncient tales,
that poets tolde of Troye:
Prince Agamemnon, with his Greeks,
that wan olde Ilion's towne,
In all his toyle of tenne yeres siege,
gat never such renowne.
The mighty monarke Macedon,
that conquer'd Darius' soyles,[105]
Wonne never greater victorie,
thoughe many greater spoyles.
But as King Henrie's courage stoute,
alwayes his foes subdude;
So mercy matched his manly mynde,
who bloodshed still eschewde.
He never brewde[106] his sworde in bloode
on them that mercy crave;
His face with favour still was fraught,
submissive men to save.
And Bullein men, among the rest,
can testifie this case,
Who tasted both his force, and eke
his favourable grace.
What mischiefe myght his hand have wrought,
if tyrannye had raygn'd,
Or rage had harbour'd in his brest,
which he alwayes refrayn'd.

[102] [The saker, or sacre and sacret, are spoken of in the Book of St. Alban's, as a species of hawks to be used for a knight. Bishops do not appear to have had any allotment in the grants of falconry by the Lady Abbess Juliana. See the late fac-simile reprint, sign. c. 5. rev.; a curious specimen of imitative typography and of elaborate editorship.]

[103] [Or *part* of his oath. The word is used in this sense by Shakspeare, twice or thrice.]

[104] [For *eclipse*.] [105] [Lands, territories.] [106] [Imbrued.]

Though pleasant prayes[107] do oft entice
the mynd, that gapes for gayne,
To passe the boundes of princely fame,
great spoyle for to obtayne;
Yet no such crime of greedy mynde,
from mercy might him move,
The towne of Bulleyne can right well
this fame of him approve.

Theyr towne, theyr lyves, theyr goodes and all,
lay in his might and power,
For to have spoylde, and overthrowne,
and destroyde in one hower:
But pity prickt his princely hart,
in mercy to excell,
Whose noble nature doth deserve,
for prayse to beare the bell.

The realmes of Fraunce and Scotlande, perceiving that they never coulde prevayle against the King of Englande in any attempt, neyther by dissembling peace, nor yet by open warre; ceased not to followe the example of the scarabe,[108] who presuming to contende with the eagle, and being farre unable to encounter with him, devysed to annoye him, though it were but with the filthye dung wherein he accustometh to welter and tomble. So these two realmes, to obtaine their desyred purposes, namely—for that they coulde not bring under yoke the King of Englande, they alway shott at him a farre of, to annoy him as much as they durst; which King Henry well perceiving, and calling to mynde the dammages that some of his predecessours had sustained (after the death of the right valyant King Edward the Thirde) by the realme of Fraunce; and further waying[109] with him self the feythlesse leagues of the Frenchmen, (who alwayes when they entreated for peace, had theyr swordes readye to fight, and theyr dissembling mindes wholy bent on treason and mischiefe,) thought with him selfe, that it was better to have them hys open foes then his fayned friendes, and determyned to invade the realme of Fraunce: and in the ende, was fully minded to passe into Fraunce very secretly, with a mightie and puissant power; which in deede was wrought so privily, that he imparted his minde in this matter unto no man, saving only to the Duke of Suffolk;[110] but caused a rumor to be spreade, that hee was determyned to goe over unto Parys. The Duke of Norfolk[111] lay by the kinge's appointment at the siege of Muttrel,[112] who hearing of the kinge's pryvie passage into Fraunce, marvailed with him selfe what shoulde bee hys pretence: and thought some uncurtesie, that he might not have been made pryvy therof; he being one of the king's pryvy-counsail. Whereupon he sent a letter unto Sir Anthony Brown, the maister of the king's horse, wherin he declared that he mused what the kinges purpose shoulde bee, desiring Sir Anthony Browne to resolve him by his letters of this doubt. This letter was brought when the kinge lay at Calyce, to passe into Fraunce. And because the custome is in the tyme of warre that all letters which are sente unto anye noble man, or other of the campe, shall fyrst be presented unto the king, to breake them open and to read them, if he be in the campe him selfe; the messenger brought the letter unto the maister of the postes, who exhibited it unto the kinge's grace: the letter that was sent from the Duke of Norfolk unto Sir Anthony Browne, being in the packet of letters which the king tooke and opened. And when he had reade it, hee sayde unto Master Edmunde Harman, one of his privye chamber, who then was in presence with him, and none els: "Lo (quoth hee) the Duke of Norfolke seemeth by this letter to thinke him selfe not well dealt withal, because hee is not made pryvye to our pretence in this voyage: I assure thee, Edmund, (quoth he) no mortall man in this worlde doth knowe the cause hereof, but onelye Sir Charles Brandon; and thou shalt bee the second unto whome I will reveale this matter. My purpose is (sayd the kyng) to lay siege unto Boloygne; and I doubt not but to win it, by God's help." "May it please your Grace, (then sayde Maister Harman) it will bee a noble victorie to

[107] [Preys.] [108] [Or beetle.] [109] [Weighing.]

[110] [Charles Brandon, the favourite of Henry, and by him created Viscount Lisle and Duke of Suffolk, had taken for his first wife Mary, Queen-Dowager of France. His second wife was the daughter of Sir Anthony Browne.]

[111] [Father to the accomplished Earl of Surrey, and general of the king's army, then in France.]

[112] [A note by the late venerable Bp. Percy, in a preserved copy of his consumed edition of Lord Surrey's Poems, says 'by *Muttrel*, our English writers at that time expressed the name of Montreuil in Picardy.']

win; but it will bee more noble to hold it when it is wonne." "Well, (sayd the king) I nothyng doubt the holding of it, by God's grace if I may winne it." Now was the Duke of Suffolke before Bullaine, and had layde siege unto it on the easte syde of it, who thear remayned untill the king him selfe came, and encamped on the north side: after whose comming, the towne was so sore battered with gunshot, and so sharply assaulted, that after a moneth's siege the captayn, whose name was Mounsier Desse, shot out an arrowe with a letter tyed to the shafte, wherein hee offered the king to render up the town unto his Grace's behoofe; so that he woulde graunt pardon of lyfe unto all the people of the town, and licence to depart with bag and baggage. Whiche the king mercifully graunted, on this condicion, that none of them should departe with any gonne charged. And the Bulleiners departed the town, with as much of theyr goodes as they could cary with them. After which departure, King Henrie with hys nobilitie entred the towne, with banners displayed lyke a conquerour; and after hee had tarried there by the space of fyve dayes, or there about, he returned againe into Englande; leaving behinde him to defende the towne the Duke of Suffolke, that most valiant capitayne. But when the King's Majestie was upon departure, newes was brought unto him, that the dolphin[113] of Fraunce was determined to come downe and repell him from thence, and hys power; whereunto the king aunswered, that hee should be verie welcome. "For (quoth he) the dolphin is my godsonne, and if he come he shall have my blessing." But he made no haste to come, as he vaunted. Wherefore, the Duke of Suffolk and the Earle of Essex[114] perswaded the king to returne home to England againe, for that he had wonne as much honour there, as was to be had at that tyme. Whereupon, the king committed the defence of the towne to the Duke of Suffolke and the Earle of Essex joyntly. But, before his departure, he being doubtfull whether the Duke of Norfolke had any neede of help at Muttrell, called unto him Sir Anthony Browne, and appointed him to go thither to the ayde of the Duke of Norfolke, with all his power. But Sir Anthony Browne answered, "That he had dismissed many of his souldiers, by reason of sicknesse; and the rest were either wounded or wearie with travaile, and many of their horses tyred." Then the king demaunded of the Earle of Essex,[115] in what estate his bande was, who had under his charge 1500 horsemen? He aunswered the kyng, "that of his whole power he wanted not 60, and that hee was ready to fulfill his Grace's pleasure." Wherupon, the king thought to have sent him to Muttrell: but in the end, the king having a speciall regarde for the keeping of Bullaine, leafte the earle with the duke, to defende the towne, and sent Sir John Gage to Muttrell, to the ayde of the Duke of Norfolk; and then the king returned into England againe, with great triumph: after whose departure out of Fraunce, the Frenchmen began to be verye busie against the Englishmen. But when they could prevaile nothing at all, they began to entreat for peace; always hoping to have Bullayne againe, by some meanes or other. But King Henry was so affected to that towne, that neyther strengthe of warre, nor force of money, could win it from hym. And he would oft times saye, "that no true subject of his woulde perswade him to yelde it up." Whiche towne he helde, in despight of the Frenchmen, during his life.

And thus I ende this discourse of the wynning of Bullayne; omitting to treate of the large circumstance heereof, least I might seeme to rob Grafton or Halle of their laboures: concluding this commemoration of King Henry, with his conquest of Bullaine. After which triumphant victorie, no speciall warre happened unto him, till death (the conquerour of all mortall men) subdued his body, whose soule liveth with God in his heavenlye kingdome.

[113] [Dauphin; the heir apparent of France: in the time of our author pronounced and written *Dolphin.*]

[114] [William, son and heir of Sir Thomas Parr, and brother to Katherine Parr; upon Henry's marriage with whom, he was created Baron Parr, and soon after had conferred on him the revived earldom of Essex, in consequence of his own marriage with Anne Bourchier, sole heiress of Henry last Earl of Essex.]

[115] This earle is he that was after Lorde Marquis of Northampton. [In the 4th of Edward VI. he was so created: and in the beginning of Mary's reign was attainted and condemned to die, for supporting the title of Jane Grey. But the severe part of his sentence was remitted: and he was restored to his titles by Elizabeth at her coronation.]

Kyng Henry in his life time would often tymes saye, "that if it woulde please God to endue hym with life, untill he might see three thinges brought to passe, hee would not desyre to lyve anye longer." The fyrst was, to confirme true religion in this realme: the second, to establish the crowne: the thyrde, to see hys sonne a man. Also, hee would say, "that if he knewe any one to bee a man of God, and meete to governe a common welthe, he woulde rather yelde his crowne unto him, then weare it him self; so that he myghte doe it to the pleasure of God, and the weale publyke of his people."

An Epitaph of the Deathe of the moste valyant and renowmed prince King Henry the Eyghth.

AWAKE, ye worthies nyne,
that long in graves have rest,
Poure out your plaints with wayling teares,
let langor[116] be your geast.[117]
Do off your shrowding sheetes,
that clads you in the claye;
And decke yourselves with black attyre,
your mourning to displaye.
Bedewe with saltie teares
your manly faces stowte,
Laye downe those weapons, that were wont
to quell the raging rowte.
For nowe that pierlesse Prince,
that never yet tooke foyle,
The eygthth King Henry, hath resynde
his bodye to the soyle.
Recorde your dolefull tunes,
ye noble peeres eche one,
Let gryping[118] greefes gnawe on your breastes,
to shewe your pensive moane.
With bryndie[119] blubbered teares
ye commons all lament,
Sende forth your sobbes from boyling breast,
let trynkling teares be spent;
For our Achilles nowe
hath left us in the fielde,
That wonted was, with valyant force,
from foes our lyves to shylde.
And this hath Death devysde,
to wrecke his wrathfull spyght,
Wherefore, O Mors! wee curses yelde
on thee, both daye and nyght.
Oh! noble Brutus' lande,
howe much was death thy foe,
When he with cruell darte constraynde
this gemme from thee to goe.
But though the cursed dame,
that cuttes the fatall lyne,
So much envyed thy happie state,
in making him declyne;
Yet God, through mercy great,
in spyght of Death his darte,
Hath left a blossome of his braunche,
to ease thy pensive smarte,
For whome now let us praye,
that shee[120] the race may runne
Of Nestor's yeres, with like successe
as yet her Grace hath done:
And that his royall impe,[121]
Elizabeth by name,
May weare the crowne, and wielde the sworde,
with joye and endlesse fame!
Whose lyfe doth render lyght
unto her father's fame,
Whose noble harte doth plainly shewe
the stocke from whence shee came.
Though Death hath done his woorst,
with drift of dyrefull darte,
By stryking of that valyant King,
and piercing of his harte;
Yet hath he not the powre
his fame to overcast,
Which shall remaine in mouth of man,
whyle pen and ynke doth last:
And eke, the shyning sunne
shall cease his running race,
Before King Henries's worthie fame
shall suffer one deface.[122]

[116] [Languor.] [117] [Guest.]

[118] [A poetical expression of the time, ironically introduced by Shakspeare in Romeo and Juliet. It occurs in the Paradise of Daintie Devises, 1576, Grange's Golden Aphroditis, 1577, Churchyard's Choise, 1579, Whitney's Emblems, 1586, and doubtless in other places.]

[119] [A misprint perhaps for *brynie*.] [120] [Queen Elizabeth.]

[121] [*i. e.* Child. See Spenser, Shakspeare, Sydney, and other contemporary poets.]

[122] [Defacement, violation.]

And as his soule is lodgde
with Jove[123] in starrie skye,
Even so remembraunce of his name
on earth shall never dye.

A Preamble to this parte of the Booke following.

LYKE as the auncient Greekes
have painted out, at large,
Their noble ladyes' worthie lyves,
and therof taken charge;
And as the Romaine dames
had writers of their actes,
Even so the troupe of Englysh trayne
have some to tell their factes;
Whose hyght and shyning fame
deserves to have a place
Coequall with the best that hath
runne on in vertue's race:
Then let not Englande blushe,
to blase their ladies' lyves,
Which no whit is inferiour
unto the Romayne wyves.
Let them vaunt, if they list,
of Lucrece' chastitie;
I prayse the Greekes' Penelope,
for her fidelitie.
A nomber myght be namde,
that wryters pennes have praysde,
Who for their lyves and noble actes
an endlesse fame hath raysde.
And yet among the rest.
that retche their fame so farre,
Let English dames shewe foorth their shyne,
lyke Venus' twinkling starre.
Whose nomber sure is greate,
although I name but fewe;
But yet, as tyme will lycence mee,
I shall more largely shewe
The lyves and noble actes
of ladyes in those dayes,
Whome noble vertue hath advaunsde
to winne immortall prayse.
For lyke as valyant men,
therof do gayne renowne;
So worthie actes of weoman kynde
may not bee quite throwne downe:
[Nor] Fame may parciall bee;
but, as desertes requyre,
Must yelde to every worldly wyght
their due deserved hyre.

A Commemoration of Queene Anne Bullayne.

YE noble imphes[124] of Parnas' hill,
ye Muses all a-rowe,
Resownd your pleasant melodie,
your warbling notes bestowe.
Take wrest in hand, to tune those stringes
that render silver sownd,
And let the voyce of musike's lore
unto the skies rebownd.
Blo up with joye the chearefull blast
of Englande's blissefull state,
In prayse of this most noble Queene,
King Henrie's lawfull mate.
Let poets decke their sacred heds
with leafe of lawrell bow,[125]
And take their painefull pennes in hande,
their skill to publishe nowe.
O gracious Queene and lawfull spowse
King Henry, lo! enjoyes,
Who earst was helde from wedlocke's lawe
by shewe of Romysh toyes:
Her vertuous mynde, and godly harte,
God's worde doth so embrace,
As well deserves in Bibel's tome
her noble name to place.

[123] [This solecism in theology recals to mind an infant's epitaph observed in the churchyard of Kelham near Newark, many years ago; viz.

The great Jove from above
his messenger did send,
To call this little spotless babe
to joys that never will end.

Such lapidary incongruities seem to sanction the caustic remark, that 'our common epitaphs are become a common reproach to the taste of the nation.' (See Bowden's Epitaph-writer.) Should it not be the superintending care of every parochial minister to lessen this reproach?]

[124] [Imps, offspring.] [125] [Bough.]

Whome Jove hath fedde with heavenly foode,
and knowledge of his truth,
And eke adornde with sacred giftes,
in this her tender youth.
Anne Bolloygne, lo! this ladye hight,
whose praise for to depainte,
My quaking quill, in trembling fist,
doth quayle[126] and 'gins to fainte;
Lest that the rudenesse of my style
myght clips her noble fame,
Whose praise the best that handels pen,
of ryght shoulde fynely frame.
Let Virgill leave Dame Dido's actes,
and fate of Priam's towne,
And take of mee this charge in hande,
to purchase him renowne.
Or else vouchsafe, O Sulmose[127] imphe!
to lende thy pen awhyle,
To furvishe[128] forth with eloquence
the basenesse of my style.
But well I see, it is but vayne
for helpe of them to crave,
In whome no ayde is to be had,
that long hath lodgde in grave.
Wherefore, my muse, although thy skill
be rude, and farre too bace,
Yet take thy pen to write somewhat
of her most noble Grace.
Her harte did harbour heavenly giftes,
that in her brest was bred;
And Pallas, for her wisedome, seemde
to sojourne in her hed.
Her face and featurde shape was fraught
by Nature passing well,
Her inwarde giftes and outwarde grace
all others did excell.
Those Jove joynde with Minerva here,
this noble Queene to frame,
So that it playnly did appere
from heavenly throne shee came.
A Phenix right, whose course of kynde
ys singuler alwaye,
Whose ashes yeldes another byrde;
so one remaynes for aye.
This noble Phenix, in lyke wise,
hath of her sinders sent
A noble impe, a worthie Queene,
ere shee from worldè went;
Whose princely praise hath pearst the pricke
and price of endlesse fame,
And hit the marke of regall race,
from whence her Highnesse came.
Ye noble dames, that do delyght
for vertue praise to gayne,
Desire to know this Prince's lyfe,
and learn for to retayne
Those vertues, that you then may viewe,
as mirrours to you all;
Then shall you reape the right renown,
that never shall take fall.

An Epitaph on the Death of Queene Anne Bullayne.

Yf wayling woes might win thy life
to lodge in corpes agayne,
Thy bodie should, O noble Queene!
not thus in grave remayne;
For, if that death might life redeeme,
and life were bought with death,
Ten thousande, to restore your lyfe,
woulde render vytall breath.
But sith, that may in no wise bee,
for death would worke his spight;
With yernefull[129] voyce, and dolefull domps,[130]
we shall expell delight.
And shewe our greefes with secret sighes,
and langour of the breste,
The flodds of teares, shed for thy sake,
declares our harts unrest.
And were it not, thy royall impe
did mitigate our payne,
The sorrow for thy fatall day
wee uneth[131] could sustayne.
Yet this some what recomfortes us,
for that we be most sure
Thy blessed soule is lodgde with God,
for ever to endure.
Also thy noble splendent fame,
O noble Prince, Queene Anne!
Shall live on earth, till worldè's ende,
within the mouth of man.
And eke thy life shall be a lore
for ladies all to learne,
Wherin they may, as in a glasse,
Dame Vertue's path desearne.

[126] [Feel depression, &c.]
[127] [The muse of Ovid seems here invoked; as he was born at Sulmo.]
[128] [Qu. Furnish, or furbish?]
[129] [Full of yearning.]
[130] [Dismal lamentations.]
[131] [*i. e.* Scarcely. So Shakspeare "*Uneath* may she endure the flinty streets." K Henry VI. P. ii. Act 2.]

A Commemoration of Queene Jane.

AMONG the rest whose worthie lyves
hath runne in vertue's race,
O noble Fame! peruse thy trayne,
and give Queene Jane a place.
A nymphe of chaste Dianae's trayne,
a vertuous virgin eke;
In tender youth a matron's harte,
with modest mynde most meeke:
So that Dame Vertue may rejoyce
for breeding such a wight,
Whose nature shewde the fayre bright beames
of vertue's shyning lyght,
Whereby shee was elect, and chose
to bee the linked mate
Of valyant Caesar's equall peere[131],
till Atrops shewde her hate:
Whose whirlyng wheel doth wander still,
and runne with restless race,
And is as frendly to the page,
as t'him that bears the mace.
Thus till the sisters did agree
to cutt the fatall lyne,
This noble ladye evermore
to vertue did enclyne:
Whose godly lyfe, and finall ende,
I wish ech lady vew,
That Fame may in her register
for aye her name renewe.

An Epitaph on the Death of Queene Jane.

YF dart of death might be repeld
by fame of vertuous life,
And fatall sisters would withhold
the blade of bloody knife,
From cruell cutt of vitall lyne,
to spare the worthie wight,
This noble Queene shoulde not have felt
the rancor of theyr spyght.
But sith, inexorable they
for ever will remayne,
The body though they cause to couch,
good fame they cannot stayne.
The valiant men, the verteous dames,
that on the earth hath raygnde,
Have yelded to their cursed knyfe,
yet endless fame hath gaynd.
They have subdude stoute Cæsar's hart,
they forcde not Helen's hewe[132],
Of Cressus' wealth they no whit car'de,
they joye all to subdue.
And eke among the rest that hath
sustaynde their cancred hate,
This noble Queene hath felt the flame
of her untymely fate:
Whose worthie fame shall not be shutt
with bodye in the claye,
But lyve and florishe on the earth,
whyle Phebus guydes the daye.

In Prayse of the renowned Ladye, Queene Katherin Par.

DAME Vertue, longing to behold
her troupe of noble trayne,
Determined to take the vewe
of them that did remayne;
Appointing Fame, with sound of trompe,
to sommon and assite[133]
Ech one, that in her booke was namde
to be a worthy wight,
Of weomen sect; as for the rest,
another tyme should bee,
For famous menne to shewe theyr selves,
ech one in theyr degree.
This noble troupe assembled was,
most goodly to behold,
And eche one called by theyr names,
as Fame had them enrold.
The goddesses sate in their seates,
the Graces placed were,
The muses nine, the noble nimphes,
in theire degrees sat there.

[131] [Lord Guilford Dudley, fourth son of the ambitious and ill-fated John Duke of Northumberland.]
[132] [Hue.] [133] [Used probably for *cite*.]

Dame Vertue, being cheefest judge
and lady of the place,
Decreed, that one among the rest
should beare the cheefest mace:
Commaunding every lady theare
to answere to her name,
As they in order should be calde
by voyce of noble Fame.
When this decree proclaymed was,
and all thinges whusht and still,
My greedy eyes, to view this sighte,
could never gase their fill.
Then Fame calde for Ulisses' wife:
whereto one sayde, strayght waye,
That direfull Death, with cruell launce,
had lodgde her corse in claye.
Then heard I good Cornelia namde,
and manye other calde;
Some aunswerde 'here,' and some by fate
in earthy clod were stalde.
At last, by lot the cryer sayd,
'where is that noble dame
'That was the eight King Henrie's wife,
and had K. P. to name?'
Wherto a noble English Queene,
that then was in the place,
Made aunswere, 'that her mortall lyfe
had run the fatall race.'
Then Vertue sent foorth saltie teares,
and bad the cryer pawse;
And sayd, 'shee lost the worthiest wight
that ever kept her lawes.'
Dame Pacience, with wringing handes,
her dollor [134] did declare,
And prudent Pallas, for her parte,
no paynefull plaints did spare.
The Muses, moovde with mestive [135] moode,
resounded dolefull voyce,
The Graces all, with rented heares [136],
in langor did rejoyce.
In fyne, the whole assembly there
in sodayne sorrowes were;
For ech one thought this noble Queene
dame Vertue's mace should beare.
At last stood up Virginitie,
attyred all in whyte,
Whose countenaunce, lyke Phebus' beames,
did yelde a heavenly lyght.
Unto the judge Dame Vertue shee
her minde began to showe,
With angel's voice and heavenly grace,
eche worde she did bestow.
"O noble dames, leave off, (quod shee)
your dumpyshe dolors staye;
And licence mee, O rightfull judge!
somwhat herein to saye."
With that, it was a joye to see
how sorrowes were resynde,
And Vertue bad Virginitie
proceede to say her minde.
Eche one attentive eare 'gan bende,
to heare this noble voice,
Whose prudent wordes and grave devyse
made all the rest rejoyce.
This was the tale the goddesse tolde—
"O worthie wightes, drawe neere,
And see the only cause, that wee
are nowe assembled heere.
Ye are the troupe and noble trayne,
that Vertue hath embracde,
Whose endlesse fame, for vertue's sake,
shall never be defacde.
Here have you hearde, that auncient dames
by fatall stroke are slayne;
And yet, theire names in booke of Fame
for ever shall remayne.
Among the rest, Queene Katherin Par,
(so was her parent's name)
Hath yelde her soule unto the heavens;
yet left on earth her fame:
Unto whose lot it shoulde have lyght,
Dame Vertue's mace to guyde,
But cruell Atrops, all too soone,
her noble race envyde.
Yet one among this worthie crewe
must take the charge in hande,
Whose due desertes, for vertuous praise,
in chiefest place must stande.
Here is a royall Queene in place,
whose lyfe I knowe right well,
Within whose brest, even from a babe,
unto this day I dwell.
Whome you, O Lady Vertue! fyrst
committed to my charge,
When nature made her perfect moulde,
her skill to shewe at large.
And whyle upon this princely babe
in cradle I attende,
You, Lady Pallas, came in haste
your heavenly giftes to spende.

[134] [Dolour.] [135] [Sorrowful: from the Latin *mæstus*.] [136] [Rended hair.]

And Caliop [138], with all her nimphes,
made haste from Pernas' hill [139],
For to adorne this peereles peace
with perfect learned skill.
You Lady Graces know right well,
and beare it yet in mynde,
What haste you made unto this babe;
ye fearde to bee behynde.
In fyne, her Grace was theare adornde
with all your giftes so well,
That outwarde shape and inwarde giftes
Panthora [140] did excell.
Her father was a royall king,
graund captain of the trayne
Of all the worthie warlike wights,
that fame did ever gayne.
Her noble mother bare the bell
for vertue in those dayes,
Whose worthie fame, with toung and penne;
hath reapte immortal praise:
And shee a virgin, lo! doth weare
the father's regall crowne,
And prudently doth wyeld the sword,
with lardge and bright renowne.
Shee hath repressed errors blinde,
and causde God's worde to shyne;
Whose noble lyfe from vertue's lore
did never yet declyne.
Shee best deserves to have the mace,
that Vertue meanes bestowe,
Elizabeth, of England Queene,
you all her Grace do knowe.
And let Queene Katherin Par enjoye
fame, for her vertuous race,
And unto Queene Elizabeth
Dame Vertue yeld thy mace."
No sooner had Virginitie
this sentence uttred tho,
But all the reste, with one consent,
sayde—" Lady! be it so."
Then Vertue praysde the noble mayde,
that thus this tale declarde,
Commaunding silence to be synde [141],
that judgement myght be harde [142].
Then saide the judge, " This is the doome
and sentence, in this case;
Queene Katherin Par in book of fame
shall have a speciall place;
And noble Queene Elizabeth,
as cheefest of my trayne,
Shall take this scepter at my hande,
as meetest for to raygne."
Hereat, this noble heavenly crewe
brake up with greate delyte;
And I yet holde my pen in hande,
Queene Katherin's lyfe to wryte.

It will, happely, seeme somewhat straunge unto thee, gentle reader, that I have so sclenderly past over the treatise of these noble ladies before-mencioned, whose lyves and noble vertues I can at large deserybe: and, peradventure, I may bee deemed parciall, for mentioning of these, and omitting the names of King Henrye's other wyves. I confesse I have in my handes a treatise of all their lyves [143], so farre foorth as tendeth to the commendations of their noble and princely vertues, worthie the immitation of all ladies and gentlewoemen. But it fareth with mee as with the soare hauke, that keepeth herselfe aloofe from the faukner's fist, untill acquaintaunce hath bred a further familiaritie. So, if I maye perceive this beginning to have thy frindly favour, thou shalt win mee to thy lure, and encourage mee to mount as hygh as I may: not bolting above my reache, lyke rashe Icarus, whereby to come tumbling downe, and be drencht in the flood of follye. And thus I ende: desyring at thy hands nought else but thy good worde, in lewe of this my labour.

The History of the Winning of Hadington in Scotlande. An. 2 Reg. Edwardi VI.

WHEN I had ended this treatise of the moste famous King Henry the eyght, and readie to put the same in prynte, I chaunced into the company of certaine capitaines that had

[138] [Calliope; the chief of the muses.]
[139] [From the hill of Parnassus.]
[140] [Qu. Panthea? so celebrated for her beauty and conjugal affection, as the wife of Abradates.]
[141] [Qu. Assigned, set forth.]
[142] [*i. e.* Heard.]
[143] [Public encouragement probably was not given, to induce Fulwell to print his royal biography.]

served in King Henrie's warres, and in King Edwarde's; and ever since, as often as they have bene called thereunto. And after talke ministred, they seemed greatly to lament that so noble a piece of servyce as was done at Hadington, shoulde so sleyghtlye passe thorough the handes of cronographers. Whereupon, I (being by them earnestly requested) have taken on mee to discourse therof, by the instruccions of these sayde gentlemen, who were theare present during all this worthie service, which well deserveth the name of noble and worthie: in so muche, that the Frenchemen (that then were there, to the ayde of the Scottes) saye unto this daye, "that there are fewe good soldiers in Englande except those that were at this siege of Hadington:" preferring the service that was then thear, before anye other that ever they knewe or hearde of. The maner whereof ensueth.

The Lorde Graye, being at Barwicke, and the king's liefetenaunt theare, after the overthrowe of the Scottes at Muscleborow[144] fielde, made a roade into Scotlande in the Lent, in the seconde yere of the Kinge's raigne, to take a viewe of the towne of Hadington; and returned to Barwike agayne, without any assault geeven. The sommer following he came with his armye, and entred the towne without any resistaunce, and then made preparation for the fortifying therof. In whyche meane space, he laide siege unto a castell that was three myles from the towne, named Ester Castell: which forte was furnished with Scottes and Spanyardes, who stoode at their defence, refusing to submitt themselves, untill the Lorde Graye had with the greate cannons made a breach, and was readie to enter the saide castell. Then they yelded, and desyred pardon for their lyves onely; which the Lorde Gray graunted unto them all, excepting one, who during the siege had revyled the king in woordes, and abused his Grace's name with most opprobrious termes. Then they all came forth of the castell, in their shurtes only; submitting themselves to the mercye of the Lorde Gray. And upon strayt examination who shoulde be the rayler that was excepted out of this pardon, it was knowne to be one Newton, a Scott; but he, to save himselfe, put it to one Hamelton. Thus these two gentlemen accused one the other: for the decysing[145] wherof, a cumbat was appointed betweene them, and by the Lorde Gray adjudged so to bee.

The tyme came for this cumbat to be accomplyshed, and the listes made in the marketplace of Hadington. And these saide gentlemen entred in their dubblets and hose, weaponed with sword, buckler, and dagger. At the firste entrie into the listes this Hammelton kneeled on his knees, and made his hartie prayer unto Almightie God, to geeve the victorie unto the truthe; with solempne protestation, "that he never uttered any such words of King Edward of Englande, as his adversarie, Newton, accused him of." And, on the other syde, Newton's conscience being troubled with his false accusation, argued unto all the beholders his guilt: for there appeared in him great timerousnes. The beholders prayde God for Hammelton: for the souldiers knewe right well that it was Newton, for his voyce bewrayde him.

Nowe were the sticklers in a readinesse, and the combatours drewe their weapons; and betweene them was fought six or seven blowes verye lustely. But Hammelton, being mervaylous fierce and eager upon the truth of his quarrell, constrayned Newton to geeve grounde, almost to the ende of the listes. And if he had driven him to the verye ende, then (by the lawe of armes) he had wonne the conquest, and his enemy should have bene hanged, if he had not slayne him. Newton, perceiving him selfe to be almoste at the poynt of hanging, stept forwards againe, and gave Hammelton such a gashe on the legg, that he was not able to stande, but fell downe; and then Newton fell on him, and slewe him with his dagger.

Thus the cumbat was ended. But the Englishmen that knewe Newton to be the rayler

[144] [At the battle of Pinkey-field, near Musselborough, the English army was commanded by the Protector Somerset. This took place on the 10th of September 1547. See Birrel's Diary, and Patten's account of the expedition into Scotland. Haddington was surprised and taken by the English, under Lord Grey of Wilton, a marshal of the army, and captain-general of the horse, in April 1548. A return of the victuals found there, may be seen in Lodge's Illustrations, i. 124.]

[145] [Or, *deciding*.]

and the false accuser, (although by more happ than hardinesse he had the upper hande) were very desyrous to renewe combat againe with him. For there were many gentlemen theare, that woulde willingly have ventered their lyves on him, man for man; but he challenged the privilege of the lawe of armes, which was unto him graunted: and the Lorde Gray gave him his owne gowne of his backe, and the chayne that he then ware. Thus was he well rewarded, that better deserved to have bene hanged. But he escaped not so: for afterwardes, as he was ryding betweene the borders of Englande and Scotlande, he was slayne and cutt in pieces.

Nowe I will speake of the siege that the Frenche armye, and the power of Scotlande, layde unto the towne of Hadington against the Englishe men. When the foresaide Castell was wonne and the cumbat finished, the Lorde Graye departed towardes Barwike, leaving behynde him Syr James Wilford,[146] as generall of the garryson, and 2000 chosen souldiers under him, to defend the towne; whiche was not halfe fortifyed, before it was besieged of the Frenchemen and Scottes. For our menne had not been viii weekes in it, before Mounsier Dassey, the Frenche kinge's lieuetenant and the Ringrave[147] of Fraunce, came to the siege with twentie thowsande Frenchemen, Almaines, and Scottes; being all of them lustye and gallant souldiers. And at their firste comminge, there was a hoat skirmishe betweene them and the Englishe men: and because the gates of the towne were not of anye strength for defence, our men were constraynde to ramme up the gates with earthe, and so mayntaine the defence of the towne uppon the walles.

There were many assaultes geeven, to the losse of bothe parties. And in the ende, our enemies did so beat the towne with shott, that they lefte not one whole house for our men to put their heads in, whereby they were constrained to lye under the walles; for other lodging was there none. They looked for helpe to have come out of Englande; but none came. So that they were in miserable case, for lacke of succour. For they were dryven to so narrow pushe, that they rent their shurts, for lacke of matche; for other shifte had they none. And also their enemies had taken away their flankers, (which was the whole defence of the walls) to expelle them from approaching neare whereby to scale. So that by this meanes, the Frenchemen came close under the walles of the towne, and were their overthwart neyghbours so neare, that the Englyshmen on the one syde, and the Frenchemen on the other, laye close togeather; that theare was no more distance of grounde betweene them, then the thicknesse of the walle. Also, one of the bulwarkes was beaten downe so flatt, that a man myght ryde in and out at the breache: but the Frenchemen durst not venter in therat.

It greeved the Englishemen not a little, to see their evill neyghbours so neare their noses; whereupon a blunte countrey-man (that was one of our souldiers, and by his occupation a maker of flayles) invented to beate them from the walls with flayles, and tyed a heavye plummet of lead at the ende of a rope, fastening the other ende of the rope unto a good truncheon to holde in hys hande; and with suche flayles they slewe and maimed a greate many of them.

This Mounsier Dassey, captaine-generall of the Frenche armie, was complayned on to the Kynge his maister, for his too muche rashnesse, whereby hee lost manye of his best souldiers; so that hee was sent for home in great displeasure; and in his place was sent Mounsieur de Termes, who removed the siege, and came not neare the towne by three myles. But he punished our men worse then the siege; for he layde all the straytes and passages with watche, whereby no victuales coulde bee brought unto the towne. All this whyle, being about xi weekes, came none out of Englande to the rescue of our besieged menne, saving that Syr Wadam Selinger and Master Windam, with a fewe gentlemen and three hundreth souldiers, verie ventrousely brake thorough the ende of the Frenche armie, and brought with them matche and powder; whiche was to our men greate comforte.

[146] [Provost Marshall, says Patten's account.]

[147] [This seems a term applied in pantomimic contempt to Dessé, a favourite general of Henry II. of France; but his unsuccess exposed him to ridicule, and on his recal, De Thermes was sent to supply his place.]

The scarcitie of victuals among them was so greate, that they were constraynde to eate horses, dogges, cattes, and rattes. And yet neyther the want of clothes, nor the extremitie of the plague, which was hoat amongst them, nor the lacke of ammunition, nor the sharpe sawce of hunger, coulde beate downe the stowt cowrage of the Englyshe men to yelde up the towne. And yet these extremities, before mentioned, made them looke more lyke owgle[148] monsters then humayne men. But their worthie and valyant capitaine Sir James Wilford, was such a one as was able to make of a cowardly beaste a courageous man.

During this tyme, the Lorde Graye, being at Barwike, was very carefull of them that were at Hadington; but wanted powder to the ayde of them. Notwithstanding, he sent xiii hundred horsemen under the conduction of Sir Robert Bowse[149] and Syr Thomas Palmer, not meaning that they shoulde offer any battayle, as some (being deceived) affirme; but to make a showe to comfort the Englishe men withall, that then were comfortlesse. And, thinking that upon the sight of them, the French and Scottish armie would remove farther off.

But they, presumyng farther then their commission, gave a charge on their enemies, and they being all horsemen, (as is aforesaide) were by the Frenche and Scottishe footemen environed, and every man of them (one only excepted) slayne or taken prisoners: to the great greefe of our men at Hadington. And yet coulde not all this subdue the hartes of them, but lyved in hope.

And, at the laste, came the earl of Shrewsbery[150] with xvi thousand freshe souldiers to Hadington; at whose comming, the Frenche and Scottish armye left the siege, and went to Edenborow. But to see the order of this meeting, would move the harte of anye man to utter affections with teares. The Earl let fall teares from his eyes, to see that such valyant men shoulde suffer suche distresse, whose stowt hartes could not bee conquered with any aflictions. On the other syde, our wearied souldiers sent out the fountaynes of their eyes for joye, to see their deliverance at hand. Thus, with mournfull and joyfull embrasinges, they met. And the Earle came into the town, and supplyed the want both of menne, munition, and victualles; and, shortlye after, retourned to Englande; againe leaving the towne well provyded.

Now it fell out, while the Frenchemen were at Edenborowe, there grewe such debate betweene them and the Scottes, that they fell to bickeringe within themselves, and the Frenchemen slewe certaine Scottes. Whereof, when the Englishmen hearde, they thought that then they myght betake themselves to a little rest, for they had none a great whyle. Then they sent out their scoutes and a watche, and so went to suche lodginges as they had. But Monseur de Termes (to reconcile the matter againe betweene his men and the Scottes) promysed the Scottes that he woulde winne unto them the towne, before the larum was given. The Englishmen, perceivinge this soddeine irruption, made no delayes to encounter with them, but went thorough a privie posterne gate into the bace courte among them, and with the blacke bill slewe of them (by estimation) v. hundred or more; and drove the rest that escaped over the walle, as sheepe before a dogge; that happie was he that coulde tumble over firste. Thus they retourned, with great losse and no less shame, making no boste of their bargaine. I should have noted before of a pretie accident that happened at this siege, which is this.

When Mounsieur Dassey came first to the ayde of the Scottes, he was enformed by the Scottes that there were but a fewe rascalles and white cotes at Hadington, and neyther gentlemen nor good souldiers. Whereupon, he requested the olde Queene of Scottes, that then was at Edinborough, to go to a little nunnerie that was but a myle from Hadington, and thear shee shoulde see the slaughter of all the Englishemen. So shee went to that nunnerie, to beholde the performaunce of this promise. And when shee came thither, shee might see the verye streates of the towne; for it standeth verye lowe. The

[148] [Ugly.]

[149] [Sir Robert Bowes was lord warden of the Middle Marches.]

[150] [Francis, fifth earl of Shrewsbury, made president of the North by Queen Mary in 1553.]

Englishe men, understanding of her being in the tower of the saide nunnerie, shot off a great iron peece they had, (which gunne they called *roring Megge*, for the terrible noyse that it rendered) and the pellet hit part of the tower that the Queene was in; whereat shee made haste down as it was hygh tyme, and rode posting to Edenborough, without seeing anye harme done to the Englishe menne. And Mounsieur Dassey founde other maner of fellowes theare, then rascalles and white cotes, as him selfe reported, geeving greate commendations of the Englishemen theare.

Nowe to returne againe to the canvasado, before mentioned. When our menne had geeven the Frenchemen that overthrowe in the nyght, they gave the nexte morning three sharpe assaultes to the towne, and yet tooke the repulse, with great losse of their menne. For they carried away xvi cartes and waggons, laden of dead carcases, because they should not be known; besydes three hundred that were founde in the base court afore mentioned.

You have reade what scarsitie of victuales was among them before, and what pennurie they sustayned. Wherefore, at the laste, there was made sufficient provision to victuall the garrison; but not without greate charges, for it was alwayes brought by convoye, which was with greate strength conducted, and never without skirmishe: for it was alwayes brought thorough the towne of Dunbar, and in the castell of Dunbar laye a garrison of our enemies. And on a tyme, our capitaine, Sir James Wilforde, went to meete with the convoy at Dunbar, which is viii myles from Hadington, and had with him but xii menne. And when he had saluted the Lorde Wardon, who then came with the convoye, the garrison of Dunbar came forth, and made a shewe in the field. Then sayde the Lorde Wardon unto Sir James Wilforde, "Beholde how prowdly your neyghbours stand before us." "Yea, (quoth Sir James) if I had but a fewe of my menne more with mee, I woulde offer them some playe." "If you will geeve a charge on them (saide the Lorde Warden) you shall as many of my men as you will." But because Sir James had no experience of their hardinesse, hee was lothe to trust unto them. Notwithstandinge, in fine he saide, "that if they woulde follow him, hee woulde make a gappe thorough them." They promised not to shrinke. So there were about 300 appoynted unto him; and he went before them, galoping thorough the towne, in the face of the castell; and the shott came so sharpely from the castell uppon them, that all the menne that professed to followe him, durst not, but shrunke backe; saving onely his xii men. And when he and his small nomber was in the myddes of theire enemies, he behaved him selfe very valyantly. But, in the ende, his horse was slayne under him, and hee taken prisoner; and his twelve men, being lustie souldiers, went thorough them againe, (being to weake, for lacke of nomber, to rescue their captaine) and so returned, without anye hurte unto them done. Thus was this noble captaine taken, and had to the Castel of Dunbar, through the cowardice of them that professed to followe him.

This did so kindel the brestes of our garrison that laye at Hadington, that the captaines had muche a doo to perswade them from leaving the towne, to fetche him from them againe. For they sayde, that "they would dye on them everye man, but they woulde winne the Castell of Dunbar." And the Scottes knewe right well, that they coulde not keepe him thear, without great daunger. Wherefore they sent him to Edenborough, and theare was he kepte prisoner, till he was redeemed by raunsom. He was so noble a capitaine, that he wonne the hartes of all souldiers. Hee was in the towne, among his souldiers and frinds, a gentle lamme;[151] in the fielde, among his enemies, a lyon. To his men, beneficiall: to al men liberall. After whose misfortune, was sent unto Hadington, in his steede, Syr James Acroft, a valiant gentleman, whose worthie commendations I omitt; because he being alyve, and in deserved estimation, I myght bee suspecte of flatterie. He was theare by the space of one whole yere; during which tyme manye noble actes were atchyved. And in fine, when the king perceived how chargeable a thing it was to keepe Hadington, he sent the Earle of Rutlande, with vi thousande men thither,

[151] [Lamb.]

who caused the towne to bee rased, and brought awaye all the munition to Barwike. And thus was this noble piece of service ended.

The names of the Capitaines that were at Hadington, as neare as coulde be called to remembrance.

The Earle of Shrewsberye,
The Earle of Rutlande,
The Lorde Graye,
Sir James Wilforde,
Sir James Acroft,
Sir Wadam Selinger,
Sir Oswalde Wolstrap,
Sir Robert Worsley,
Capitaine Pellam,
Capitayne Dethick, who was my cheefe instructer in this matter,
Capitayne Wood,
Capitayne Windam,
Capitayne Tayler,
Capitayne Collbie,
Capitayne Fitzwilliams,
Capitayne Tiberio, an Italian,
Capitayne Whitton,
Capitayne Boothe,
Capitayne Pikeman,
Capitayne Gam,
Capitayne Garton,
Capitayne Bagshot,
Capitayne Ashley,
Capitayne Lawson.

A Commendation of the Englishe souldiers that served at this siege of Hadington.

THE frowning furious dame,
that hight Bellona fierce,
That grieslie goddesse whose outrage
doth kinges and countries pierce;
Drewe forth her bluddie blade,
sets up her stander[152] blacke;
And fenced with her fyerie flagg,
to worke her wrakefull wracke.
Who can scape scotfrée then,
that dares abyde the broyle?
The noble harte for honour fyghtes,
the tyran[153] huntes for spoyle:
The cowarde crakes[154] with woordes,
and hopes for happie daye;
Yet is he not the firste that strykes,
nor last that runnes away.
At point of harde distresse
a hardie man is knowne;
At ratling shott, or hunger sharpe,
a dastard is downe throwne.
But when Bellona sawe
the warlyke Englishe wyghtes,
That at this siege, in marciall actes,
affied[155] their whole delyghtes;
Shee wondred, as shee myght,
to see that all her rage
Coulde by no meanes the haughtie hartes
of Englisse men asswage.
Tryumphing garlandes then
with speede shee 'gan prepare,
To crowne those lustie captaines all
that had of her no care.
The nobles that were theare
shee gave eche one a crowne;
Adorning them, by due desert,
with large and bryght renowne.
And then shee calles, by name,
the rest to take their hyre,
Whiche was, that they should to the toppe
of mounting fame aspyre.
" Sir Wilforde, come thou first,
receive thy just rewarde,
Thy hautie harte, of furious foe
had never yet regarde.
Sir Croftes, come forth also,
to clayme thy worthie name;
Controll eche misse, for so thou maiste,
thou winnest the forte of Fame.
Sir Sellinger, approche,
thou setst thy foe at naught:
Sir Wolstrap, in the arte of warre
hath worthelye bene taught.
Sir Worseley was not worste,
but of the worthie wightes."—
And thus Bellona made an ende
of talking to her knyghtes.

[152] [Standard.] [153] [Tyrant.] [154] [Boasts.] [155] [Confided in.]

Now Pelham, that hath charge
of pellet and of shott,
A garlande had by due desert,
as lyghted to his lot:
And Dethicke, dreading nought
the daunger of his foe;
By policie, with prowes joynde,
gave oft the overthrowe.
Wood woulde not take the foyle,
at anye equall matche;
And Windam well coulde wynde the twist
his wylye foes to catche.
Fitzwilliams woulde not flacke[156]
to fyght for countrey soyle;
And Tayler's trustie diligence
sparde not for any toyle.
But Collbie knowes the cast
the craking Scot to trayne;
This name in Scotlande is well knowne,
but to their often paine.
Tiberio tooke no care
for his Italia lande;
But manfully, among the rest,
did in the quarell stande.
And Whitton whett his witt,
eke playde his parte full stoute;
And Boothe woulde never balke the brunt
of Frenche, or Scottish rowte.
Pykeman passed through the pykes,
and provde a valyant man;
And Gam, by prowes wonne the game
that Frenchemen woulde have wan.
So Garton he coulde guyde
and garde his menne full well;
And Bagshot was no whitt abasht,
what chaunce soever fell.
As Ashleye's auncient[157] came
with honor from the fielde;
So Aslaby wan good reporte,
to foe he woulde not yelde.
Nowe Lawson is the laste,
yet not of lowest name,
But equall with his captayne mates
that hath deservde good fame.
Thease captaines and their men,
themselves so stoutly stowde,
That garlandes of still lasting fame
is now on them bestowde.
A garlande is small gayne,
wheare lymmes and lyving lacke;
I wishe the souldier, as my selfe,
to feele no kynde of wracke.
And suche as flowe in wealth,
and seese a souldier pore;
I woulde he were in fore frunt set,
when rattlyng canons rore.

The Aucthor.

When Fame rang out her larum bell
of glorious golden sounde,
And blewe the blast of princes actes,
whiche in her booke shee fownde;
By her enrolde and registred
in scroll of endlesse brute,[158]
Whose memories should never quayle,
untill eche tung were mute.
This sownde of bell, and blast of trompe,
was hearde to Parnas' hill,
Where as Queene Caliop, and her trayne,
do use their cunning skill.
Theare myght you see these noble nimphes
throwe doune their lawrell crownes,
With ruffeled[159] heares outragiously,
to fling through dales and downes.
And gad more lyke to wandring wyghtes,
then learned ladies sure;
And every one a poet sought,
her pen to put in ure.[160]
At last, by chaunce I met the Muse,
that wonts my quill to guyde,
Who is the symplest of them all;
and when shee mee espyde,
"All haile (quod shee) even thou art hee
whom I do nowe requyre,
Take pen in fist, without delaye,
to finish my desyre.
For nowe, it lyghteth to thy lot
King Henrye's fame to write,
And though thy Muse be verie base,
shrinke not for to endyte.
When thou hast done thy diligence,
the learnedst of our trayne,
To polyshe this that thou hast done,
will not shunne ne disdaine."

[156] [Q. Flag?]
[157] [An ensign or standard.]
[158] [Report, renown.]
[159] [Ruffled hair.]
[160] [Use.]

" Alas! (quoth I) my loving Muse,
'tis far from mee unfitt:
To write his due deserved fame
requires a learned witt.
Shall Coridon take harpe in hande,
where Orpheus is in place;
Arion's pleasant melodie
doth Panne's rude pipe deface.

But all this myght not move the Muse
to alter her request,
Shee forced mee to take my pen,
and so to do my best.
Thus brought shee me to Hermon hill
where heavenly dewe doth dwell;
And thene I wrote as shee mee taught,
God graunt it be *Ful well!*

A Treatise of Human Reason.

Licensed, July 24, 1674, Ro. L'Estrange.

London, printed for Henry Brome, at the Gun, at the West End of St. Paul's, 1675.

[Duodecimo, containing Ninety-two Pages.]

By a hand-writing of no modern cast, in the title to this little tract, it is ascribed to " Sir Matthew Clifford, Knight." This probably was a mistake for Matthew Clifford, Master of the Charter House, the familiar acquaintance of Cowley, the coadjutor of Buckingham in his sarcastic play of the Rehearsal, and the writer of bantering notes upon Dryden's poems. In the latter, says Mr. Walter Scott, 'although Clifford was esteemed a man of 'wit, and a scholar, his style is rude, coarse, and ungentleman-like, and the criticism is 'chiefly verbal.'[1] *This, the specimen given by that gentleman sufficiently attests. The present tract being on a more general subject and of a graver cast, has little of coarseness, though not deficient in shrewd observation or scholarship. Dr. Sprat in his life of Cowley, printed in* 1668, *informs us that Mr. Clifford, at that period, had " an obstinate aversion from publishing any of his writings." The lapse of seven years might perhaps have relaxed the obstinacy of this declared aversion: though his Treatise on Human Reason, still left the world uninformed of its author; being put forth anonymously, and without any clue which might direct the public attention to its source, either in dedication or preface.*

BEING resolved, according to the duty of every private person, to make a search into the nature and quality of my religion; and, according to my interest in human society, to communicate the effects of that search to others, if I shall believe it profitable for them: I am in the first place to consider of the choice of some guide, for so long and so dangerous a journey, where I shall sometimes meet with no tract or path at all, and sometimes with so many, and those so contrary in the appearance of their first entry, that the variety will confound me more than the want; especially there being so many mists cast before me by the errors and deceits of others, that one had great need of a better eye-

[1] [Life of Dryden, by Mr. W. Scott, p. 154.]

sight than is left us by the fall of our first forefather. And this consideration after a long and serious debate thereof, brings no other guide to me but my own reason, which if it take such directions as it ought and may do, before it sets forth, and pursue those directions with care and constancy, though it may possibly lead me into errors, yet will bring me at last even through them, to the proposed end of my journey, which is Happiness.

I am not ignorant of the many enemies I must meet with in this doctrine, but am fortified against them with the thought that they who dispute most against the power and privileges of Human Reason do it because their own reason persuades them to that belief; and so whether the victory be on mine, or on their side, are equally defeated. They seek to terrify us with the example of many excellent wits, who, they say, by following this *ignis fatuus* (for so they call the only north-star which God has given us for the right steering of our course) have fallen into wild and ridiculous opinions, and increased the catalogue of heresies to so vast a number: but truly these men either followed not their own reason, but made it follow their will, or hood-winked it first by interest and prejudices, and then bade it shew them the way; or were wanting in those necessary diligences which are required for so doubtful and dangerous a passage: or if without the commision of any of these faults, the weakness of their understanding has deceived them, the error is neither hurtful to themselves, nor would be to others, if this doctrine of governing ourselves from within, and not by example, were established. Whereas on the contrary side, the submitting our judgments to authority, or any thing else whatsoever, gives universality and perpetuity to every error.

They fall naturally from hence into the large common-place of the frailty, uncertainty, and disproportion of our understanding to divine and celestial notions, and are eloquent herein with much of truth. For when we say that every man's soul hath in itself as much light as is requisite for our travel towards heaven, we do not therefore assume, that it is as clear as those spirits which are confessed to be all a flame. And for the unaptness of it to receive the impression of spiritual truths; though the What? and the How? of religious mysteries be out of sight, yet that they are such, is sufficiently visible. Especially if we use those helps which God has prepared for us to that purpose, and those our reason will dictate to herself that she is to use. The ordinary saying of Democritus, that 'truth lies in the bottom of a deep well,' is very applicable to this matter: that is, that we must seek it in the centre and heart of ourselves, and not look up into heaven first and immediately for it; because by this means we shall see heaven in the bottom of the well, though we could not the well in the top of heaven.

But the chief and most tragical argument against us is, that the allowance of this liberty to particular men's discourses, would beget as many religions as there are several persons; and consequently draw after it such disorder and confusion, as is inconsistent not only with the quiet, but the very being of human society. This is a weighty and grievous accusation, and if our reason be convinced of so harmful a madness, it will be found necessary to keep it chained and fettered, and as much in the dark as may be. But I hope it will acquit itself. Who knows not that the philosophy of the ancients separated itself into sundry parties; the Pythagoreans, the Peripatetics, the Stoics, the Sceptics, the Academics, (and these of three sorts) the Epicureans, the Cynics, with many others; and these differed not in slight and verbal controversies, but in the last ends of human actions, in the nature of good and evil, nay of God himself; whether man worked freely or were compelled by an inevitable necessity? Whether the soul were subject to corruption, or immaterial and immortal? Whether the world had a beginning, or had endured from all eternity? Whether the gods took upon them the government of things below, or sate as idle themselves in heaven as their images were here on earth? With divers other questions of equal consequence. These opinions divided the philosophers, and the philosophers the people; nor were there fewer sects in Athens, than are now in Amsterdam or London. And yet this variety of opinion neither begat any civil war in Greece, neither did the Peripatetics (when both by the strength of their arguments and their emperor, that party was become the greatest) set up any inquisition, or high com-

mission or committee against the rest; but every man enjoyed his opinion with more safety and freedom, than either his goods or wife. The same likewise happened in the religions of the ancients; for though several cities professed the worship of several deities, yet we read not of any war which hath sprung from that diversity. The poets have made the gods enter into factions and quarrels for commonwealths, but commonwealths never did the same for their gods. This quiet and happiness, which (to the shame and scandal of the christian name) was enjoyed four thousand years among the heathen, continued so long and so uninterrupted, because every man, following the rules of his own judgment, allowed that liberty to others, which he found so necessary for himself. And even the Stoics themselves, who enslaved the will, durst never attempt this violence to the understanding.

From whence then shall we say it proceeds, that since the Reformation opened a way to this freedom of conscience, so much blood and confusion, and almost desolation, has followed in all those countries which admitted it. Germany, France, the Low-Countries, and Scotland are sufficient witnesses of this; and I could wish that miserable England had not been added to the number of these sad examples. But certainly, since this liberty has been so many ages exercised, without drawing after it those inconveniences which we now so justly complain of, they must be attributed either wholly to some other cause, or to the conjunction of some other accidents to it, which have changed the nature and condition thereof: and that (having examined all particulars which touch upon this matter) I can find to be no other, than the strange and uncharitable pride of those men, who having with just cause vindicated their own reason from the tyranny of unnecessary bonds, endeavour nevertheless to lay them upon others; so that not the use of such liberty, but the appropriating of it to ourselves only, is the true, and, I think, the sole fountain of these disorders: for there cannot certainly in the world be found out, so mild and so peaceable a doctrine, as that which permits a difference in beliefs; for what occasion can any man take to begin a quarrel, when both he himself is suffered quietly to enjoy his own opinion, and his own opinion is this, that he ought to suffer others to do the same. But if once men entertain an imagination, that every thing is wicked and damnable which complies not with their own sense, and that in this vast latitude of probabilities, (which is in all kind of disquisitions, but especially those of religion, they being most obscure and most indemonstrable) there is none can lead one to salvation, but the path wherein he treads himself; we may see the evident and necessary consequence of eternal troubles and confusions. For not only public charity will perswade us to force men to that wherein consists their everlasting happiness, or calamity, if by no other means we can induce men to it (as without injury we bind the hands of a man that would kill himself) but also our private interest, and that particular care, which every man owes to his own posterity, which, without suppression of all heresies, must run the hazard of eternal punishments, obliges us, by all means, to endeavour the extirpation of those weeds out of the fields of our neighbours, which would else so quickly overgrow our own: whereas if we had either more of charity to others, to believe some errors (the insepaiable companions of human nature) ought not to exclude men from the communion of the present church, and the hope of the future; or less of self-flattery to think, that all men grope in the dark that light not their candle at ours, we could not be so cruel in persecution of those faults to which God himself is so merciful, and from which we ourselves are not exempt. I shall therefore conclude this argument with a confident assertion, That all the miseries which have followed the variety of opinions since the Reformation, have proceeded entirely from these two mistakes, the tying infallibility to whatsoever we think truth, and damnation to whatsoever we think error.

Another absurdity this doctrine is accused of, that if we guide ourselves wholly by the light of reason we shall not only every one differ from every body else, but every one frequently from himself, changing religion almost as often as our habits, driven about perpetually by every wind, and in all probability dashed by some one at last against a rock; now a papist, to-morrow a Lutheran, next a Calvinist; and so like the heathen, dedicate

every day in the week to a several deity. I must confess, inconstancy is one of the greatest weaknesses of the weakest sex, and much less to be endured in man, especially in that most weighty affair of his whole life, the service of God; but I cannot conceive, that the fear of this scandal obliges us to a blind and inalterable observance of those laws and opinions, which either the fate of our birth and education, or the fortune of other accidents have engaged us in; but we ought to make a serious and long inquiry, whether they agree most with that light of our understanding, which God has infused into us for that end, according to the best extent of those means, which are allowed by him to our understandings for this examination; and whatsoever we shall fix upon after this consideration, if it be duly made, will be upon such grounds, as are not likely every day, and upon every new argument to be removed from us: for if they be, it is a great, though not an infallible sign, that the inquiry was not made at first with so much diligence as was possible: and when we have once carefully settled ourselves in a belief, though we happen to meet afterwards with some new and unforeseen difficulties, which may seem to evince the contrary, yet reason will not presently advise us to a change, because it finds itself unable to untie the knot, but suspend a while and attempt again, and try a thousand several ways before it despair and yield up itself to the argument; which remaining still after all this unconquerable, it will then turn back and consider whether if it alter now its judgment, it be able to satisfy all those defences which will be made for its former opinion, and if it be overmatched by the doubts on both sides, rather choose to continue as before, than make an innovation without advantage. This rule being observed, we shall not be subject to the inconvenience of frequent changes, and yet as true it is, that we shall not be exempt from the possibility of changing at all, which is neither requisite nor attainable in this life; and if in this permutation, after all our industry and humility therein, it shall be our ill-fortune to give away a truth for a falsehood, it will be (as killing a man against our will is no murder) at the worst but an error by chance-medley, and will both find (I had almost said claim) mercy from God, and deserve pity from men. We know very well that every man's body is in so perpetual a flux, that about the space of seven years, renders him wholly and entirely another corporeal substance from what he was before, the whole mass both of accidents and matter being thrust away by the continual succession of new ones: and yet because the soul remains still the same, and retains all the while the same power and uninterrupted government over the whole succession, we justly esteem it the same person; nay every part of him to be always so truly the same, that at any time of his life he may say, with these eyes I shall behold my Saviour, though the accidents and very matter of them be so often changed. Such an identity as this is requisite to a man's faith: he may now be fully a papist, and seven years hence fully a protestant, and yet his faith still remains the same, because it is all the while actuated and moved by the same soul of faith, which is conscience; which if he preserve inviolably, both when he was a papist, and when he is a protestant, he may truly say, with this very faith I shall behold my Saviour.

But suppose this so exalted guide of yours, your own conscience, should direct you to forsake your Christian belief; for which the devil does not want such pleasant colours and specious fallacies, as may possibly deceive even a good understanding.

Before I answer this objection, I desire to know of him that makes it, what it is (for something it must be) which he places in the same ecclesiastical superiority that I do reason? The private spirit? what if that should persuade him to this apostacy? It cannot. Not indeed if it be true; but the same condition will make reason as infallible as that; and I may as well judge of the truth of the one, as you of the other.

What is it then you will trust your soul with, in this important business? Is it the authority of men? These verily may lead you into error, and it is not impossible, into the greatest and worst of all, which is the desertion of Christ himself: not that this is likely to happen, neither more probable is it, that our reason should so far misguide us. But alas! in this affair of so vast and so eternal consequence, what security can we assume, whilst there remains a possibility of miscarriage, and this possibility is evident. For let us consider it in a council;

which if there be any assurance in the number of men, is that where most probably it may be found. I will not here reckon up the many errors which great and famous councils have fallen into themselves, and laboured to establish in others, they are many and notorious. But certainly if a council could take away the satisfaction of Christ's death, and divinity of his person (as was done by that great one of the Arians which condemned Athanasius, not without the approbation of the pope and the whole world besides) a council has already done that thing, which you affirm impossible for it to do. For they who believed Christ to come into the world as an example and pattern only of holiness, are no more to be called Christians than Abrahamists or Davidists. If you will here contend, that even these men deserted not wholly Christianity, as a man may do by the impulsion of his own private reason, yet certainly you will confess that they who fell so far into error, might as well have sunk deeper, and exalted some other prophet above Christ, as well as make Christ to be but a prophet: and this possibility of error (even in so high a degree) we shall find in the nature and very elements of a council; for if any one member of it may be a heathen or atheist in opinion (as the lives of many popes, and the speeches of some, declare that they themselves have been) why not two, not three, not more, not the major part, that is, the whole council? From the sanctions of two-sevenths of the Nicene council, which established the worship of images, how easy a step was there made for the next; to the introduction of a full, undisguised and heathenish idolatry, which we must not say could not, because by the mercy of God it did not happen. And I verily believe, if God had not stirred up some persons of excellent abilities and worthy spirits (for such sure they were, though not exempt from human weaknesses) to examine by the rules of their own reasons, those follies and dangerous errors in religion, which partly by the interest, partly by the ignorance of men, and insensible advances of ill custom, were blindly embraced by the whole world; if these men, I say, had not discovered the past errors, and by that means made their adversaries more cautious not to fall into any new ones, the world through the adoration of saints and images, and the boundless increase of vain and superstitious ceremonies, would have past before this time, to its old and abominable worship of several deities, and to a religion overwhelmed, if not with the same, yet with as many and as vain impieties. It remains therefore, that you put your confidence rather in the traditions of the former, than the commands of the present church; but what those were, you must either trust some number of men present, which is not without the possibility of being misguided; or your own search and diligence, which is to fall into that opinion which you condemn in me. And truly they who build their belief wholly upon the authority of past or present ages, if they look upon all the consequences of that opinion, are in much greater danger of being drawn from the Christian faith, than those who remit the judgment of these things to their own reason: for ever since the beginning of the Christian belief, there has been the authority of above an hundred to one against it; and this authority backed and strengthened with the universal agreement of more than three thousand years before it. But on the contrary, if we weigh impartially the motives and arguments which every religion can produce in its own defence; reason itself will find more and much greater for the Christian, than it can for any other belief whatsoever: and I am very confident, that no man ever from a Christian, became a Turk or a Jew, because his reason told him that was a better religion; but because either fear of punishment or hope of reward, or some other sinister cause, persuaded his reason, that the worst religion in itself, would be the better to him upon those conditions.

Now all those arguments by which some men have laboured to prove, that our guide in spiritual matters ought to be infallible, will, though they be granted for true, as I believe in some sense they are, will not at all dispossess reason of this authority, which we have declared to be her due. For the infallibility of a guide I conceive to be only this, that it cannot fail to bring us to that end, for which we chose to be guided by it, and if to this end there happen to be a thousand several ways, it is a guide no less infallible as to the end, if it lead us through a long, an unpleasant and obscure tract, than

if it conducted us by a short, a delightful and an open road: for not the goodness of the passage, but certainty of not missing the end, is that which constitutes this kind of infallibility. And truly every man's particular reason, if well followed (for whatsoever guide you pitch upon, whether Scripture, spirit, church past or present, or any thing else imaginable, must have that condition annexed, or else it will become unprofitable) will infallibly carry him at last, though perhaps through many tedious and troublesome wanderings, to his eternal happiness, if it be followed (for that condition cannot be repeated too often) with constancy, diligence, and sobriety.

This doctrine sets the great gate of heaven so wide open, that it will displease those men, who with an envious kind of pride think it more honour to enter in with a few at a narrow wicket. But I truly, out of an humble consideration of my own weakness, and the general imbecility of human nature, should still lament and tremble, that the entrances to heaven are so few and so difficult, though they were yet far more and much easier than this opinion makes them. There are enough obstructions from the frailty of our flesh, the subtilty of the devil, the tyranny of our passions, and the perverse crookedness of our corrupted wills, without the additions of any more from the imperfections of our intellect. Sufficient is the danger we run, in not performing those duties which we understand aright, without making our misunderstandings damnable, and condemning that as a guilt, which is to be pitied as a misfortune. What then? Shall we believe Turks, Jews, heathens, atheists themselves, (if there be any such) in an equal possibility of salvation, with the unerring Christian? Shall we save all beasts of what kind soever, clean or unclean, in that mystical ark the church of God? Certainly in the two contrary excesses of belief in this matter, that on the side of mercy hath the appearance of greater safety; and I had rather think with Origen, 'That the devils themselves, by the excessive kindness of their judge, shall at last be exempted from damnation, than that he himself shall be damned for that opinion.' But as to this their objection; I believe first, that reason itself will declare to every man in the world, that he ought to adhere to the Christian, rather than to any other religion whatsover, if all things be propounded to him in a clear and impartial manner; and this whosoever shall deny, I dare confidently affirm, it is impossible for him to be a Christian. But because there are a thousand accidents, which hinder the greatest part of the world from the advantages of so fair a proposal, hence it comes to pass, that so small a part of mankind hath submitted to the obedience of the Christian faith: now to condemn all those millions of persons (many millions for one that is to be saved) is so wild an uncharitableness, that few have been so barbarously severe, as to be guilty of it: and therefore those whose ignorance in these matters hath been invincible, they left to the hands of God, without declaring a definitive opinion either of their safety or perdition. Now if we consider rightly, what ignorance is to be accounted invincible, we shall by this means restore the greatest part of mankind into a hopeful and comfortable condition; and none even amongst the worst religions, will be left to a certain ruin, but such whose consciences have been neglected or forced aside by those who ought to have been guided by them; and such who can have no plea against the rigour of their sentence, because they deserted themselves as well as God: and the disobedience of men to their own conscience is not only in things of practice, but also of belief and speculation, though not in so evident and immediate a manner, by suffering themselves to be deceived by the insensible operations of interest and prejudice.

Nor does it follow from hence, that Christ is not the only source and cause of eternal felicity; for I acknowledge there is no other name under heaven by which men can hope for salvation. But I may very well believe withall, that there are secret and wonderfull ways, by which God may be pleased to apply his merits to mankind, besides those direct, open, and ordinary ones of baptism and confession: which I have only advanced briefly in this place, being a matter that will require a more ample and particular examination. Now concerning the salvation of all sorts of Christians, except their lives disagree from their doctrines (which is likewise a disobedience to their reasons) I know not why I should be terrified out of my charity by any anathema whatsoever that shall

proceed from the mouth of man. For I cannot see how any but God himself can certainly know that any man is an heretic, since it is only he who can discern by what close and unlawful means he corrupts his understanding, and hardens his own will to the obstinate belief of any error; for without that obstinacy there is no heresy, and without the perfect sight of the whole contexture of a man's thoughts and actions, there is no knowledge of such an obstinacy: and therefore when the church declares any opinion to be heresy, it is to be accepted as if the law should say, whosoever kills a man is a murderer, which is a sentence not absolute, but to be qualified with circumstances: even so the church pronounces, whosoever holds this doctrine is an heretic, with an evident reservation of some circumstances in the meaning thereof, for no man can imagine that the sentence includes those who never shall hear of it; nor no more, say I, those, who though they hear of it, yet cannot by any means bring their conscience to the assent. For to obey in matters of belief, without being able to believe the thing commanded, is no less, and seems more a contradiction, than simply to obey without knowledge of a command.

Thus much briefly concerning heresy, which indeed is a subject worthy a treatise by itself. But this will not suffice, unless we can also clear ourselves from the imputation of schism, the ordinary railing word in all controversies, and a slander which is often fatal in making, where it falsely accuses a separation: of which they are truly guilty (the word itself bearing witness against them) who break the precious unity of the Christian church; but that is done not so much by them who differ in opinions, as by them who will not allow of such a difference. Who knows, whether that God who liked best that no men's bodies should have the same complexion, no men's faces the same figures, no hands the same lines, no voices the same sounds, nay not so much but their motions and gestures should be distinguishable, has not likewise best pleased himself with no less variety in the parts of men that are immaterial, and even in the most immaterial actions of those parts, which is the worship and adoration of a deity? Does God gain any thing by our devotions? does he receive hurt from one kind of worship, and advantage by another? is he pleased with any smell in the sacrifice besides that of obedience? and can a plain, uniform, unalterable obedience be expected, without commands of the same nature? Without doubt, he who gave rules which might accept of so many several interpretations when he might have made them as plain to all in one sense, as they seem now to every man in his own, is likewise well contented, that they shall be interpreted severally: and as the divines confess, that the same words of Scripture admit of a literal, typical, analogical sense, and that all those senses are both true and intended by the Holy Ghost, that spirit of unity that writ them; so, I say, the commands of God concerning religion are equally obeyed and fulfilled by all the various kinds of obedience, which the consciences of men conceive themselves bound to pay unto them. As well the mud by growing hard, as the wax by melting obeys the sun; nor is it less glorified by one than by the other: nor are those diversities of powers in the sun, but of capabilities in the object that receives him: even so faith is still properly one, though according to the diverse receptions of it, it produce not only diverse but contrary effects. It is not unobservable, that the unity of the church of God is compared not to the unity of one man, but of a man and woman joined in marriage; so the church in general is one with Christ; so the church militant with the triumphant; and so every particular man with the church militant: now this unity is of one part more weak, more infirm, more ignoble than the other; and the female part in the similitude, is the erring part in the church itself; and as that by the bond of love, so this by the bond of charity is to be accounted one and the same with the other. Can any thing be more irrational, than to say that a foot when it hath the gout, or a hand when it shakes with the palsy, or a head when it aches, ceases to be a part of the body? Sound or sick, great or little, well or ill shaped, are outward considerations to the nature of a member; if it be informed by the same soul, it requires no other condition to make it such: nor can you make this soul which is required of such necessity to give it life, to be a full and entire agreement in all points of faith, of one member with another; for then in matters of belief you make no

distinction betwixt sickness and death, and the least indisposition of health is a total corruption. Men of the contrary opinion (I foresee) cannot chuse but say here, that in dangerous and infectious diseases cut off the affected member to save the rest; and that he who in a gangrene spares the patient, is the most hard-hearted and unmerciful physician: and truly, if errors in belief draw so ill a trail after them as the devils and damnation; if they be to be esteemed gangrenes, as well in respect of their mortality, as their spreading and infectious nature; not only prudence but charity itself will put a sword into our hands to cut them off. But alas! these diseases are not so deadly, as the physicians of the soul would make them for the exalting of their own reputation; and he that would presently lop off an arm, if the gangrene be moving in it, would not, I hope, prescribe the same remedy, if it be but infected with an itch: both evils would extend themselves over the whole body, but the one to the perpetual destruction of the being, the other only to the temporary loss of the beauty and quiet of it: and therefore we rather patiently endure the trouble and vexation of continual scratching (which is the true metaphor for the controversies of ecclesiastical writers) with the loathsomeness and deformity of so many sores, than take away a member which may possibly hereafter recover its former health and comeliness, and is even now without them, of great and necessary uses to the whole body.

Now as for those men, who accuse us of pride and vanity for attributing so much to our own reason, making presumption and self-flattery the fountain of this opinion; it is a scandal so false and so ridiculous, that without much humility I should disdain to answer it. Are those to be accounted proud and tyrannical, who being governed by their own reason, are content that all others should enjoy the same liberty, or those who whilst they deny that they themselves are ruled by their own understandings, would nevertheless have all others to submit to it? Is it the voice of pride to acknowledge, that they who differ from me may possibly be in the right, or if they mistake may do it without ruin, or to say, whosoever is not of my opinion is in the wrong, and whosoever is in the wrong is eternally to perish for his error? It is the custom of presumption to be ready to lay down an opinion once entertained (which is almost as great a martyrdom, as laying down our lives for the truth's sake) when cause shall appear for so doing, or by claiming to ourselves the infallibility of our party (for he is infallible himself who agrees with them that are so) to harden ourselves into a necessary opiniastrete.

These are the common objections against this good-natured and gentle doctrine: but Mr. Hobbes, according to his extraordinary wit, has found out an odd, and extraordinary argument. For in his first chapter of religion, in the state of God's natural empire, making every city the supreme judge in matters that belong to God's worship, and to which we ought to render an entire obedience, says thus: "Otherwise all absurd opinions of the nature of God, and all ridiculous ceremonies which have been admitted by any nations, would be seen at once in the same city; by which it would happen, that every particular person would believe all others to [2] blaspheme, or irreverently to behave himself towards God; so that it could be said of no man, that he worshipped God; because no man worships God (that is, honours him externally) but he who does those things by which he may appear to others to honour him."

But methinks, if this be true, the several unappealable tribunals which are set up by Mr. Hobbes in several cities or commonwealths, are as well destroyed by it, as those which are placed by us in every man's breast; for several cities appointing several kinds of worship or honour, consisting in the opinion not of the worshipper or honourer himself, but of the witnesses and spectators of the worship or honour; now if he say, that when a whole commonwealth has but one sort of worship, none will be witnesses or spectators of it, but those who believe it honourable; first, as much scandal from the report, as from the sight of it; and besides, the same I say will happen, if there were an hundred religions in one city; for still their religious congregations were to be made up of men of the same opinions: again, those who deny that a commonwealth ought to enforce an

[2] *Contumelia afficere.*

unity of worship upon all its subjects, will likewise as much deny, that men ought to think those worships dishonourable which are not practised by themselves: and if he say, there is no hindering of this latter, he must needs pardon me if I cannot believe that impossible, which has been in the world (even in a more ridiculous variety than is at present, at least in our parts) for so many ages, and which is now exercised in some places: and if ignorant and malicious physicians in this violent fever, did not apply new heats instead of julips, they might by writing, disputing, preaching, living charitably (which is all the former) reduce the world in a short time to its ancient healthful and natural temper. Lastly (to strike at the root of this argument) it is false, that the worship or honour of God consists in the opinion of others; if it did, idolatry for four thousand years, had been the best, nay the only religion; and if I were now in the south continent (where I suppose I should be the only Christian) I ought not to abstain from the Christian worship of God (no, nor to hide or disguise it) for fear lest the wonder, contempt and mockery of infidels, should on a sudden (I know not how) convert it into sin and blasphemy. True it is that in honour paid from men to men, custom, consent, and acknowledgment, makes up the business, and an honour contrary to the use of the place is counted an affront; as to put off the hat would be in the east, and in the west to keep it on before princes. But the reason of this is, because men who are not able to search into the hearts, must be governed in their judgment of them by the exterior actions, and the measure or standard of those is custom; but with God it is quite otherwise: he beholds and judges the very thoughts of man, which are the fountains of his actions, so much more fully and plainly, than we do the actions themselves, that he needs not make a second, a mediate, a syllogistical judgment of the reality of men's worship, from the external, circumstantial, and only probable testimonies of their outward behaviours. And truly if we put the case amongst men, methinks a great Roman emperor that calls himself master of the world, should delight to prove himself to be so, from the variety of homages, tribute and worship, which he receives from several nations; and no more refuse to be honoured in several fashions, than he would to be praised in several languages. He would be glad perhaps to establish the Latin tongue, and make that the speech of all countries, but finding that design to be impossible, would at least pardon that diversity which agrees and consents in his own glory. Truly if men could cast away so much passion, as to make but true comparisons, they would find no more hurt from the use of different ceremonies, than of different tongues in the same city; and we might be as well allowed to serve God after the English manner, as to speak English in the Spanish dominions. As words are the images of our thoughts, so our thoughts are of the things themselves: and as well may differing thoughts truly represent the worship of one God, and of his son Christ Jesus, as differing words can represent the same thought: and this the Roman church seems to acknowledge, which does not think sufficient unity in God's service to be retained, with the allowance of more than of one language, and for preservation of fantastical identity, teaches her sons first to think, and afterwards to speak they know not what. They say first, our error is the same with that of the Greeks, which is taxed by Saint Paul to the Corinthians; 'That they sought after wisdom, but that the world by 'wisdom knew not God; that the wisdom of the wise was destroyed, and the understand-'ing of the prudent brought to nothing; that it was made foolishness, nay it was con-'founded by the foolish things of the world.' And against this wisdom, many excellent things are spoken in the beginning of that epistle, and it is strucken down (as Saint Paul was himself) by a greater light of divine truth, which came from God for that very purpose, to amaze and confound it first, and then to convert it. But if we mark it well, we shall observe, that under this name of wisdom, which is arraigned, condemned, nay and executed here, (for it is brought to nothing) is not signified human reason, but that which among the Greeks at that time was falsely and blindly esteemed to be so: as in the laws against magic, not that which is truly, but that which is falsely called so, is only condemned. And therefore Saint Paul names it the wisdom of words; the enticing words of man's wisdom; and the wisdom after the flesh; and the wisdom of the princes of the

world. By which three names are plainly (methinks) described, the three great suborners and corrupters of human reason (and not at all itself) the desire of reputation, of pleasure, and profit. By the first we forsake the truth to make demonstrations of our wit and eloquence: by the second to compass those carnal and worldly pleasures, which our own true reason does not allow of, and therefore we will not allow of it: (as Henry the Eighth seems to have left the pope, because he refused to dispense with his lusts, and to call that matrimony, which was indeed adultery:) and by the third, to comply with the interest of states and princes, and either willingly deceiving ourselves with the errors of our governors, or deceiving others with a desire to govern them. And these three (at least the two latter) causes of error in the understanding, may be the reason contained with truth in the parable concerning which is strongest. That that which falsely seemed to be human reason, and not that which truly is so, is accused by Saint Paul, appears yet more plainly, where he says, that 'God hath chosen the things which are not, to confound the things which are:' where the things which are not can signify nothing else, but the things which are esteemed as nothing, that is neither of value in themselves, nor of power to produce any effects. True it is, that the best and truest human reason could not have found out of itself, that wisdom of God in a mystery, even that hidden wisdom which God ordained before the world, which is the mystery of Christ Jesus; but it was necessary it should first be revealed by that spirit, which can only search and discover the deep things of God. But as soon as the spirit had revealed it (which it did by miracles, by fulfilling of prophesies and many other means of power and demonstration) even human reason was able to behold and to confess it; not that grace had altered the eye-sight of human reason, but that it had drawn the object nearer to it. And till the object was brought so nigh, the wisdom of man did as safely not discern it, as it does not now the new state of things, which shall be revealed at the second coming. And whereas they oppose against this the saying of the apostle, 'that the natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither 'can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.' The word natural I take to be a very ill translation, and conceive it ought to be rendered the sensual man, for such ψυχικὸς in the Greek, and *animalis* in the Latin; ψυχὴ many times signifying the lower and sensitive part of the soul, in distinction to νοῦς, which is the upper or rational, as *anima* is opposed to *animus*, and both sometimes to *mens*. So that the meaning is, that whilst a man's reason is seduced by his appetites and passions, it is an unfit judge of spiritual matters, neither can be umpire for a peace, having joined itself to the party of those things, which are in perpetual warfare against the spirit. But they say this authority which we ascribe to reason, is strangely different from that captivity which Saint Paul subjects it to, when he says, 'Casting down reasonings, and every high thing that 'exalts itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to 'the obedience of Christ.' And what captivity, say they, can there be, whilst we are only guided by the motions of our own understanding: all which signifies no more, but that Saint Paul relates (in vindication of his own just greatness against the calumnies of some that despised his person, especially as weak and rude of speech) how he had confuted those persons that opposed themselves by reasonings against the doctrine of Christ; and whereas their understandings before were enslaved and captivated to the desires of the sensual soul (for which he calls them in another place beasts at Ephesus) which hindered them from the obedience of Christ, he freed them from their cruel bondage, by casting down all their strong holds, and breaking the chains of their fallacious reasonings, and brought them into another captivity by right of conquest, but such an one where the yokes are light and the burthens easy; that is, by true reason he overcame and captivated their false ones.

And from this example, I desire those who would have our understandings captivated, to convince us first by theirs that they ought to be so, and not to think to enslave our reasons, till they first overcome them: which when they have done, then they will lose what they contend for: for by our reasons being guided, conquered, and enslaved, theirs

are become guides, conquerors, and masters. So that it will appear at last impossible for Human Reason to lose any thing in one place, without gaining as much in some other.

They who follow the apprehension of a vision or revelation extrinsically coming into their souls, if it happen that that extrinsical light come from the Father of lights, as the pillar of fire did which led the Israelites, they must needs be guided rightly; but if it chance to be an *ignis fatuus* (a flame driven about, as men commonly believe, by malicious spirits) the errors which it leads them into become unpardonable; for what plea can they make for mercy, since there is no command, nor no counsel can be alleged for the trusting of themselves to that stranger, which they can neither know from whence he comes, nor whither he designs to go. The like happens if we obey authority: for if that authority prescribe truth, we have good fortune in our obedience, and merely good fortune: but if it draw us into errors, we have nothing to say for our excuse, because we have nothing to allege for our obedience to that authority: so Eve pleaded the authority of the serpent, but both were punished: so Adam with more appearance of innocency, 'the woman that thou gavest me for an helper bad me eat, and accordingly I did;' but to him too a curse is pronounced, because he believed that which was figuratively one with him (as members of the church pretend to do the church) rather than that which was most certainly and singly one with him, which was his own reason. Thus the best that can be made of these men's opinions is, that after they have blind-folded themselves, amongst the many doors where they may enter, there is one which will lead them to heaven; which if they miss, it will be asked, not why you entered not there, but why by blinding your own eyes did you put yourself into a greater probability of not finding, than of lighting upon the true passage. Now contrariwise, those who commit themselves to the guidance of their own understanding, if they do commit themselves wholly to it, are as safe on the left hand as on the right, as secure of happiness in their errors, as others are, who are otherwise guided, even in the truths which they happen to fall into. For there is no danger of perishing but from disobedience, without which every man may often err, the commandment of God being not to find out truth (especially every particular one) but to endeavour the finding it. He commands no more but to 'search, and ye 'shall find,' says he, not every particular truth, for experience teaches us that cannot be the interpretation: but whether you find or no the truth which you search for, you shall find the reward of searching, which is happiness: now he that bids you search, is cruel and barbarous in his mockery, if he knows you have no power or faculty so to search as he commands you: there is therefore in man a natural ability of searching spiritual truths, and that can be nothing else but his understanding; neither to any thing else can the command be directed, since all things else are without us, and may serve for helps and directions in our search, but cannot be our search itself. Secondly, because we lay the blasphemous accusation of injustice upon God, if he punish us for an error which we could not avoid; and all errors are such which we fall into after a full and mature search for the truth, according to the best means represented to our understanding: so that as the liberty of our will, and the possibility we have of doing the contrary, makes us suffer justly for evil actions, so the possibility our understanding had to have discovered and entertained the truth, renders us liable to condemnation for ill beliefs. Thirdly, we ought not to believe errors in faith to be damnable, because this opinion is so wildly uncharitable, that it strikes out ten thousand millions out of the book of life, for each single name that it leaves in it: so immeasurably vast (if we consider the whole world and all the ages of it) is the number of those who have lived and died in great, high, and manifest errors (manifest I mean to us, for they were not so to them,) above those that have been so happy as to find and to embrace the truth. Fourthly, we ought not to teach men, that any errors in belief overthrow our hopes of salvation, unless we could likewise give them a catalogue of those errors which do so: it being confessed that all do not, because these must necessarily put all considering men into a doubt, or rather despair of their own salvation: for what quiet or repose can our conscience take, whilst we know ourselves to be in many errors (the estate of a traveller being incapable of an exemp-

tion from them) and believe that some errors, without knowing which or how many, do exclude men from a possibility of entering into heaven. Fifthly, because in this case we cannot know our fault, and therefore have no means of repenting of it: now God enjoining men repentance and promising pardon thereupon for all sins whatsoever, prescribes such a physic as is impossible to be taken; for repentance presupposes knowledge of the fault, and knowledge of a fault does not consist with an error of the understanding, for we cannot apprehend the thing so, and yet be sorry that we are mistaken. Sixthly, the great probability and appearance of truth on all sides, even the erring ones, ought to make us believe, that God will not punish those who err: if that be probable, which all, or most men, or many, or the most wise, or some wise men receive for truth: what doctrine is there, which in the whole compass of religions may not pass for probable, and what cause have we to condemn the understanding of any man, in a thing which he is drawn by probabilities to assent to. I cannot possibly conceive it agreeable to the goodness of the divine nature, so to have hidden and involved, and almost disguised the truth from us, if he had intended to have censured the missing of it, with so heavy a sentence as that of eternal ruin; especially seeing there is but one true way for one hundred false ones, and no certain mark set upon the entry of that one, to distinguish it from the others. And let this suffice to be said upon the first argument, to induce us to commit ourselves wholly to our reason in the search of divine and religious verities, which is drawn from the certainty of safety this way, and the great hazard of it any other.

Secondly, as in visible objects we receive confidently, and rest in the report of the sight, because nature hath ordained and accommodated it accordingly for that purpose, without appeal from it either to other scenes, or to revelations, or the eyes of other men: and as we do the like in all other operations of the sense, and all other faculties of the soul; so ought we as entirely and absolutely to resign our belief to the dictates of our own understanding in things intelligible, which are as properly and naturally the object thereof, as things visible are of the eye-sight; and we might as well say, we will trust our eyes in green, and white and black, but not in red or yellow colours, as affirm that our reason must guide us in the contemplation of nature, the search of arts, the government of public societies, and the regulation of men's lives as far as the bounds of morality, but that it is not at all to be followed or obeyed in matters that concern religion; those too being intelligible truths, yea the chief, and therefore most to be searched, and a part of the understanding's object as much or rather more than any other. Now as the credit of the sight is not at all to be disparaged, because some men have the jaundice which paints every thing yellow, some look through blue spectacles which represent all things to them under the same colour, and some through divers mediums which makes the straight staff appear crooked, some are short-sighted and take men for trees at a distance; so, I say, the mistakes which reason by accidental disturbances leads some men into, is not a sufficient argument for others to refuse to be guided by it.

If it be objected, that the sight, though it be subject to some particular impediments, yet is generally by its own nature much more certain and exact in the judgment of colours, than the understanding can ever be made (even without accidental hindrances) in the knowledge of things spiritual. I answer, that if such things be the proper object of such a faculty, we are herein to be governed by the dictates of it, without considering whether that faculty be as quick and perfect as God could make it in apprehension of its object: neither ought we to give less trust to our understanding in supernatural truths, because it is so much inferior to that of angels, than we do to our eye-sight in things visible, though it be so far short of that of eagles. Certainly they who remove the cognizance of divine truths out of the court of reason, take away that which most properly and naturally falls under its determination. For when God had created all things else, he thought the world imperfect as yet, whilst there was nothing made that could contemplate, thank, and worship the maker of it; and therefore he created man, and this was the chief end of the production of a rational soul, that by it they might consider the things which they saw, and discourse and collect out of them the things which they saw

not, and both praise and love the maker for and in them both; which is the whole substance of religion; for the manners and kinds of doing it are accidental. So then religion appears to be the principal end of man's creation, and therefore as if horses be made for burthen, they have a natural ability given them wherewith to do it; if birds to fly, they have a faculty and wings given them for that purpose (because where an end is natural, the means are so too) so if religion be the end of man, as he is partaker of a rational soul, that reasonable soul hath some power naturally placed in it for the exercise, judgment, and choice of religion, as far forth as is necessary to his own happiness, that is, to the attaining the end for which he was created.

In the third place, this opinion is not only most safe and most natural for every man in particular, but likewise most agreable to the good and interest of human society: for all wars of late ages have been either really for religion, or at least that has been one of the chief pretences; which if it were quite taken away, it would be difficult for those men who disguise their ambition with it, to draw the people into the miseries and uncertainties either of a civil or foreign war. Now if this doctrine were generally planted in the minds of men, both the reality and pretence of fighting for religion were utterly cancelled; and though turbulent minds would then either find or make some other occasion to disturb their neighbours, yet the will would neither be so frequent nor so cruel as it is at present. For who would quarrel for religion, when this were made the main and general ground of all religions, 'that every man ought quietly to enjoy his own.' True it is, that unity in religion would produce the same effect; but alas! both reason and experience teaches us, that the hopes of that are vain and impossible; and though a state may sometimes force all its subjects to submit to an outward uniformity in all things that concern divine worship, yet they must know, that every public disturbance in the commonwealth, breaks all those bonds asunder of dissembled odedience, and that such compulsions both beget and ripen all disorders.

Much might be spoken in this matter, but not necessarily here, both because I have said something of it before, in answering this argument turned against this opinion unhappily; and because the manner of establishing this liberty in a commonwealth, will require a discourse entirely by itself.

The last defence of this cause, and which indeed needs not the assistance of any other, shall be, because (though men deceive themselves herein, and as it often happens, know not their own opinions) it is impossible that ever any man should have been, is, or can hereafter be guided by any thing else but his own reason, as in other things, so also in matters of religion; I say impossible, for whatsoever way we take, we shall find that the last anchor to which our faith holds, the last element into which it is resolved (and therefore it is likewise compounded of the same) is only reason. For when I ask, why you believe any mystery of faith? you will answer perhaps, because the present church commands you: if I proceed and ask, why do you believe what the present church commands? you will say, because the former church teaches the same: why do you believe the former church? Because God commands you so to do. Why do you believe that God commands it? Because you find it in the Scripture. Why do you believe the Scriptures to be the word of God? Because they were confirmed by miracles. Why do miracles confirm that? Because they are works which can proceed from nothing but the absolute and immediate power of the Deity. Why so? Because nothing contrary to, or above the course of nature, can be done by natural agents; but miracles are effects contrary to, or above the course of nature; therefore they proceed from the divine operation. Thus you see faith at last resolved into a syllogism, which is the proper work of the understanding. On the other hand, if I demand, why you do believe that any miracles were done for the confirmation of the faith? Because of the great and many testimonies of the truth thereof. Why do you believe those testimonies? Because so many persons in so several times and places, with so several interests, could never agree in being deceived, or to deceive. So that you rest not at all in any authority, but discourse first what may be said for or against the validity of it, examine it punctually in

all circumstances, and at last submit to it upon some syllogism, which is the only law that binds our reason. Two things are to be considered in all authority, before we obey or believe it; first, the condition and quality of the persons who command or instruct; and secondly, the true interpretation of their commands or instructions. For the first, the persons in commanding must have a lawful power derived to them, either from God, nature, or custom (which latter depends upon the two former.) And in instructing, must have either an absolute infallibility, or else at least a probability of not erring. So that no authority is obeyable or believable in itself without farther examination: no not that of God himself; for the strength of God's authority depends upon that syllogism, which proves that the nature of God is such, that he can neither deceive nor be deceived. Now all this examination is purely and entirely the work of our reason by measuring a particular and an universal. Whatsoever hath such conditions is to be obeyed or believed: but such person or persons hath such conditions, therefore such person or persons are to be obeyed or believed: neither does our reason only prescribe obedience and belief to us, but also searches and establishes the bounds of both, setting up some solid and apparent notions, by which we know our *ne plus ultra.* True it is, that some men obey and some men believe without considering that they make this discourse; but that is only from inadvertency, as men often move their bodies, without any particular exerted thought of doing so.

Thus far then authority wholly depends upon reason. And much more in the second condition, which is the interpretation of it: in which business the interposition of reason is so necessary, that I shall omit either to prove or illustrate the point.

Now as they who enslave themselves to authority, make it the rule and guide of faith, because that even the belief that Scripture is the law of God depends upon it, as truly it does (in my opinion) upon the tradition of miracles; so I say, that much rather reason is to be accounted that rule and that guide we look for, because even authority upon which even Scripture itself depends, depends as much upon that; neither do we more believe the Scripture for authority, than that very authority for the reason we think we have to do so. The Samaritan says, I have an infallible rule, which is the Books of Moses, and only them. The Jew says, I cannot err, for I follow the Old Testament, which is infallible, and only that. The Christian assures himself of the truth as long as he is guided by the Evangelists and Apostles, whose writings are the infallible dictates of the Holy Ghost. The Turk assumes the same from the Alcoran; and the heathen from oracles, Sybill's books, and the like. What shall I do? None of all these books can be believed by their own light, for there are things equally strange in them all. Follow the authority of the church which cannot misguide you? Most willingly: but again the same difficulty returns in another habit; for as every one cries, I follow these books which are infallible, so he goes on too and says, I believe these books to be so, because our church and our traditions which are certainly the best authority, assure us that they were written by divine inspiration. Let the Christian take heed of saying here, "but my tradition is more ancient and more universal," for in the first the Jew will overcome him, and in both the heathen. I must in this diversity of ways either stand still, that is suspend absolutely from the belief of any religion (which is almost impossible after the belief that there is a God) or I must choose out of these. Now election is a work so proper to reason, that it cannot be done by any thing else; and therefore to be brought to a necessity of an election, is to be necessarily brought to submit in matters of religion to the determination of our understanding: so that in matters of religion wherein there is difference, I choose this side rather than the other, because my reason bids me; and where there is no difference, even there I am wholly guided by my reason, because the uncontradicted concurrence of the parties, makes up a syllogism to persuade (I say to persuade only) my belief. Briefly, I cannot believe but by an act of the will; nor can I will, but according to the directions of the understanding: so that they who say they follow authority, or they follow divine particular revelation, or any thing else imaginable, do it, because that agrees with their own reason, and will quit the party as soon as it does otherwise.

A Booke conteyning the Manner and Order of a Watche to be used in the Cittie of London, upon the even at Night of Sainct John Baptist and Sainct Peeter, as in tyme past hath bene accustomed. M. S.

The following is copied from a very fair manuscript in the Harleian Collection, No. 3741.

'*The Midsummer-watch* (*says Stow*) *was accustomed yearly, time out of mind, until the year* 1539, 31 *Henry VIII. in which year, on* 8*th May, a great muster was made by the citizens at the Mile's end, all in bright harness, with coats of white silk or cloth, and chains of gold, in three great battles, to the number of* 15,000, *which passed through London to Westminster, and so through the Sanctuary and round about the park of St. James, and returned home through Holborn.*

'*King Henry then considering the great charges of the citizens, for the furniture of this unusual muster, forbad the marching-watch provided at midsummer that year: which being once laid down, was not raised again till the year* 1548, 2 *Edward VI, Sir John Gresham being then mayor, who caused the marching-watch to be revived as it had been accustomed.*

'*But this cavalcade drawing together a great rabble of the worst sort, it was agreed, in the year* 1569, *by Sir Thomas Row, mayor, with the consent of the aldermen, to lay it down for that year at least, and in stead to have a substantial standing watch. As pretexts for this step, they reported the prevalence of the plague, and the danger of increasing it, and dispersing it into the country; and that the mayor himself was so weak that he could not accompany the watch. But the Queen being made acquainted with this measure by the recorder, expressed her dislike of it, and that "it was her pleasure to have a going watch."*

'*Upon this, the mayor sent to Sir W. Cecil, the secretary, earnestly desiring his interest with the lords that this order might at least that year not take place, upon the weighty reasons aforesaid. And from henceforth it began to be laid aside.*

The following effort to revive it was (*says Stow*) '*drawn up by a grave citizen, John Mongomery,* an. 1585.' *The copy he quotes was evidently not the same as that here reprinted, nor does he say whether it was in print or manuscript.* Vide *Strype's edition of Stow's* Survey of London, book i. p. 257.

In an Appendix to a late parliamentary report on the nightly watch, several interesting documents relative to the more permanent methods of nightly conservation in the city of London, from an early period to the present time, are given at large.

It is needless to add, that the 'martchinge-watche' *was a mere military pageant, strikingly useless and absurd, and far better calculated to break the peace than to preserve it.*

Here followeth a table wherin is sett downe the devision of the wardes and presinckes of the cittye of London, with a declaracion of the nomber of souldiers and wifflers and constables to be provyded for the furnyture of a martchinge-wattche, as by the same shall appeare.

Whereas the cittye of London is devided into 26 wardes, so be the saide wardes devided into 242 presinckes: out of 22 of the saide wardes, whiche contayne 200 presinckes, are to be appoynted the nomber of 1200 footmenne, which will demmande of eache of the saide presinckes sixe menn, as in this table hereunder appeareth.

		Wardes.	Presinkes.	Souldyers.	Weaponed with	Calyvers.	Bowes.	Pikes.	Halberts.	Wyfflers.	Counstables.
Accordinge to the computacion prescribed and order here sett downe, there is to be provided by the wardes and presinckes here mentioned, uppon their owne cost and charges for the martchinge watche the number of	1200 Souldiers.	Tower	12	72		24	18	24	6	2	8
		Allgate	6	36		12	9	12	3	1	4
		Langborn	12	72		24	18	24	6	2	8
		Bellinsgate	11	66		24	17	24	1	1	8
		Lymestrete	4	24		8	6	8	2	1	2
		Bishopsgate	7	42		14	12	14	2	1	5
		Broadstret	10	60		21	15	21	3	1	7
		Bridge within	15	90		30	22	30	8	1	10
		Cornehyll	4	24		9	6	9	0	1	2
		Walbrooke	7	42		14	12	14	2	1	5
	26 Wyfflers.	Dowgate	8	48		16	12	16	4	1	5
		Vyntrye	9	54		18	14	18	4	1	6
		Bassings haule	2	12		3	6	3	0	1	1
		Colman streate	4	24		8	6	8	2	1	2
		Cheape	11	66		24	18	24	0	2	8
		Quenhith	9	54		18	14	18	4	1	6
		Bredstret	13	78		26	21	26	5	2	9
		Castle Baynarde	10	60		21	15	21	3	1	7
	132 Constables.	Cordwayner	8	48		16	12	16	4	1	5
		Aldersgate	8	48		16	12	16	4	1	5
		Criplegate	13	78		26	22	26	4	1	8
		Farington within	17	102		36	25	36	5	1	11
		Thus 22 wardes for	200	1200		408	312	408	72	26	132

As by the table before written is expressed in breef the nomber of men and weapon to be prepared for the martchinge watche, so is here allso shewed the manner of armour, and arminge of the saide men, together with the rest of the furnyture aperteyninge; which men to be sett forth by the wealthyest comoners of everye presinke and warde and to be appoynted therunto by the discretion of the aldermen of the said wardes or their deputes.

SOULDIERS, 408, weaponed with callyvers[1] and the furnyture therunto belonginge, as flaske, touchebox, match, powder, mourion, cote of male, sworde, daggar, and clen-

[1] [‘A caliver (says Mr. Grose) was less and lighter than a musket, as is evident from its being fired without ‘a rest. This is shown in a Military Treatise, containing the exercise of the musket, caliver, and pike, with ‘figures finely executed by J. de Gheyn.’ Treatise on Aucient Armour, &c. p. 67.]

lye hose, and for defaulte of a cote of male some clenlye jerkine with sleeves of male, and that their mourions be made fast under their chynnes soldier-like.

BOWEMEN, 312, with bowes and sheffes of arrowes covered with red leather, sworde, daggars, sculles, in red Scottishe cappe. Their armore to be brigantynes or jacke covered with black fustian and clenlye hose.

PYKES, 408, talle men armed in bright corslettes, burganettes, swordes, daggars, and clenlye hose, the tacies of their armor to be made fast to their thighes, and their burganettes under their chinnes soldier like.

HALBERDERS, 72, armed in bright corslettes, fayer burganettes, swordes, daggars, and clenlye hose, their tacies and burganettes to be made fast as aforesaide.

ITEM, that the saide souldyers beinge provided by the wardes aforesaide to be sent to the Moore fielde the daie before the even of St. John Baptist, armed and weaponed in all poyntes as before declared, there to appeere by th'ower of 7 of the clock in the morninge, before the captaynes, lieutennante, and corporalls, that shall have the charge of them; before whome to shewe all obedyence accordinge to the order of disciplyne, that they maie be the better mustred, taught, and enstructed, in the poyntes needefull and necessarye, to them apertayninge, that they maie be the more skillfull against the next daie, at night, when they shall serve in the martchinge watche: to saie, as well in wearinge of their armor, as kepinge a true martche, with the bearinge of their weapons in warlike manner. And after which instructions gyven everie man to repayre home agayne to their wardes, from whence they came, there to remayne till the next daie, which shalbe th'even of S~cte. John Baptist, till it be towarde theveninge. And then agayne all thaforesaid soldyers to repayre, armed, and weaponed, as a fore expressed, to the Guildhall, and to the bace courte of the saide haule, there to be before th'aforesaide captaynes and lieutenauntes, by th'ower of fyve of the clock in th'eveninge, that they maie againe enstruct them, and put them in order of battayle, to martche forth in the saide watche.

ITEM, more to be provided by the saide wardes; 26 younge men howsholders to serve as corporalles, or wyfflers,[2] in the martchinge watche; whoe to be appoynted therunto by the discrecion of th'aldermen of the saide wardes, or their deputs, accordinge to th'order of the table aforwritten. Whose office shalbe to goe all alonge on the one syde of the footmen, to put them in remembraunce of their araye, and allso to kepe the people from intrudinge them selves amounge the saide footmen, for disordringe their martche. Which saide 26 citezens to serve uppon theire owne charge for th'onor of the citye; whose apparayle to be comelye, to wete, hatte, dublette, or jerkyns, faier hose, scarfes, sworde, daggars, holbarte, or partesan, and no other armor except a coller of harnys, and sleves of male (if anie will weare them) which saide wifflers beinge thus provided and appoynted as is declared, shall uppon the daie before th'eve of S~cte. John Baptist, at th'ower of 7 of the clock in the morninge, repaire to the Moore fields; There to mete with the captaynes, lieutenantes, and corporalles, that have the charge and direccion of the footmen a fore saide; with whome to joyne them selves for their better instruccion.

ITEM, that ther be appoynted, by the discrecion of th'aldermen, or their deputs, forthe of the precinctes of the saide 22 wardes, accordinge to the rule and order sett downe in the table, the nomber of 132 constables, to tende on the L. Maior, and the two sheriffes, in the martchinge watche. That is to saie 48 for the Lorde Maior; and 42 for each sheriff; which saide constables to serve uppon their owne proper charges. And so having provided themselves of comlye furnyture (to wete, for their owne persons, and for their pages) shall not make anie further provision as in tyme past, nether of dromme, fyfe, cresset, cresset light, cresset bearer, bagg bearer, nor suche like, except onelye for each constable one faier staffe torche of wax, for the lightinge of them home at the breakinge upp

[2] [Wiffler; an officer who walks first in processions, or before persons in high stations, on occasions of ceremony. The name is still retained in London, and there is an officer so called that walks before their city companies at times of public solemnity. Note by Hanmer in Reed's Shakspeare, xii. 496.]

of the saide watche. Which saide torches to be provided by themselves, as everie constable one for hymselfe, of his owne charge, and for the more safelyer lightinge of them home, they shall gyve charge to two of their owne watchmen to come, armed and weaponed, with the saide torches, to the place where the watche breaketh upp; there to waite uppon them: which saide constables, with their pages, thus beinge provided as afore declared, they at th'ower of 7 of the clocke in th'eveninge, on th'eve of S~cte. John Baptist repaire to Leadenhaule, and by th'ower of 8 of the clocke to martche forthe in warlike order, 3 in a ranke, with every man his page bearinge his weapon after hym; accordinge as they shalbe appoynted and directed.

ITEM, that the auncientest alderman of the benche doe appoynte, foorth of his owne warde, three discrete citizens, men of good caulinge, to whom he shall gyve charge to repayre to the Leadenhall, there to be, by th'ower of 7 of the clocke in th'eveninge, to tarie the cominge of the constables. Whoe, beinge come, they shall at their discrecion appoynte, foorthe of the whole companye, the 48 for the Lorde Maior, and the 42 for eache sheriff; and them to conducte to the Lorde Maior and the sheriffes their howses, in order followinge, that is to saie, one of them to martche before the bande appoynted to the Lorde Maior, and one other before the bande to the first or eldest sheriff, and th'other before the bande to the seconde sheriff, and at their howses to presente and leave them.

ITEM, that all the saide streates wher through the martchinge watche shall passe, be gravelled, for the more safetye and assuraunce of the stirringe horses which shall praunce and mounte alofte; the same to be done by th'inhabitauntes of those streates; to saie, every howse to provide one loade of gravaille, and to cause the same to be cast abroade before his doore uppon his owne charge.

ITEM, that lanternes and candells light be hanged forthe of the windoe of everie howse, in those streates and lanes where through the martchinge watche passeth not, which to be done between nyne and ten of the clocke at nighte, for avoydinge some inconveniences that mighte happen by lewde disposed people.

Provision to be made generallye by the whole 26 wardes, uppon their owne coste and charges, for the standinge watche.

FOR the providinge, ordringe, and placinge of the standinge watche it is mete that everie those constables, not beinge appoynted to the martchinge watche, whose number may be one hundred and odd, be commaunded, by th'authority of the L. Maior, to take charge and garde of the standinge watche, and to provide themselves in comelye furnyture, captayne like; with their pages, propperlye apparelled, bearinge their weapons, with their drommes, fyfes, and everie one his cresset light. Also everie housholder, able therto, not havinge a man appoynted to the martchinge watche, prepare a man in harneis, to saie, a corslett and holbert, accordinge to the auncient custome in that behalfe used, and at the tyme and ower of night appoynted, come forth to attende uppon the saide constables of the standinge watche, whome the saide constables to disperce and place in and along those streates, where through the martchinge watche shall passe, to wete, on th'one side of the said stretes, beginninge from the furdest conduct in Cheape, all alonge Cheapside, Cornehill, Bishopsgate, Leaden haule, to Algate, Blanchapelton, Fanchurche, Gratious strete, rounde about the conduit, and so upp to Leadenhall; whiche beinge donne, the saide constables, in their owne persons, with their pages, to disperce and place themselves allso alonge the saide streates, amounge the soldiers afforesaide, some good distance one from another, that the stretes maie be furnished with their muster.

And thus an ende of the provision of the wards both for the martchinge and standinge wattche.

Provision to be made by the Chamber, uppon their owne cost and charges, for the martchinge watche.

ITEM, that the Chamber provide xx olde soldyers of skille, to be hyred for wages to serve in the martchinge watche, to wete, 4 of the most skillfullest to be made captaynes, two to be lieutenantes, and 14 to be corporalls. The captaynes and lieutenantes to take the charge and leadinge of the two battayls of footmen, as to saie of the shott and pikes accordinge to th'order sett downe in the martche, and the 14 corporalls, to goe all alonge on th'one side of the saide footmen, to put them in remembraunce of good order, and true martche; to wete, everie one corporall particularlye to take the charge of ten rankes of soldiers, which, with the 26 corporalls or wifflers of the cytye, sett forthe by the wardes, wilbe sufficient for the whole martche. Whose apparaile to be comelye and soldierlike;—which captaynes, lieutenantes, corporalls and wifflers to repaire to the Moore fieldes the daie before th'eve of S~cte. John Baptist, there to be by th'ower of 7 of the clocke in the morninge to tarye and abide the cominge of the soldiers of all the wardes appoynted for the martchinge watche; of whome to take viewe, and there to trayne, teache and instructe them to the hansome wearinge of their harneis, to keepe a true martche, with the warrlike bearinge of their weapons, and to obedience, with the well holdinge or handsome dischargynge or shootinge of their callyvers; that no displesure happen to themselves, nor to no other, for wante of knowledge, nether by fieringe their powder, nor over charginge their peeces, breake them. Thus beinge well taught they shall be the readier with skill against the next daie, at night, when they shall serve in the watche both in true martche and everie other thinge.

Thus theise captaynes, havinge made fyne of that daies woorke, to departe home agayne till the next daie, which shalbe the eve of S~cte. John Baptist, on which daie in th'eveninge by th'ower of fyve of the clocke, they, their lieutenantes, corporalls, and wyfflers, to repaire to the Guild hall, there to receave the aforesaide soldiers, on whome to take vew and muster, that none of them be wantinge, nor no armor lackinge. And againe as tyme will serve, to enstructe them; and at th'ower and tyme appoynted for the watche to be shewed, the saide captaynes to put themselves and their soldiers in order of battayle, accordinge to the rule of the martche, and so to advaunce forwardes, martchinge foorthe of the saide Guildhall in warr like order to Wood strete, and throughe the same into Cheapeside, turninge uppon the right hande towardes the conduit next to Paules.

ITEM, allso to provide 29 drommes to serve in the saide martchinge watche, in order as is sett downe in the martche.

ITEM, 21 fyfes,[3] to serve in like order in the saide martche.

ITEM, 8 ensignes to serve in the saide martche accordinglye.

ITEM, that the 29 drommes, 21 fyfes, and 8 ensignes, abovesaide, repaire to the Guildhaule, at th'ower of 7 of the clocke in th'eveninge, on th'eve of S~cte. John Baptist, there to be directed by the captaynes and lieutenants, that have the charge and leadinge of the watche, accordinge to th'order of the martche.

ITEM, 8 barrells of beere, tenne dosen of whyte breade, six dosen of stone cruses, all which to be provided and layde into the Guilde-haule against the afternoone and even of S~cte. John Baptist, that the watche shall mete there for their settinge forthe, that the men maie drincke and be refreshed.

And thus an ende of the provision of the chamber for the martchinge watche.

[3] [See some curious remarks by Mr. T. Warton, on the introduction of drums and fifes among the English soldiery: Othello, Act iii. Sc. 3. 'The spirit-stirring drum, the ear-piercing fife.' Reed's Shakspeare, xix. 398.]

Provisione to be made by the Lorde Maior and the two Sheriffes together upon their cost and charges for horsemenne.

FIRSTE, 60 greate horses, with 60 steele saddells, bridells, and stirrops, 60 barbs or trappinges of buckeram or canvas paynted, with the bridells or trappinges accordinglye, 60 tuffts of fethers for the saide horses, 60 men to ryde on them, 60 demilaunce armours for the saide men, and 60 plumes of fethers, 60 baces of paynted buckeram or canvas, 60 swordes, and sworde girdells, 60 demilance staves, two standerdes of fayer length, whiche maie be had of the companie wherof the Lorde Maior is free, the saide horsemen to be devided into two troupes or bands, eache troupe to conteyne 30 horse, which maketh 10 rankes, 3 in a ranke, one of whiche bandes to martche before the footmen in the first or fore fronte of the martchinge watche, and th'other to followe next after the rerewarde of the saide footemenne.

TWO CAPTAINES, olde soldiers of skill, to take charge of the saide horsemen, and them to put in order and warr like martche; which captaynes to provide themselves of great stirringe horses, both for them and their pages, with faire armor, and all other furnyture fitt for the purpose.

OULDE SOLDIERS, 6, to serve after the manner of corporalls, to tende and goe by the saide horsemen; as to eache bande three, whose charge shalbe to put them in remembraunce of the true kepinge of their arraie and martche.

ITEM, 2 sworde players to make roome, and to goe foremost in the watche.

ITEM, two drommes, and a fyfe, to goe allso foremoste in the saide martche.

ITEM, 4 trompeters to martche and sounde, on horsebacke, before the saide two bandes of horsemen; as to eache bande a couple, whose apparayle to be of their owne provision.

ITEM, that the aforesaide 60 great horse, with all the furniture of them, and their riders likewise, the 2 captaynes, 6 olde soldiers, 4 trompetters, 2 sworde players, 2 drommes, and a fyfe, to repaire to the North Churche yarde of Powles, there to put themselves in order of battayle, by th'ower of 8 of the clocke in the eveninge, on th'eve of S~cte. John Baptist; readye to enter the martche in their place appoynted; whoe to be ordred three in a ranke accordinge to the rule of the martche.

The end of the provision for horsemen.

The proper provision of the Lorde Maior to be made uppon his owne cost and charges for the martchinge watche.

THE LORDE MAIOR, in his owne person, to be in comelye apparaylle, and well mounted on horsebacke.

THE SWORDE BEARER, in fayre armor, with faier baces; allso well mounted.

GRAVE PERSONAGES, to tende and waite uppon the Lorde Maior, 24, whoe to present[4] as it weare th'alldermen, or other grave seniours of the cittye, and they to martche before hym, 3 in a rancke, mounted uppon smalle nagges, with footclothes: whose apparaille to be black velvett cotes, black velvett hattes, chaynes of golde, guilt fauchions, with scaberdes of velvett, or rapiers and daggers guilt, with velvet scaberdes.

HENCHE MEN, a couple, uppon great stirringe horses, and to be armed with kuretts and poldrens fitt to their boddies, made of past borde gilte, their sleves and bacies of some trymme, decent, and brave thinge accordinglie, their hedpeces and burganettes to be made all so of paste boord, after some straunge or anticke manner, as the deviser can best

[4] [*i. e.* Represent.]

doe it: uppon which hedpeces to make fast some greate tuffts or plumes of feathers, so that some parte of them maie stande upright, the other to hange downe behynde the backe of the ryder; and for defaulte of suche plumes of feathers to make fast longe double scarfes of tinsell, fringed or tasseled at th'ende with golde, their buskyns to be redd or white leather, their spurs gilt; Whiche henchmen manie tymes in the watche to praunce, mounte and fetche up their horses alofte on all fower in the gallantest and best wise, accordinge as in other watches in tymes past hath bene used.

FOOT MEN, 15, to tende in this order followinge, that is to saie uppon the L. Maior his owne person vij, to wete, one to leade his horse by the heade, and foure to goe on foote by hym, as on eache syde a couple, and one other couple to leade his two spare horses after hym, to chaunge at his pleasure. Also, to tende uppon the Lorde Maior his two henchmen, and their two spare horses a peece, viij to serve in this forme, that is, a couple for each hencheman beinge mounted on horsbacke, and one other couple for each hencheman to leade their spare horses after them, to chaunge at their plesures. And this a complyment of the 15 footmen afore mentioned, whose apparaille to be dublettes and hose of some proper colored silke, with nightcapps of the same.

YOUNGE MEN, 15, to be apparailled in all poynts like the footmen; who to carrie everie man a staffe-torche-light in his hande; to serve and tende in this order, that is to saie, uppon the Lorde Maior his owne person, 4, as uppon each side of hym a couple. To the grave personages, which be in nomber 8 ranckes, 4, as to everie two ranckes one staffe-torche; to the musitions and sworde-bearer, which I accompte as two ranckes, one torche; and to the Lorde Maior his two spare horses, which shalbe ledd after hym to chaunge at his pleasure, a couple, as to eache horse one; and to each of the lorde maior his henchmen mounted on horsebacke a couple, and to eache of their two spare horses one torche, and this a complymente of the 15 torches above written.

ONE PAGENT.

ONE NOISE OF MUSICKE, as the waits of London.

GREATE STIRRINGE HORSES, for the service aforesaide, 10: to be provided with all furniture belonginge, as steele saddells, bridells, harnys, trappings, stirropps, plumes or tuffts of feathers: that is to saie, for my lord's owne person 3, for the swordbearer one, and for my lord's two henchmen six, that is to saie, for each of them 3, to chaunge at their pleasures.

ITEM, one sounde of trumpetts contayninge four.

ITEM, 12 propper boyes, on hobbye horses fynely covered with some prettye coloured thinge, as buckeram or lynen paynted, the saide boyes to be armed with kuretts, poldrens, vanbraces, and burganettes, or hedpeces, made of pasteboorde, after some straunge and anticke maner, silvered over with leafe silver, and their baces of some buckeram, or lynnen, paynted after the best devise; which saide boyes to have everie one a little sworde, (I meane foyles of iron to be verie lighte and bright) that after praunsinge, mountinge, and fetchinge upp their horses alofte on all fower, they maie at divers tymes in the watche make combatt all together, to wete, all 12 to fighte at one instant, to saie, 6 against 6, in true forme and order of a matachina; which if they be trulye taughte, one shall not hurte another, but allwaies strike uppon the sworde.

THE YEOMEN YOUNGEST OFFICERS or such like, 30 for his garde, to garde hym in his reirwarde, 3 in a rancke, whiche maketh 10 ranckes; whose apparaille to be jerkins with sleves of male, hansome hatts, or red capps, partesans, swordes, daggers, scarfes, and clenlye hose.

ITEM, 6 oulde soldiers of skill to serve as sergeants or wifflers to governe in true order of martche the saide Lorde Maior his bande or companie, in which saide bande is included 16 rankes of counstables besyde their pages appoynted to his service.

ITEM, 6 drommes
4 fyfes
4 ensignes
6 sworde players

} All whose apparaille to be clenlye hose and dubletts with capps of taffita, who to be placed in his saide bande, accordinge as it is sett downe in the rule of the martche.

ITEM, one companie of morris dauncers.

ITEM, staffe torches, 3 dosen, which will serve to burne twice aboute.

ITEM, that the saide Lorde Maior in his owne person, his henchemen, constables, grave personages, with all his retynewe and trayne to be in readines in his house by th'ower of nyne of the clocke in the night on th'eve of S~cte. John Baptist to joyne with the two sheriffes and their companies at their cominge to hym, who beinge come, to martche alltogether towardes the Guildhaule in good order 3 in a ranke, accordinge to the rule of the martche. But before I go anie further herein, it is to be considered that in what parte of London soever he dwelleth cominge from his howse to the Guildehaule, it is convenient that he come in this maner; to wete, if he dwell on the south syde of London towardes the Thames, that he come through the Jurye, turninge on the left hande passing by Iremounger Lane ende, and if in the west ende of London that he come throughe Cheape side, and all so throughe the Jurye, turninge on the left hande passinge by Iremounger Lane ende aforesaide. And if on the north side that he come by the waie of Bassings haule, turninge uppon the right hande by Iremounger Lane ende in like manner: and if on the east side, that he come directlye throughe Lothburye, passinge by the saide Iremounger Lane ende as is declared: whereby he shall not be a lett to the footmen whome he shall fynde martchinge forthe of the saide Guildhall towardes Woodstreate, where otherwise if he come on th'other side he shulde mete the saide footmen, and so one companie woulde be an impedyment or comber to th'other. And while the first battaille were yet martchinge forthe to make his abode at the gate of the saide Guilde haule, whome past, he and his companie to followe and martch next after the rerewarde of the same, and so consequentlye the sheriffs with their bands one after another, and, after them and their retynues past, maie followe the seconde battayle of footmen accordinge to the order of the martche.

ITEM, that he appoynte one especiall man to take the charge and direction of his pageant, whoe firste to conducte the same to the North Churche yard of Pawles by th'ower of viii of the clocke in the eveninge: there to tarie the cominge of the martchinge watche into Cheape side, which beinge come he to place the saide pageant into the saide watche, to wete, into the Lorde Maior his owne bande accordinge to th'order of the martche.

The ende of the provision of the Lorde Maior.

The proper provision of the firste sheriffe to be made uppon his owne cost and charges for the martchinge watche.

THE ELDER SHERIFF, in his owne person, to be comlye apparailled on horsebacke.

ONE HENCHEMAN, uppon a great stirringe courser; whose apparaille to be in all poyntes like to the henchmen of the maior; and to fetche upp his horse in like maner.

GRAVE PERSONAGES 21; of the companie he is fre of, or other freindes to tende on hym; in like order of apparaille and furnyture correspondent to the grave personages of the maior; which maketh 7 rankes, 3 in a ranke.

FOOTMEN 8: to be apparaylled like the footmen of the maior; to serve and tende in this order, that is to saie, to the sheriff his owne person 4; to wete, one to leade his horse by the heade, and two to goe on foot by hym (as on eache side one) and one to leade his spare horse after hym to chaunge at his plesure: and to his henchmen mounted on horse backe, a couple, and to leade his two spare horses, an other couple, as to eache horse a man.

YOUNGE MEN 10: to be apparrailled in all poynts like the footmen, to carie staffe-torches-light, as everie man one in his hande; to serve in this order: uppon the sheriff his owne person a couple, as of each side one; to the grave personages and companie of musitions, which be in nomber 8 ranckes, as to everie two ranckes one torche: to the sheriff his spare

horse one; to his henchman mounted on horsebacke a couple; and to his two spare horses one torche; and this a complyment of the 10 torches afore mentioned.

ONE PAGEANT.

ONE SOUNDE OF TROMPETTS, contayninge fower.

ONE NOISE OF MUSICKE of lowde instruments.

GREAT HORSES 5; to serve in this order, that is to saie, for his owne person 2, and for his henchman three, to chaunge at their pleasures.

HIS SERGEANTES AND YEOMEN, or some other, to the number of 30, to serve as his garde, to garde hym in his rerewarde, 3 in a rancke which maketh 10 ranckes; whose apparaile to be correspondent to the maior's garde.

ITEM, 4 oulde souldiers, men of skill, to serve as sergeantes or corporalls, to governe the companie of the saide sheriff in true martche, wherein is included 14 ranckes of constables, besides their pages appoynted to his service.

ITEM, 6 drommes.
4 fyffes.
4 ensignes.
6 sworde-players.
} All whose apparaille to be clenlye hose and dubletts, with capps of taffita.

STAFFE-TORCHES 2 dosen and a halfe, to burne twice aboute.

ONE COMPANIE of morris dauncers.

ITEM, the saide sheriff in his owne person, henchman, constables, and grave personages; with all his retynue and trayne aforesaide, with their furnyture, at th'ower of nyne of the clocke in the night, in good order, 3 in a rancke, repaier to the howse and streate where the lorde maior doth dwell, to martche with hym to the watche.

ITEM, that he appoynte one man to take the charge and direction of his pageant, who first to conducte the same to the north churche yarde of Paules, by th'ower of 8 of the clocke in the eveninge, there to tarye the cominge of the martchinge watche into Cheape side, which beinge come, to place the saide pageant into the watche aforesaide, to wete, into the sheriff his owne bande, accordinge to the order of the martche.

The proper provision of the seconde sheriff, to be made uppon his cost and charges for the martchinge watche.

THE YOUNGAR SHERIFF, in person, to be comelye apparailled, on horsebacke.

GRAVE PERSONAGES 21; of the companie he is fre of, or other freindes, to tende on hym, in like order of apparaille and furniture, correspondent to th'other sheriffs.

ONE HENCHMAN, uppon a greate stirringe horse; whose apparaile to be in all poyntes like the henchman of th'other sheriff, and to fetch upp his horse in like maner.

FOOT MEN 8; to tende uppon the sheriff, and his spare horses 4, and to his henchman and spare horses other 4; whose service and apparaille to be in all poyntes lyke the footmen of the other sheriffe.

YOUNG MEN, 10, to be apparailled in all poynts like the foot men, to carie staffe torches to light the saide sheriff, grave personages, henchman, and spare horses, in order as is declared in th'other sheriff.

ONE PAGEANT.

ONE NOYSE OF MUSICK of lowd instruments.

GREATE HORSES fyve: to serve in this order, for the sheriff his owne person 2; and for his henchman 3; to chaunge at their pleasures.

HIS SERGEANTS and yeomen, or some other, to the number of 30, to serve as his garde, to garde hym in his rereward, which is 10 ranckes, 3 in a rancke; whose apparaille to be like the garde of th'other sheriff.

ITEM, 4 oulde soldiers, men of skill, to serve as sergeants or corporalls, to governe the companie of the saide sheriff in true martche, wherin is included 14 ranckes of constables, besides their pages appoynted to his service.

ITEM, 6 drommes.
4 fyffes.
4 ensignes.
6 sworde-players.
} All whose apparaille to be clenlye hose, and dubletts, with capps of taffita.

STAFFE-TORCHES, 2 dosen and a halfe, to burne twice aboute.

ONE COMPANIE of morris dauncers.

ONE SOUNDE of trumpetts, conteyninge fower.

ITEM, the saide sheriff, with all his retynew afore written, with their furniture, at the ower of 9 of the clock, in the night, in good order, 3 in a rancke, to repaire to the house and streat where the Lorde Maior dwelleth, to martche with hym to the watche.

ITEM, that he appoynte one man to take the charge and direccion of his pageant, whoe first to conducte the same to the north churche yarde of Paules, by th'ower of 8 of the clocke in the eveninge, there to tarie the cominge of the martchinge watche into Cheap side, which beinge come, to place the saide pageant into the watche aforesaide, to wete, into the sheriff his owne bande, accordinge to th'order of the martche.

The ende of the provision of the seconde sheriff.

A computacion of the number of cressetts[5] and cresset lighte, for the service of the standinge watche.

Concerninge the nomber of cressets for the standinge watche, which shall stande in the streets and not martche, I fynde that 2730 reasonable paces of a man, or 2730 yardes, to be the length of those streetes wherein the standinge watche shalbe shewed, and the martchinge watche shall passe; which will demaunde (after the order or allowance of 1 cresset to everie 15 paces or 15 yards) 182 cressets. Then alowe 4, over and above, to supplie all lackes, and the nomber will be 186; which saide cressetts to be placed in those streates where the watche shall make his muster, as afore declared. And everie cressett to have his bagg-bearer with cressett light in order by hym, to supplye the light as nede shall requyre, which with the martchinge cressetts I suppose will gyve light sufficient both for the watche and the people to behoulde the same. And thus muche of the cressetts for the standinge watche, which be in nomber as before declared 186.

A computacion of the nomber of cressetts and cressett light nedefull for the servis of the martchinge wattche.

By th'order or computacion made I fynde to be in the martchinge wattche, ranckes of men 670, to saie, of the 2 battaylls, both of men on horsebacke and on foot, the lorde maior and the 2 sheriffs their bandes, the constables their pages and other; in which computacion I accompt everie 3 men martchinge a brest on foote for one rancke, and everie captayne martchinge by hym selfe on foot one rancke, and his page martchinge alone after hym one rancke, and everie other man martchinge by him selfe one rancke, everie dromme martchinge by hym selfe one rancke, everie two drommes together a breast one rancke, and everie 2 drommes and a fyfe a breast one rancke, everie ensigne by hym selfe one rancke, everie 2 ensignes a breast one rancke, everie sworde player one rancke, everie morris daunce 2 ranckes, everie companie of musitions 2 ranckes, everie horseman alone one rancke, everie spare horse alone one rancke, everie 2 horsemen or 3 a breast one rancke, and everie pageant 2 ranckes; which above saide 670 ranckes will demaunde (after the order or allowance of one cressett to everie 8 ranckes,) to light them, the number of 84 cressetts. Then to allowe to the forefront of the said martchinge watche, or first battaylle, 2 cressetts, and

[5] [Cresset-lights were lights fixed on a moveable frame or cross, like a turnstile, and were carried on poles, in processions. Steevens, on 1 King Henry IV. Act iii. Sc. 1. Reed's Shakspeare, xi. 317.]

to the front and one side of the first bande of horsemen in the saide first battaylle 4 cressetts, as 2 in the front and 2 on th'one side; then to the front of the first bande of footmen in the saide firste battayle, 2 cressetts; and to the fronte of the lorde maior his bande, 2 cressetts, and to the front of the constables in his saide bande 2 cressetts; and to the front and one side of the Lorde Maior his pagent, 2 cressetts; as one in the front, and one on the side; and to the front of the first sheriff his bande, 2 cressetts; and to the front and one side of his pageant, 2 cressetts; and to the front of the seconde sheriff his bande, 2 cressetts; and to the front and one side of his pagent, 2 cressetts; and to the front of the seconde battayle of footmen, 2 cressettes; and to the front and one side of the seconde bande of horsemen in the saide seconde battaille, 4 cressetts; as 2 in the front, and 2 on th'one side. And lastlye, to come behynde all, the rerewarde of the saide martchinge watche, 2 cressetts; wherof one to be lighted to gyve the last light, and one to come behinde unlighted, to serve as nede shall requyre. Alwaies remembringe that to everie cressett and cressett bearer there be one bagg-bearer, with cressett-light-stuffe. And thus muche of the cressettes for the martchinge watche; which be in nomber as by the particulers aforedeclared 114.

Provision or preparation to be made by the chamber, haules, and companies of London, uppon their cost and charges, concerninge cressett lighte, &c.

By the plotte, or computacion made of the cressetts for the use and service generallye both of the martchinge and standinge watche, I fynde their nomber to amounte to 300, which I have thought good shulde be provided by the chamber of London, the 12 principall haules, and some inferior haules; with all furnyture necessarelye appertayninge, to wete, as well cressett light as cressetts; and that there be a couple of men provided and appoynted to everie cressett; as one to carie the cressett, and an other to carie a bagg with cressett light stuffe; and these to have eache of them a broade strawne hatt, accordinge to th'olde order; whoe to be termed by the name of cressett-bearers, and bagg-bearers. Allso, to commaunde and sende the beadells of eache haule, or other men, as officers or wifflers, to take charge of the saide lighte. That is to saie, the chamber to sende with their light 2 men; eache of the 12 principall hawles and th'other inferior hawles, with their light allso one man a peece; which saide men to present themselves and their light at the daie tyme, and place that shalbe appoynted for the saide watche, before the chefe officers that shall have the principall charge and direccion of the light; which saide men to tarie with their light all the night of the watche, to see that nothinge be wantinge, and that no light be lackinge; which if their shulde happ to be, they, everie man for his owne haule, to buy and provide to supplye the light. Allso the saide men, with their light, to be at commaundement of the saide chiefe officers. Thus these things thus putt in order as is declared, it is convenient that there be a dispercion or reperticions of the aforesaide 300 cressetts amounge the saide haules and companies; that everie hall particulerlye in order, as afore declared, maie fynde and provide their parte and portion to them allotted, as hereunder followeth.

	Cressetts.
First the Chamber or Guildhaule prepare	24
The Mearcers' haule or companye	12
The Grocers' haule or companye	12
The Drapers' haule or companye	12
The Fishe moungers' haule or companye	12
The Goulde smithes' haule or companye	12
The Skinners' haule or companye	12
The Marchauntailors' haule or companye	12
The Haberdashers' haule or companye	12
The Sallter's haule or companye	12
The Iremoungers' haule or companye	12

	Cressetts.
The Vinnteners' haule or companye	12
The Clothworkers' haule or companye	12
The Dyers' haule or companye	6
The Brewers' haule or companye	6
The Leathersellers' haule or companye	6
Theise be the just nomber of cressetts appoynted for the standinge watche	186
The Pewterers' hall or companie	6
The Barbor surgeants' haule or companye	6
The Bakar's haule or companye	6
The Tallowe chaundlers' haule or companye	6
The Girdlers' haule or companye	6
The Butchers' haule or companye	6
The Curryers' haule or companye	6
The Stationers' haule or companye	6
The Woodmoungers' haule or companye	6
The Armourers' hall or companye	6
The Sadlers' haule or companye	6
The Carpenters' haule or companye	4
The Cordwainers' haule or companye	4
The Painters' haule or companye	4
The Cuttlers' haule or companye	4
The Inhoulders' haule or companye	4
The Joyners' haule or companye	4
The Masons' haule or companye	4
The Plommers' haule or companye	4
The Founders' haule or companye	4
The Pastlers' haule or companye	4
The Coopers' haule or companye	2
The Tylers' haule or companye	2
The Weavers' haule or companye	2
The Skriveners' haule or companye	2
Theise be the just nomber of cressetts for the service of the martchinge watche	114

Th'ordringe and placinge of the cressett light for the standinge watche as followeth.

Concerninge th'orderinge and placinge of the light for the standinge wattche, it is convenient that the lorde maior appointe one speciall man to be generall surveyor, or chief officer, over the same; uppon whome all other inferior officers apertayninge to gyve their attendance; of which principall officer that so hath the charge, government, and discrecion of the saide light, to be by th'ower of 7 of the clocke in th'evening on th'eve of S^cte. John Baptist, (on which night the watche shalbe shewed) at the north church yarde of Paules, there to tarie the cominge of theise cressetts insuinge: that is to wete, the 24 of the chamber, the 144 of the 12 principall haules, which is after 12 per haule, and 18 of 3 inferior haules, to saie, the dyers, brewers, and lethersellers, after 6 per haule; whowe to receive with their furnyture, to wete, as well their beadells and officers, as cressetts, cressett bearers, bagg-bearers, with cressett-light, and all other things appertayninge. All which saide cressetts doe amounte to one totall of 186, which is the just nomber of cressetts for

the servyce and furnyture of the standinge watche, accordinge to the computacion of the standinge light. Which saide chiefe officer thus havinge received his nomber, shall, by the ower of 8 of the clocke in th'eveninge, departe forth of the north gate of the saide churche yard into Cheapeside, carienge with hym all his cressetts, and cressett-light, and them to disperse and place in the saide streete and all other the streetes wherin the standinge watche shalbe shewed, and the martchinge watche shall passe; in this order followinge; that is to saie; Firste, that he take the cressetts of the chamber, and in the saide streate of Cheape to begynne pightinge and placinge the firste cressett 3 yardes from and right before the conduit next to Paules, harde by the cannell side; and the seconde he shall place 15 yardes from the first, and the third 15 yards from the seconde, and the fourth 15 yardes from the thirde, and so consequentlye to stande one from another 15 yardes distant a sounder alonge by the canell side of the saide streete, eastwarde from the conduite towardes the crosse, and from thence alonge to the great conduite, till the whole 24 of the chamber be all placed in the saide streate of Cheape, with everie cressett his bagg bearer with cressett-light by hym, to supplye the light as nede requyreth. Then all the cressetts of the haules to followe in like order, to wete, the mercers first, the grocers next, the drapers, fishemongers, goldsmythes, skynners, marchauntaylors, haberdashers, salters, iremoungers, vinteners, and clothworkers, dyers, brewers, and lethersellers, everie they, I say, by the paynes of the chiefe officer, with the helpe of the inferior officers of the saide haules, and light, to see placed in and alonge all the rest of the streets, where the watche shalbe shewed, as to saie, from Cheape side, aforesaide, alonge towards the Stocks, and from thence to Cornehill, by the Exchaunge, and so upp to Leaden Haule corner, turninge into Bishopps-gate strete, almost to the gate, and then from th'other corner of Leaden Haule alonge to Saincte Androwe's Undershaftes, even to Algate, and from thence to Blanchapelton, and Fanchurche, and so to Gracechurch, then to turne downe Gracechurche streete to Leaden Haule or Sainte Peter's churche corner, and there to end. And for the better kepinge of this good order expressed it is convenient that the saide chefe officers comaunde everie th'inferior officers to tarie with the light of their owne haules.

Nowe if their happen to be anie over plus of cressetts more then nedeth to be occupied they to be sente to the north gate of Leaden Haule there to remaine within the saide gate unlighted till occasion of nede call them from thence. Also if there shulde chance to be anie want or lacke of anie cressettes then to sende to the Guildhaule of the chamber for them and their furnyture, that the wante maie be supplyed. And thus muche of the standinge lighte which be in nomber 186.

Th'order and direction of the cressett lighte of the martchinge watche.

For the better ordringe and directinge of the martchinge lighte it is necessarie that some one man be especiallie appoynted to take the charge thereof, who to be termed by the name of a surveior or chiefe officer uppon whome all other inferior officers to gyve their attendaunce; which saide chief officer to be by th'ower of 7 of the clocke in th'eveninge on th'eve of Saincte John Baptist at and in the bace courte of Guildhaule, there to tarie the comynge of theise cressetts followinge, that is to saie, of the pewterers, barbers, bakars, tallowe chaundlers, girdlers, butchers, curriers, stationers, woodmoungers, armourers, and sadlers, which be in nomber 11 companies, of eache companie 6, which maketh for them 66 cressetts. Allso of the cordwayners, carpenters, paynters, cuttlers, inholders, joyners, masons, plommers, founders, and pastlers, which be in nomber 4 companies, to saie of eache companie 2, which maketh for them 8.

All which haules and companies aforenamed amounte to 25, whose lighte amountes to one totall of 114 cressetts, which is the just nomber for the service and furnyture of the martchinge watche, accordinge as the computacion of the martchinge light is expressed. Which saide chiefe officer to receive the same, with their full furniture, to wete as well

their beadells and officers as cressetts, cressett-bearers, bagg-bearers, with cressett lighte and all other thinges appertayninge: and so havinge his full nomber shall call to hym the beadells or officers of the founders, pastelers, coopers, tylers, and skrivenors, and they with their cressetts and furnyture which be in nomber 14 cressetts he shall sende to the north churche yarde of Paules, givinge them in charge there to be by th'ower of 8 of the clocke in the eveninge to tarie the cominge of the two bands or troupes of horsemen, and the 3 pageants, uppon whome to waite, tende, and serve, in the maner followinge, that is to say

First the 4 cressetts of the fownders to serve the firste bande of horsemen which shall martche firste and foremost, in the front of the first battaile of the martchinge watche as 2 cressetts to goe foremost before the saide horsemen to gyve them light in the front, which to be termed by the name of fronter cressetts, and th'other twane to martche alonge by th'one side of them next the cannell, to light them on that side, and th'other 4 cressetts of the pastelers aforesaide to tende and serve uppon th'other bande of horsemen in like forme, to wete, 2 cressetts in the front and 2 on th'one side as before declared, which saide seconde bande doth martche in the rerewarde of the seconde battaille of the martchinge watche.

Then the 2 cressetts of the coopers, to light the pagent of the Lorde Maior, to wete one in the front and one on th'one side: and the 2 cressetts of the tylers to lighte the pageant of the first sheriff, as one in the front and one on the side; and th'other 2 cressetts of the skriveners to lighte the pageant of the seconde sheriff, as one in the front and one on the side, to saie on the nether side the cannell.

Then to call unto hym the 2 cressetts of the weavers, with their furnyture, whoe to sende to the furdest conducte in Cheape, next to Pawle's, there to be by th'ower of 8 of the clocke in the eveninge. There to tarie the comynge of the man that shall have the guidinge of the watche their waye, uppon whome to waite, tende and serve, as he shall directe them.

Then all the rest of the cressetts remaininge with hym he shall putt in readynes, which beinge done and the hower approchinge that the watche shall martche forthe in order out of the Guildhall, he then to cause the cressetts to be lighted and sett forwardes, directinge them accordinge to the computacion, that is to saie, to place in the forefront of the firste bande of footmen in the saide martchinge watche 2 cressetts, and to everie 8 ranckes of the same one cressett, and to the front of the constables in the saide lorde maiors bande 2 cressetts, which to be placed before the 2 drommes fyfe and ensigne that martche before the saide constables. And in the front of the firste sheriff his bande, 2 cressetts, and to everie 8 ranckes of the same one cressett, and in the fronte of the seconde sheriff his bande 2 cressetts and to everie 8 ranckes of the same one cressett, and in the front of the seconde battayle of footmen 2 cressetts and to everie 8 ranckes of the same one cressett. And lastlye to come behynde all the rerewarde of the martche 2 cressetts, wherof one to be lighted to gyve the last lighte, and th'other to be unlighted to serve as neede shall requyre. To the bearers of which cressetts he shall gyve charge and order that they martchinge with the wattche, martche all alonge on th'one side of them, to saie on the netherside next the cannell, everie cressett right against the middle of the 8 ranckes he is appoynted to gyve lighte to. And next behynde everie cressett bearer to followe his bagg bearer to serve and mainteyne the cressetts with lighte as nede requyreth and to see all thinges the more orderlye done it shalbe convenient the saide chiefe officer with all the rest of th'inferior officers to martche with the lighte of the martchinge watche; as he hym selfe to ryde, if it please hym, on some smalle nagg, and th'other to goe on foote. And for anie cressetts that shall happen to be overplus or nedeles to be occupied, they maie cause them to come behynde all the rerewarde unlighted; but contrariewise if ther shulde be anie wante or lacke of cressett lighte (as I thincke ther wilbe none) then to sende to the Guildhall for so manie as shall nede, with their furnyture.

And thus muche of the martchinge lighte, which be in nomber as before declared 114.

The office or dutye of him that shall leade or conducte the watche through the streets of the cittye in the right course.

For the better direccion of the watche in the right course, it is convenient that ther be appoynted by the Lorde Maior a man, to saie a citizen, whose apparaille to be a jerkyn of velvett or dublett of silke; a hatt of velvett, a skarfe of silke, hansome hose, sworde, daggar, and holbert, and this to doe uppon his owne charge for th'onor of the citye. Whose office shalbe to directe the martchinge watche the right waie appoynted for them to goe, which saide man to repaire to the furthest conduit next to Poules by th'ower of 9 of the clocke in the night, there to tende and tarrye till the firste bande or battayle of footmen doe come martchinge from the Guildhaule throughe Woodstreate into Cheap side, turning uppon the right hande towardes the saide conduitt, and beinge come so far as Foster lane ende, the firste bande of horsemen to martche forthe of the north gate of the saide churche yarde into Cheape side 3 in a rancke in good order, who beinge come so far forthe as the saide conduitt, the saide man with his 2 cressetts to put and place hymselfe foremoste and before the front of the saide horsemen, to wete, his 2 cressetts first and hym selfe next, as the firste or foremoste man of the saide martchinge watche, leadinge or conductinge them in their righte course. After whome to followe the 2 drommes, fyfes, sworde-players, trompetts and horsemen; whoe taking his waie from the saide conduitt or west end of Cheape, to kepe uppon the south syde of the streate, as to saie uppon his right hande by the Goldesmythe's rowe towardes the Crosse. And after the saide firste bande of horsemen past, the footmen whoe stayed at the Foster lane ende to crosse over the cannell right against the olde chayne ende, and so to followe after in good order alonge, on that side of the streate as before declared, which saide guide or conductor to passe forwards still uppon that side of the streate, till he come to the greate conduit, then to crosse over to th'other side of the streate against St. Thomas of Acars, and so keepinge uppon the left hande, or that side of the streate to the Stockes, and from thence upp Cornehill, passing by the Royall Exchaunge upp to the newe spoute, or little conduit at the fower corners of Leaden Haule, still kepinge uppon the lefte hande, turninge into Bishopp's gate streate, passinge upp almost to the gate, and then to crosse over to the other side of the streete comynge downe agayne by S~cte. Ellins, and so to the saide newe spoute againe. Then turninge into Leaden Haule streete, passinge alonge upp to S~cte. Andrewes Undershaffts, and so to Allgate, as nere the gate almost as the Bell taverne, and there to crosse over to th'other side of the saide street: and so to passe alonge towardes Blanchappleton, and so to Fanchurche and from thence to Gracechurche turninge downe uppon the lefte hande of the saide churche, towardes the conduit and beneath the same so lowe as the St. John's heade taverne, and there to crosse over to th'other side of the streete, passing by th'other side of the saide conduit alonge upp Gracechurche streate, to the corner of St. Peter his churche by Leaden Hawle. Then to turne uppon the left hande into Cornehill and so kepinge on that syde of the streate, to the Stocks, and from thence to the greate conduit, so far as S~cte. Thomas of Acars churche dore, where then entring againe into Cheape side to crosse over to th'other side of the streate, passinge by Soper Lane ende, and so alonge by the mercers' and gouldesmythes' rowe, till they come againe to the furdest conduit: next to Poule's from whence they first came, then to crosse over the cannell from the saide conduite to the other side of the streate, against Foster lane ende, and uppon that side to martche downe to the crosse in Cheape, and there to breake upp and make an ende and everie man to his home and dwelling place.

Th'order of the Martche as hereunder ensuethe.

The first Battayle.

First two cressettes light.
One man light armed as the leader and conductor of the wattche in the right course.
Two drommes and a fyfe.

Two sworde players with long swordes.
Two cressetts light.
Two trompetts on horseback.
Then the captayne of the firste bande of horsemen at armes, mounted uppon a great stirringe courser, armed, and his horse allso armed and barbed, with his page on horsebacke carienge his hedpeece and staffe, and he to martche alonge by hymselfe before his bande.
Then the horsemen to martche after hym, as to saie 10 ranckes, 3 in a rancke, the standerd bearer to be in the midle of the first or foremost rancke, with the standerd displayed, and they all armed, and their horses allso armed and barbed, with their staves, swordes, daggars, and the rest of their furniture and 3 men as vewflers to goe on foot on th'one side of them to put them allwaies in remembraunce of the true kepinge of their martche.
Two cressettes light.
One dromme and a fyfe.
One captayne of the footmen, to saie of the firste bande of shott, as calyvers, bowes, whiche contayne 180, viz. bowes 78, calyvers 102, with matche, 60 ranckes after 3 in a rancke. The saide captayne to martche alone in his owne person, in comelye furniture, with sword and targett or holbert, and he to leade the saide bande.
The captaynes page after hym to carie his weapons.
Then 3 holberdes in 1 rancke.
Then the calivers to follow next 3 in a rancke, eache man with his bowe bent in his hande, his arrowe in th'other, with sworde and dagger and all other furniture, which maketh 26 ranckes, and in the middest of them a dromme and a fyfe.
And to everie 10 ranckes 1 corporall or wiffler to kepe them in order of the true martche, with the bearinge of their weapons warrlike.
A dromme and a fyfe.
One captayne of the pikes wherin are contayned 204 and maketh 68 ranckes, he to martche alone by hymselfe in comelye furniture as the leader of the bande, with his page after hym to carie his weapons.
Then 102 of the saide pykes to martche after hym 3 in a rancke in good order, with their pykes borne warrlike, with swordes and daggars, which maketh 34 ranckes, and in the midest of them a dromme and a fyfe.
Then 15 holbertes which is 5 ranckes 3 in a rancke.
Then 2 ensignes 2 drommes and a fyfe.
The 15 hoberts agayne, which is other 5 ranckes 3 in a rancke.
Then 102 pikes, which maketh 34 ranckes 3 in a rancke, and in the middest of them a dromme and a fyfe, which complieth the whole nomber of 68 ranckes aforesaide. And to everie 10 ranckes of the same one corporall or wiffler in order as aforesaide.
Then a dromme and a fyfe.
Then one captayne or lieutenaunte of the seconde bande of shott.
Then the seconde companie of shott, which contayne 180, viz. calyvers 102, bowes 78, which maketh 60 ranckes 3 in a rancke.
The bowes firste, which contayne 26 ranckes, with a dromme and a fyfe in the middest.
Then a dromme, fyfe, and ensigne.
Then 3 holberdes in one rancke.
Then the calyvers, which contayne 34 ranckes, and in the middest of them a dromme, and to everie 10 ranckes a corporall to kepe them in order.

The ende of the firste battaylle.

Then to followe the Lorde Maior and his companye, which is to comme * * paces after th'aforesaide battaile.

The Lorde Maior his bande.

Firste 2 cressetts light.
One companye of morris dauncers.

Then 12 hobbye horses, 3 in a rancke.
Then 2 sworde players with longe swords to make rome.
Two cressets light.
Two drommes, a fyfe, and an ensigne.
The 48 constables and their pages, 3 in a rancke, and in the middest of them 2 drommes, a fyfe, and an ensigne.
Then one sworde player.
Then 2 cressetts for the pagent, to wete, one in the front and one on the side.
Then a pageant.
Then one sworde player.
Then the 24 grave personages, three in a rancke.
Then 1 sounde of trumpetts contayninge 4.
Then the waytes or musicke of the cittye.
Then the sworde bearer mounted uppon a great courser.
Then the Lorde Maior mounted upon a faier courser, with his 2 spare horses, footmen, and staffe-torche-bearers.
Then the 2 henchmen mounted uppon greate stirringe coursers, with their 4 spare horses, footmen, and staffe-torche-bearers.
Two sworde players.
Then one dromme, a fyfe, and an ensigne.
Then the Lorde Maior his garde, 30 men in light armor, everie man his partesan, which is 10 ranckes, and in the middest of them a dromme, fyfe, and ensigne.
Item, That the 6 olde soldiers of the Lorde Maior do goe by his bande, allwaies puttinge them in remembraunce of true martche.

The ende of the Lorde Maiors companye.

Then to followe the firste Sheriff with his companie, which to come 8 paces after the Lorde Maior.

Firste 2 cressetts lighte.
One companie of morris dauncers.
Two sworde players.
Two drommes, a fyfe, and an ensigne.
Then 42 constables and their pages, and in the middest of them 2 drommes, a fyfe, and an ensigne.
One sworde player.
Two cressets for the pageant, to wete, one in the front and one on the side.
Then a pageant.
One sworde player.
Then 21 grave personages, 3 in a rancke.
Then 1 sounde of trumpetts contayninge 4.
Then a noyse of musicke.
Then the Sheriffe well mounted uppon a fayer courser, his spare horse, footmen, and staffe-torche-bearers.
Then one henchman mounted uppon a lustye greate stirringe courser, with his 2 spare horses, footmen, and staffe-torche-light.
Two sworde players.
Then 1 drome, a fyfe, and an ensigne.
Then 30 serjeants and yeomen, for the sheriffs garde, 3 in a rancke, which maketh 10 ranckes, everie man his partesan, and in the middest of them a dromme, a fyfe, and an ensigne.
Item, His 4 olde soldyers to kepe his bande in true martche.

The ende of the first sheriff his companye.

Then to followe the seconde Sheriffe with his companye, which to come 8 paces after the firste Sheriff.

Firste 2 cressetts lighte.
One companie of morris dauncers.
Two sworde players.
Two drommes, a fyfe, and an ensigne.
Then 42 constables and their pages, and in the middest of them 2 drommes, a fyfe, and an ensigne.
One sworde player.
Two cressets for the pageant, to wete, one in the front and one on the side.
Then a pageant.
One sworde player.
Then 21 grave personages 3 in a rancke.
Then one sounde of trumpetts contayninge 4.
Then a noyse of musicke.
Then the Sheriffe well mounted uppon a fayer courser, his spare horse, footmen, and staffe-torche-bearers.
Then one henchman mounted uppon a lustye greate stirringe courser, with his 2 spare horses, footmen, and staffe-torche-light.
Two sworde players.
Then one drome, a fyfe, and an ensigne.
Then 30 serjeants and yeomen, for the sheriffs garde, 3 in a rancke, which maketh 10 ranckes, everie man his partesan, and in the middest of them a dromme, a fyfe, and an ensigne.
Item, His 4 olde soldyers to kepe his bande in true martche.

The ende of the second sheriff his companye.

Then to followe the Seconde Battaille.

First 2 cressetts light.
Two drommes and a fyfe.
Then the captayne of the shott of the seconde battaylle, wherin contayneth 180, viz. calivers 102, and bowes 78, which maketh ranckes 60, after th'order of 3 in a rancke, which saide captayne to martche alone in his owne person in comelye furnyture, with sworde and targett or holbert, and so to leade his bande.
Then the captaynes page to carye his weapon.
Then 3 holberdes in one rancke.
Then the calivers to followe 3 in a rancke, which maketh 34 ranckes, and in the middest of them a dromme.
Then a dromme, a fyfe, and an ensigne.
Then the bowes to followe in like order 3 in a rancke, which maketh 26 ranckes, and in the middest of them a dromme and a fyfe.
And to everie 10 ranckes one corporall.
Then a dromme and a fyfe.
Then the captayne of the pyks, wherin contaynes 204, and maketh 68 ranckes, which saide captaine to martche alone in his owne person in comelye furnyture, and so to leade his bande in good order, with his page after hym to carie his weapon.
Then 102 of the saide pikes to martche after hym 3 in a rancke, which maketh 34 ranckes, and in the middest of them a dromme and a fyfe.
Then 30 halberds, which is 10 ranckes, and in the middest of those holberts, 2 ensignes 2 drommes and a fyfe.

Then 102 pykes in order as before, which maketh 34 ranckes, and in the middest of them a dromme and a fyfe.

And to everie 10 ranckes a corporall.

A dromme and a fyfe.

One captayne or lieutenante of the seconde bande of shott.

Then the seconde companie of shott, which contayneth 180, viz. calivers 102, and bowes 78, which maketh 60 ranckes 3 in a rancke.

The bowes to martche firste, which contayne 26 ranckes, with a dromme and a fyfe in the middest.

Then a dromme, a fyfe, and an ensigne.

Then 3 holberds in one rancke.

Then the calyvers, which contayne 34 ranckes, 3 in a rancke, and in the midst of them a dromme, and to everie 10 ranckes one corporall.

Then 2 cressets light.

Then 2 trumpetts on horsebacke, as one to sound one while, and th'other another while.

Then the captayne of the seconde bande of horsemen at armes, mounted uppon a greate courser, armed, and his horse allso armed and barbed, with his page on horsebacke carienge his hedpece and staffe, and to martche alone by hymselfe. Then the horsemen to followe in order, 10 ranckes, 3 in a rancke, the standard bearer to be in the midle of the first or foremoste rancke, with the standerd displayed, and they all armed and their horses allso armed and barbed with their staves, swordes, daggars, and the rest of their furnyture.

And 3 men as wifflers to goe on th'one side of them to put them in remembraunce of true martche.

The ende of the seconde battaylle.

In consideration of the better settinge foorthe of the wattche aforesaide, I have thoughte it good for memorye to sett downe these notes hereunder followinge:

Whereas it is prescribed the even at night of St. John Baptist to be the tyme appoynted for the muster or shewe of the watche, yet it is not ment therby but that the saide watche shulde likewise be mustred or shewed uppon th'even at night of St. Peter allso, as in tyme past hath bin accustomed.

Item, It is likewise prescribed and shewed the Lorde Maior and the two sheriffs to have eache of them in their bandes one pagent a peece. Soe have I thought it good here allso to sett it downe for memorie, that if it might please the Lorde Maior to have one other pagent more, it woulde doe very well because he is the maior and chefest senior above the sheriffes, and soe shulde his showe be so muche the more fayrer, the which if he woulde so have, then mighte the same with 2 cressetts that shulde be allowed to lighte it be convayed into his bande, to wete, into the middest of the companie of constables that martche next before hym, th'ordringe whereof is to be comitted to hym that hath the charge or direction of the firste pagent.

Item, That the 2 cressetts above spoken of are to be provided by the companie of blacksmythes, with all furnyture appertayninge, as cresset bearers, bagg bearers, and officer or beadle to take the charge of them, who to be sente to the Guildhall at th'ower by the chief officer that hath the charge of the martching lighte, to wete, he to sende them of 7 of the clocke in th'eveninge, on th'eve of S~cte. John Baptist ther to be directed to the North Church yarde of Powles, ther to be by th'ower of 8 of the clocke to tende and serve uppon th'aforesaide pageant, in order as is presbribed in the direccion of the light for th'other pageantes.

Thus maie the saide wattche be donne honorably, and after a true and warrelike manner, and I suppose with as small charge nowe as in tyme past when it was not so orderly done. Thus finishinge an ende, I conclude with humble peticion to Allmyghtye God that he woulde vouchsafe to preserve the Queene's most excellent majestie in much health and felicitye, and to sende her a longe and a prosperous reigne in tranquillitye and peace: her most honorable counsellors muche wisdome and prudence, that they firste sekinge the glorye of God in true religion maie advance vertew and suppresse vice.

FINIS.

Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Octogesimo Quinto.

1585.

Two Centuries of Paul's Church Yard: *una cum indice expurgatorio in Bibliotheca Parliamenti, sive, librorum, qui prostant venales in vico vulgo vocato* Little-Brittain. Done into English for the benefit of the assembly of Divines, and the two Universities.

[Octavo, containing Four Sheets.]

The following is one of the most ingenious specimens of a species of composition much in favour during the republican period. Although literature, in common with religion and politics, sustained a general degradation in that irregular and disordered age, yet a species of low and penetrating wit, admirably appropriate to the character of the time, was strikingly abundant. Many performances upon the same model will be found in the previous volumes of this work.

Of the present piece, Paterson says, and says truly, 'the just satire and spirited humour of 'this little book are admirable, and worthy the pen of a Butler.' Grey (in Examin. of Neal's Hist. of Puritans) *remarks that it is written with great wit and spirit, allowing for the taste of that age, had a very quick sale, and contributed not a little to make those laughed at for the use of their power, who were otherwise very terrible from their possession of it.*

It seems to have been published originally in fragments, 'as if they had been parts of one 'general catalogue.' The different editions vary in their contents. In Somers' Tracts, Vol. VII. p. 92, *(edit. nov.) a small piece occurs under the title of* Bibliotheca Parliamenti, &c. 1653, *totally different from the present; of which an earlier impression in 4to.* 1649, *contained only the first century. See notices of these editions in* Censura Literaria, *Vol. IV. pp.* 141, 369; *and Vol. VII. p.* 421.

The author was Sir John Birkenhead, of whom accounts are given in Biographia Britan. Athenæ Oxon. *and other places. His character of an* Assembly Man, 1647, *is printed in* Harl. Misc. V. 98, *and another piece in the same vol. p.* 112, *now appears to have been likewise written by him, though the editor was not aware of its author when that volume passed through the press. It is a satire upon the parliamentary Earl of Pembroke, entitled* News from Pembroke and Montgomery.

Paules Church-yard.

Libri Theologici, Politici, Historici, Nundinis Paulinis (unà cum Templo) prostant venales.

Juxta seriem Alphabeti Democratici.

CLASSIS I.

1. GUSMAN'S Cases of Conscience, revised and augmented by *Hugh Peters.*

2. The Earle of *Pembroke's* Works, in three Tomes, reprinted since his death, with an Index added by the Earl of *Salisbury.*

3. Σεληνεαχια. A discourse proving the World in the Moon is not govern'd by *States,* because her Monthly Contributions do still *decrease* as much as *increase,* but ours *increase* and never *decrease.*

4. *Hugo de Sonte Victoria;* or a Confutation of that dangerous Error, that Colonel *Hewson* had his name from handling St. *Hugh's* Bones; proved by 200 Texts of Scripture, taken out of his own Letters from *Dublin.*

5. *Ecclesiasticus.* A plain demonstration that Col. *Pride* (alias *Bride,*) was Founder of St. *Bride's* Church, and not *found* in the Porch, because the Porch was built before the Church; that is, not behind it.

6. *Quantum potes.* The Lawfulness of taking 12 *per Cent.* By *D. Will. Gouge.*

7. *A Catalogue of the Nobility of England* and *Ireland,* from his Excellency the Lord General *Cromwell,* and the Lord Deputy *Ireton,* to the several Peers and Trades of each Regiment.

8. *The Swing:* Or the Life and death of Alderman *Hoyle;* with a short *Appendix* by the States late *Cheese-monger.*

9. Several Readings on the Statute of *Magna Charta* by *John Lylburn;* with a Treatise of the best way of boiling *soap.*

10. *Tot quot.* The unlawfulness of holding two Benefices, and the lawfulness of holding four, by the assembly of Divines.

11. *Merlinus Anglicus.* The Art of discovering all that never was, and all that never shall be, by *W. Lilly*; with an *Index* thereunto, by *John Booker.*[1]

12. *Pancirollæ Medela.* A way to find out things lost or stolen,[2] by the said *W. Lilly.* With a *Clavis* to his Book, or the art of this Art. By Mistriss *Mary Frith.*

13. *Cujum pecus?* The Law of Cosin-Germans, cleared in this case: (An *Elder's* Maid took a Mastiff Dog; an *Independent Corporal* espoused a Bitch; may not the Presbyterian Dog's son marry the Independent Bitch's daughter, they being Brothers and Sisters children?)

14. A Confutation of that vulgar opinion, that *a receiver is worse than a thief,* because now very honest men are receivers of the King's revenues.

15. *Tibi Licet.* That a woman may have two husbands at once, if her second husband be faithfull to the State. By Mrs. *Jane Puckering.*

16. The *Childrens Dictionary.* An exact Collection of all new Words (born since

[1] [John Booker was born in Manchester, and was a famous astrologer in the time of the civil wars, and a great acquaintance of Lilly's.]

[2] [This was an old pretence, made mention of by Wierus *(De Præstigiis Dæmonum, lib. vi. cap. ii.) Plerique insuper magi Pythonis spiritu inflati, artem divinandi profitentur, et res perditas quis suffuratus fuerit, aut ibi eæ reconditæ sint, et alia abdita, vel etiam ancipitia, se manifestare posse jactant.* And R. Scot mentions some of the charms made use of to find out a thief. Discov. of Witchcraft, book xii. c. xvii.]

Nov. 3, 1640) in Speeches, Prayers, or Sermons, as well those that signify Something as Nothing.[3]

17. *Gladius Justitiæ.* That the *Power of the Sword* belongs to him that gets hold of the hilt.

18. *Dooms-day-book.* A clear manifestation that more *Roundheads* go to heaven than *Cavaliers*, because *Roundheads* on their death-beds do repent of their former cause and opinions, but not *Cavaliers.*

19. *A new Map of England*, shewing that those few at *Westminster* are representatives of the Common-wealth, in regard the whole Nation pays them Contribution.

20. *Datur vacuum.* Proving that there shall be nothing but *Vacation*, because there shall be no *Terms.*

CLASSIS II.

Containing 20 new Acts of Parliament.

21. An Act for turning all Laws into *English*, with a short abridgement for such new Lawyers as cannot write and read.

22. An Act for making *Adultery* death in all persons, except *Representatives ;* for whom it shall be lawfull to have as many *Women* as they represent *Men.*

23. An Act for expunging the word *King*, and inserting the word ——— in all texts of Scripture; beginning at *Isa.* 30, 33. *Tophet is prepared* for the ———.

24. An Act concerning the *Thames;* that whereas at *Westminster* it ebbs six hours and flows but four, it shall henceforth ebb four hours and flow six.

25. An Act for easing the people of *Taxes*, that no single and standing Tax shall exceed 12,000*l. per mensem.*

26. An Act for better ordering of *Apparel*, forbidding Cavaliers to wear any cloaks.

27. An Act for canonizing those for *Saints* that die in the *States* service; who, since there are but two Worlds, ought at least to be honoured in one.

28. An Act for regulating the Company of *Link-boys ;* that none shall carry Links but such as shall be licens'd, and pay the State two-pence for every Link.

29. An Act for taking [down] those Letters which stand upon *Suffolk house* (as well as their neighbour *Charing Cross)* in regard the said Letters highly endeavour the *advancement of learning.*

30. An Act prohibiting all delinquents to eat more than one meal a week.

31. An Act for impressing 10,000 soldiers: whereby it is lawfull to press any yeoman, unless he be a Member of some Committee, or lately made a Justice of Peace.

32. An Act for pulling down all Monarchical Signs in *London* (the *Sun*, the *Eagle*, the *Phœnix*, the *Lion*, &c.) and setting up such Birds and Beasts as have more heads than one.

33. An Act for repealing a former Ordinance of *Octob.* 18, 1642, call'd An Ordinance for bringing to condign punishment such as slander the Parliament to have an intention to set up an Excise.

34. An Act for translating the *Alcoran* into English.

35. An Act forbidding *Oxford* to be called an *University*, since it is a *Congregation wherein two or three are gathered together.*

36. An Act in behalf of all Clerks and Notaries, wherein they have liberty to shorten, dash, or contract any word, for avoiding *false English*, as heretofore in *Latin.*

37. An Act enjoining the L. *General's* meat to be carried to his table by men on Horseback.

[3] [Dr. Zach. Grey remarks, that the presbyterians coined a great number of new words, such as out-goings, carryings-on, nothing-ness, workings-out, gospel-walking-times, &c. for which they are bantered by Sir John Birkenhead. Grey's Hudibras, I. 14. The author of the Spectator (No. 458) observes, 'that those swarms 'of sectaries that over-run the nation at the time of the great rebellion, carried their hypocrisy so high, that 'they had converted our whole language into a jargon of enthusiasm.']

38. An Act for holding an *Act* at *Oxford*, provided the *Terræ filius* first take the *Engagement* to be faithful to the *State*.

39. An Act for more speedy ending of Law Suits, by calling all *Puineys* [Puisnes] to the Bar, with a List of such Clerks and Scriveners as have lately put on Bar-gowns.

40. An Act commanding all *Malignants* to use onely their Sur-names, their proper names (with all other properties) being forfeit to the State.

CLASSIS III.

Historians and Philosophers.

41. *All the London Diurnals bound together.* Or, a History of the Parliament, by *Thomas May*, Esquire.

42. *Liber crassus tres pollices.* A Catalogue of such women as are not Wives, Maids, nor Widows, being married without either *Law* or *Liturgy*; some by a *Directory*, and some by Nothing.

43. *Pro populo Anglicano.* Proving that Kings had many Evils, because the *King's Evil* was so often cured.

44. *Species quarta.* A new division of Government into *Monarchy*, *Aristocracy*, *Democracy*, and *Anarchy*, by *Nathaniel Bacon* of Gray's Inn, Esquire, which *Fourth* was found out by the *four kinds of Seekers*, some whereof did *never seek at all.*

45. *Moon beams.* Shewing how the Moon hath stronger influence than the Sun: by Dr. *Chamberlain*, Medico Enthearo.

46. Δησογαμια, That the Army ought to march but two a breast, since all creatures at *Noah's* Ark went by couples.

47. The art of flying without wings: approved by divers Commanders of quality.

48. The Confutation of Geographers, who said we of this Island were *Antipodes to none*, though we tread contrary to all the world.

49. An Answer to all that *James Howel* hath or shall write; especially to his last Book written for the *States* against himself. By *John Taylor* the *Water Poet.*

50. *Christian Liberty*: Or the lawfulness of shifting sides and opinions, as the Saints do wives, which if not for their turn, do turn them off and take new ones.

51. *Aristotle's* works in *English Meeter*, by *George Wither.*

52. A Vindication of the Citizens of *London*, that as yet they want nothing but *Wit* and *Honesty.*

53. A Declaration from *All Souls College* in *Oxford*, that since they were deprived of their *Warden* Doctor *Sheldon*, they have not been an hour out of the *Phisicians* hands: most members of that College being strangely taken away; and a [4]Member of *Parliament* set over the rest.

54. A Declaration from Saint *John Baptist's* College in *Oxford*, that since their Head was voted off, and a new one set on, they have been troubled with very strange fits, especially at this time of their College Dedication (commonly called *Midsummer)* in which dangerous Month they desire that Mr. *Cheynell* may not be their *President.*

55. *The Wandering Jew.* By Dr. *Du-Moulin* Junior, Medico-Theologo-Historico-Bello Gallicus-Gallo Belgicus.

56. *The Jurisdiction of Courts.* That the *Upper and Lower Bench* are Legal Seats of Justice, being made of such wood as grew in the *King's* Forests, and cut down by Ordinance of Parliament.

57. The *Free State.* Proving *Republicks* the best kind of Government, which have *Stewes* for *Courtezans*, and *Synagogues* for *Jews.*

58. *Lex Aragoniæ.* That *Malignants* are dead Men in the *Spaniards* accompt, where ten years slavery is held equal to a civil death.

[4] Dr. Palmer.

59. *The equitable Sense.* That such as paid their whole *Composition*, with *Fifth* and *Twentieth* part, ought to enjoy but a *fifth* part of their *estates*, and a 20 part of their *liberty*, keeping twenty miles from *London*, and not five miles from home.

60. Εὕρηκα, Εὕρεκα. Proving that there is some body in some part of *England* who is not a Preacher.

CLASSIS IV.

Casuists, resolving tender Consciences in these 40 years Quæres.

61. Whether those Members who were never *elected* may be called *Reprobates?*

62. Whether *Adam's* Rib hath slain more than *Sampson's* Jaw-bone?

63. Whether *England* be *Sampson* (as Mr. *Goodwin* tells us) *because it is strong;* or because 'tis imprison'd, shaven close, and hath lost its *two eyes?*

64. Whether the Spanish Ambassadour *Don Alonzo de Cardenas* be better paid from *Madrid* or *Westminster.*

65. Whether the two *Hothams* shall rise as they were buried, in Boots and Spurs?

66. Whether that Text '*They are all become abominable, there is none that doth good, no not one*' doth concern *Committee-men?*

67. Whether we ought (with Master *Harrison)* to pray God to *pardon the sins of our complexion?*

68. Whether they slander'd his *Excellency* who reported him dead, since his own printed Letter calls him a *dry Bone?*

69. Whether any now know what the Lord *Say* is doing, or whether now his Lordship knows what to do?

70. Whether to shake off allegiance for Christian Liberty, were not *Don Quixot's* argument to turn loose the Galley-slaves, because *God and Nature made them free?*

71. Whether *Butchers* and *Cutlers* ought to have precedence of all Companies in *London*, since the *power of the sword* is the sole Title to Government?

72. Whether there be any other *Insula Latronum*, besides that which stole *Magellan's* Cock-boat?

73. Whether the *State's* Bookman did not properly mistake, when (for *Insulares*) he called the English *Insularii*, *i. e.* poore slaves?

74. Whether since no man must print or write Books, we may print the names of Books that never were *written?*

75. Whether we (as well as *Seneca)* may call a common woman *Respublica?*

76. Whether the Nobility are not bound to turn Soldiers, when most of their houses at *London* are made Garrisons?

77. Whether *Representatives* have more lives than one?

78. Whether Master *Dell* when he bid every Soldier be *like the Generall*, meant they should all be *Generalls*, or look like the *Generall?*

79. Whether the Chaplains do well to tell the Army *you shall never read the like*, when most of the officers can neither write nor read?

80. Whether it be any dishonour to the *Parliament* that the first *parley* in the world was 'twixt a *Woman* and the *Devil?*

81. Whether now more Bodies and Souls are saved, when every man doth either practise Physick or Preach?

82. Why all the Lawyers, when the Term ended, shook hands at *Westminster;* and whether they hope ever to meet there again?

83. Whether the *Furrier's* Prentice[5] or Doctor *Chamberlain* make better Sermons?

84. Whether it be as lawful to build a Church, and call it St. *Paul's*, as to build Ships and call them the *Fairfax*, the *President*, the *Speaker?*

[5] [Mechanics of all sorts were then preachers, and some of them much followed and admired by the mob. See Featley's Dipper dipped, 1647, p. 1.]

85. Whether Saint *Paul* ought to have a Cathedral in England, since he had none in any other part of the world?

86. Whether that place may be read, *My House is called a House of Prayer, but ye have made it a guard of Independants?*

87. Whether Mr. *Rous* or *Robin Wisdome* be the better Poet?

88. Whether Malignants plotted the Spanish Armado in 88?

89. Whether the States Writers may be called poor Scribblers, since in all their Books they still beg the Question?

90. Whether ever there was so much and so little written as now?

91. Whether the Stationer that gave 400l. for the *Directory*, was cursed with *Bell* and *Candle* as well as *Book?*

92. Whether the *Common Prayer* Book should fare worse, because it first was established on the 19th of May,[6] which is the King's Birth-day?

93. Whether the Vintner in St. *Clements*, when commanded to change his Sign of the King's Head, did well to put up the Head of St. *John Baptist?*

94. Whether when *Mr. Caryl* called his Excellency *an Angel*, he ought not to have told us, he meant a *good Angel?*

95. Whether the State should not allow two Harvests in one year, when they take double Taxes?

96. Whether the Maid that was hang'd at *Oxford* and reviv'd, had subscribed the *Engagement?*

97. Whether it is not easy to be rich, if a man would quit his conscience and turn Roundhead?

98. When they burnt *Don Quixot's* Library, they did wisely to burn all *Translations*; and if the like were done now, whether there would not be a most lamentable fire?

99. Whether the *Parliament* had not cause to forbid *Christmas*[7] when they found their printed Acts under so many *Christmas Pies?*

100. Whether he that scribbled this Catalogue of *Books* was not robb'd of all his *own?*[8]

Sic desinit Centuria prima.

Centuria Secunda.

Libri Theologici, Politici, Historici, Nundinis Paulinis (unà cum Templo) prostant venales, &c.

CLASSIS V.

101. Tshsh. *Eilver Shekel.* A Treatise proving the *Excise* is *jure divino:* By *John Goodwin.*

102. *Scaliger in laudem anseris*, or, a Panegyrick to the Earl of *Salisbury.*

103. Πλειοκρατία. That the Government by *States* is better than *Kings*, by six millions *per annum.*

104. *Terra Sancta.* An Answer to the Adage which calls the King of England *Rex Dæmonum*, because now we are all *Saints.*

[6] 1549.

[7] [Vide the orders for abolishing Christmas, &c. Neale's Hist. of Puritans, III. 168; Scobel's collections, p. 128; Mercurius Politicus, No. 395, p. 191.]

[8] [See Preface to 'the Assembly Man,' Vol. V. p. 98 of Harleian Miscellany.]

105. Πλέον ἥμισυ παντὸς. That a *Twentieth* part is more than a *Fifth*, and a *Fifth* more than All. By a Member of the Committee of [9]——*dashers Hall.*

106. *The blue Legend;* or *Spiritual Experience held forth by Saints at a private Conference.* By *Vavasor Powell.*

107. *Posthuma Pembrochiana.* The late Earl of *Pembroke's* old cloaths worn by Alderman *Titchbourn:* first, because he bought them; secondly, because they fit him.

108. Oppiani Ἁλιευτικὰ. Proving the Sea is not governed like *Islands,* because the great Fish eat the less; but here the less devour the greater.

109. *Bellum Grammaticale.* That *Parliamentdome, Counceldome, Committeedome,* or *Sworddome,* are better words than *Christendome* or *Kingdome.*

110. *The Devil of Saint Dunstans.* Or a Confutation of those who affirm Mr. *Strong* hath no mouth.

111. *Aurum volatile.* How to hit a Purse flying. By *Edmund Predeaux.*

112. *Untemper'd Morter.* That the Meal which is sold in St. *Pauls* Church is mixt with Lime, and hath caus'd this new *Plague in the Guts.*

113. *Trigobius.* Of the shortest and cheapest way to heaven. By *Stephen Marshall.*

114. *The Armies Remonstrance,* that his *Excellency* and his Officers took up Arms in defence of their own Lands and Revenues.

115. *Salus in ferro.* That primitive Christians were fools to be Martyrs, when arms were in their hands. By *Francis Rous,* Provost of *Eaton.*

116. *Camden's Remains.* Proving this Island was part of the *Continent,* and that *then* it was govern'd by *Parliaments* and *States.*

117. *Dominus à Domo.* That the House of *Commons* is called a *House,* because the Members resolve to *dwell* there.

118. *Baubella.* That the Word *Baubles* (as appears in *Hoveden* in *Rich.* I.) doth properly signify *Jewels* or *precious stones.* By Sir *Henry Mildmay,* Master of the *Baubles.*

119. *Probatur per con-testes.* A confirmation of Sir *Henry Mildmay's* opinion for the genuine signification of the word *baubles.* By Sir *John Hipsley* and Mr. *Henry Martin.*

120. Six hundred Texts of Scripture in Hebrew Anagrams. By *Luke Harruney.*

CLASSIS VI.

Twenty new Acts of Parliament.

121. An Act for constituting six new Heralds, in regard of the old ones cannot Blazon the Arms of divers new *honourable* officers of *state.*

122. An Act for sending two thousand pair of Shoes to the Soldiers in *Ireland,* which Shoes shall be approved by Col. *Hewson,* Governor of *Dublin.*

123. An *Act for Propagation* of the *Gospel in Wales,* that whereas heretofore each Parish had a Minister (who now are all sequestered) there shall be *Itinerants* or *Riding Preachers* to teach the word for benefit of the *State.*

124. An additional Act for making *Vavasor Powel* one of the *Riding* Ministers, because formerly he was a good Groom; and *Jenkin Jones* another, because he was a Trooper; and *David Gamm* the third, because his Family were found good Horse-takers.

125. An Act for admitting *Jews* into *England,* with a short Proviso for banishing the Cavaliers.

126. An Act *for removing all obstructions* (especially those of *Law* or *Conscience*) *for sale of the King's fee-farm rents.*

127. An Act for taking some small *Excise* from such as drink fair Water, since the State gave order to cleanse the Rivers.

128. An Act for those who first sent Money or Plate to *Guild Hall* to double the sum, or else lose the former.

[9] That word hath paid its twentieth part.

129. An Act of *Oblivion*, for Malignants to forget that ever they had Estates.

130. An Act commanding all Men to agree, that since there must be but few *Laws*, there may be few *Causes*.

131. An Act for *Lawyers* to plead in their Cloaks, and their Gowns to be hung up in *Westminster Hall* among the *Scot's* Colours.

132. An Act for repealing a former Act called *An Act for disabling Clergymen to intermeddle in civil affairs*, that so Mr. *Peters* may be of the *Committee for altering the Law*.

133. An additional Act, that the Grand Committee for altering the *Law*, shall sit on the 20th of January, which day his late MAJESTY was sentenc'd to die.

134. An Act for taking down the Scaffolds from *Paul's*, and setting another on *Tower-Hill*.

135. An Act that the Author of *Don Quixot* shall explain whom he means by the *Parliament of Death*.

136. An Act for sending some Cheese and Biscuit to the Army in *Ireland*, provided the Cheese be not *Holland*-cheese, but made in our own *State*.

137. An Act forbidding any more to put Greek or Latin Titles to their books, unless such as can spell English.

138. An Act forbidding Delinquents to Petition, till the State hath leisure for more weighty affairs.

139. An Act for removing the Alphabet *Cross* from the Children's Primer, and the *Cross* from off the Speaker's Mace, and for adding Saint *Andrew's Cross* by Saint *George's* in the *States* Armes.

140. An Act forbidding all Grocers and Cooks from buying any more of the Parliament's Declarations.

CLASSIS VII.

Half a dozen large Petitions.

141. The humble Petition of the City of *London*, that those Citizens who can raise no Horse, may raise a Troop of Oxen.

142. The humble Petition of the Keeper of *Bedlam*, (alias Bethlehem) that he may have more help; in regard his Prisoners now break loose, and are all turn'd Preachers.

143. The humble Petition of all North-*Wales*, that the *State* would open their Church doors; for since the *Bedlamites* (Riding Ministers) came to *reform* them, their Stables are opened, and their Churches all shut up.

144. The humble Petition of the six Counties of South-*Wales*, that since they must have but *three* Preachers, they desire those *three* may have six eyes; for though *Jenkin Jones* looks nine ways, yet *Davy Gam* is but half a *Seer*, and not *capacitated* to be a *new Light*.

145. The humble Petition of *William Du-gard*, the State's Printer, that having now printed the *Racovian Catechism*, he may have the sole printing of *Bernardinus Ochinus*, or *the three grand Impostors*, which he hath also ready.

146. The humble Petition of *Matthew Walbank* and *Gyles Calvert*, in regard that Paper grows dear, the *State* would grant them the Paper which sticks in needless Tickets upon every door, since now so few take lodgings in *London*.

CLASSIS VIII.

Commentators and School-men.

147. *Flores Edvardi Cooke.* A Collection of all my Lord *Cooke's* Latin Sentences, with a List of those Authors *(Lycostehenes, Calepine, Cato,* and other good *School-men)* where his Lordship had his gatherings.

148. A large Commentary on *Aristotle's Problems*, by two preaching Ladies; the one young, the other old, and both painted.

149. *Pro corpore Politico.* That the new Representative was but an *Apparition*, because it was so soon *vanish'd.*

150. *The Archbishop of Canterbury's Tryal*, writ by *William Prynn*, declaring all the *Archbishop* spake or did before he was born, and since his Burial; being the 9th Tome of Master *Prynn's* Works.

151. *Testis Singularis.* That *Malchus* might lawfully be a witness against Saint *Peter*, though his Ear was cut off. By an utter Barrister of *Lincolne's Inn.*

152. *Contra Verrem.* The unlawfulness of eating Swine's flesh. By *Miles Corbet.*

153. *Pro Verre.* In defence of Swine's flesh, written in *Tuscan* by *Bocco de Porco*, and *procured* into English by Signor *Ambrosio*, late Reader in the late *New Academy.*

154. *Sepelire Mortuos.* A List of those *Scots* who dying in prison were denied Christian Burial, and (left in the fields) were eaten by Hogs, which now makes Pork so cheap in *London.*

155. Ὄνος ἐμ ὄνωγρος. That *London* is neither Horse nor Mule; first, because she is so easily bridled: Secondly, Horse and Mule cannot know their own strength; but *London* can, and dare not.

156. *Angelus Lapsus.* A discourse, proving that Devils may be saved; written lately by a revolted *Cavalier.*

157. Γερυσόςροφος. The Art of turning three ways in two years. By Col. *George Monke.*

158. A plain Exposition of *Quid dabitis* in Saint *Matthew.* By Col. *Dundas*, late Governour of *Edinburgh* Castle.

159. A letter of Thanks from the Spanish Embassadour *(Don Alonzo de Cardenas)* to the Councell of *State*, for hanging his rooms with *Titian's* 12 Cæsars and other rare pieces of the King of *England's* goods.

160. Πλαςοργραφος. The Art of Declaring, Undeclaring, Adding, or Expunging. By the Earl of *Lowdon*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland.*

CLASSIS IX.

Casuists, Resolving tender Consciences in these 40 Quæres.

161. Whether *Cain* had the *power of the Sword*, when he reform'd *Abel?*

162. Whether it is not a horrible Imprecation against the *State*, to wish that every man might have his due?

163. Whether *John Lilbourn* were not an Ass, to think that a Counsellor of *State* could sin?

164. Whether the City of *Dublin* stands upon her head, while a Shoemaker governs her?

165. Why three Counties in *Ireland* should petition for Bread, when their present Commander is a *London* Baker?

166. Why no man accepts of Mr. *Nicolas Culpepper*, though he offers *to cure all Diseases for three-pence?*

167. Whether Doctor *Hoyle* (for keeping the *Chair* at *Oxford* from Doctor *Saunderson)* ought not to follow his name-sake Alderman *Hoyle?*

168. Whether the said Doctor *Hoyle* be fittest for the *Chair*, because (being lately drunk with his man) he fell off a *Stool?*

169. Whether Doctor *Hill* were a King, when he prayed, *O Lord do thou depose Him who would depose Us?*

170. Whether the said Doctor *Hill* (being then strook speechless) had the *spirit of Utterance*, or the *Dumb Devill?*

171. Why *Saints* are so much for things of this world?

172. Whether he that now dare be honest is not thought a Fool?

173. Whether Sir *William Brereton* doth *devour* Church-lands, since he made the Chapel at *Croydon* his Kitchen?

174. Whether Cavaliers may have one Christmas in twelve years, when the States keep Christmas all the year long?

175. Whether Master *Peters* did justly preach against Christmas-Pyes the same day he eat two Mince-pyes to his dinner?

176. Whether there now live more men or women in the *Inns* of *Court?*

177. Whether it is not clearly proved that there are *Witches*, since *England* hath been bewitched eleven years together?

178. Whether the new Congregation at *Wrexham* be all *elected*, because (like sheep) their bodies are *sealed*, and whether the mark may be called a teat?

179. Whether our *Reformers* may lawfully trade in Magick, because *Luther* and Dr. *Faustus* taught both in one Town?

180. Why *Lucian* makes Hell governed by *a Committee?*

181. Whether twelve years are sufficient to try how we can live without a King?

182. Whether the House of Commons be a Widow, a Wife, a Maid, or a Commonwealth?

183. Whether our new *States* may not grow as great as old *Rome*, since *they* and *Romulus* had the same Nurse?

184. Whether it yet appears that his late *Majesty* had reason to deny them the *Militia?*

185. Whether *Ranters* and *Committee-men* (who deny there is a God) may not lawfully affirm there are no Devils, since Scripture commands us to *deny our selves?*

186. Whether Major General *Harrison* be bound to give no quarter, because his Father is a Butcher?

187. Whether the said Major General meant *June* or *August* in his last printed Letter, dated *the fifteenth day of the sixth month?*

188. Whether the disputation 'twixt his late *Majesty* and Master *Henderson* (which broke *Henderson's* heart) did succeed the better, because it began the 29th of May,[10] which is the King's birth-day?

189. Whether the *Scots* marching for *England* (thrice against the King, and thrice against the Parliament) have not satisfied all Parties?

190. Whether it were in memory of Saint *Paul*, that the last week at *Edinburgh* they voted an honest Scot to have *forty stripes save one?*

191. Whether Mistress *Owen* did justly accuse two Gentlemen to *have drunk the King's health in Latin*, when their words were—*Hans en Kelder?*

192. Whether to drink the King's health be the whole duty of a good Subject?

193. Whether all Parliament-men have Wives, since *Lilly* in his dedication says—*Vos non vobis fertis aratra boves?*

194. Whether the great Pox may be called the *Engagement*, since so many *well-affected* have lately *engaged?*

195. Whether ever the People will petition again *to be put into a Posture of defence?*

196. Whether those that *bought*, or those that *sold* Church Lands, are more arrant *Reformers?*

197. Whether the worm of Conscience dare bite a Parliament-man?

198. Whether it is properly called *Paul's Church Yard*, since 'twill be a Yard without a Church?

199. Whether the Saint that plundered my Books did well to mention the *Iron Age*, when he himself had a wooden Leg?

200. Whether any Age of Gold, Silver, Brass, or Iron, can match this *Wooden Age*, when men must neither write nor read?

Sic explicit Centuria secunda.

[10] 1646.

Bibliotheca Parliamenti, &c.

Done into English for the Assembly of Divines.

Books to be sold in Little Britain.

1. *Lues Gallica, Regina Gallorum;* or, the Pox in *folio;* by *Henry Martin,* a dwindled member in the Commons House.

2. *Jurandi formula;* or the Rolls of *Pembroke's* Oaths in *folio.*

3. *Laus Pediculi.* A short legged Treatise, wherein is held forth this truth, that because the six-footed creature walks gravely, and feeds majestically on our heads, therefore we may trample on the Crown; by five members and *Kymbolton.*

4. *Experientia docet.* A Tract proving that there is an hell, contrary to the present sense of the House; by a ——— member thereof lately deceased.

5. *Lux nova.* A Christmas candle, or a new light held forth last winter in Bridewell in *Oxford,* proving that darkness is better than light; by master *Goodwin,* master of *Magd.* College.

6. *Via tuta;* or a safe way for a man to save his life and lose his soul; by M. *Jenkins,* minister of that word.

7. *Theopœia.* A discourse shewing to us mortals, that *Cromwell* may be reckoned amongst the gods, since he hath put off all *humanity.*

8. *Virgarum Collector. Lilbourn* stript and whipt, by Colonel *Birch.*

9. The art of hearing without ears: by *Will. Prynn.*

10. *Coitus Helenæ;* the way of getting women with child; by M. *Scot,* a knowing member.

11. *Vox Populi,* or the joint opinion of the whole kingdom of *England,* that the Parliament is hell, because the torments of it are like to be everlasting.

12. *Pisces respirant.* A Tract proving that Fishes breathe, because Dr. *Hill* of *Cambridge,* when he should have preached, sate as mute as a fish; but sighed a whole Pulpit full.

13. *Interpolator mangonizans,* or, The Art of sequestering the Parliament's Library into Hucksters hands; by the late Publisher of the same, *Ignoramus,* or *Nebulo in grano.*

14. *Plus vident oculi, quàm oculus;* An Explanation of some obscure passages in Dr. *Owen's Primer,* by Dr. *Stanton.* Printed for the English company in Christ-church, *Oxford:* but may indifferently serve for both the Universities.

15. *Sejanus:* An old Tragedy to be newly acted by the company at the *Cock-pit.*

16. *Memorem oportet* —— Or, the art of memory, by Sir *Thomas Jervoyse.*

17. *Vox et prætereà nihil:*—An Answer to Mr. *Carpenter's* Sermon and no Sermon, by Dr. *Cheynel,* a preacher and no preacher.

18. *Vermis immortalis:* The Sting of Conscience; a Tract of wholesome concernment for this present State; written with the sharp end of *Arise Evan's* Spanish Pike; and sold by *Cornelius Bee,* at the King's Arms in *Little Britain.*

19. *Loquaces Infantum Lachrymæ;* or, The cry of Great Britain's little children against the State for want of fire; and against Dr. *Jer. Taylor* for want of water.

20. *Pharmacopœia Westmonasteriensis;* An excellent store-house, containing many rare secrets: as, First, An excellent water, to take away the Inflammation of the Nose, face, or other members, made by Mrs. *Lambert.*

Secondly, An excellent soveraign mornings-drink to drown the worm of conscience, found by *Tho. Chaloner* lately *Esquire.*

Thirdly, The cause and cure of the Presbyterian Itch in the Tongue and Ears, found out by Dr. *Hanger* of *Hemp-stede.* Printed by *John Knot,* for *Abel Roper,* and the Assignes of *Gregory Brandon.*

Fourthly, *Conserve of Sea-Cole;* A soveraign antidote against the plague in the Purse, by Dr. *Gouge*, merchant of *Coals* and *Souls*. *Probatum est.*

Fifthly, An excellent way to purge an *House* from Vermin, with a Powder found out by *O. C.* the Parliament's apothecary.

21. *Calvini Miraculum;* or, the resurrection from the Grave, prov'd very stoutly by the Lord *Wharton*, in his Book called *Edge-hill*, or the *saw-pit.*

22. *Fire, Fire!* A small manual dedicated to Sir *Arthur Hasleridge;* in which is plainly proved by a whole chaldron of Scripture, that *John Lilborn* will not carry coals.[11] By Dr. *Gouge.*

23. *Phaëthontis Quadriga:*—A Watch-word to the General's Coachman, wherein is this friendly whisper, That after Drawing comes Hanging. By Major Gen. *Holborn.*

24. *Hocus Pocus*, The art of preaching booty, or of juggling in the Pulpit, made more plain and easy for the present sucking Clergy. By *Stephen Marshall*, Professor of the same.

25. *Pandectæ Novationæ:* A Tract, wherein is held forth this Truth, that although thou mayest not lye with another man's wife, yet thou mayest lye with thine own man's wife. By S. P. T. B. an able member of the House.

26. *Oracula Cessârunt:* or, The Art of Silencing the University of *Cambridge:* By *John Goodwyn* of *Coleman-street.*

27. *Cornucopia:* The Works of the late Earl of *Essex*, comprised all in one large Hornbook; set forth by the Assembly of Divines, and ordered to be used instead of that old Almanack, the *Directory.*

28. *Quicquid libet, licet:* A Tract, proving that a man may hang himself at what time soever his stomach shall serve him; provided always that it be in a Parliamentary way. By Alderman *Hoyle*, dedicated to my good Lord *Bradshaw* who hath now little else to do.

Acts and Orders.

1. Ordered, That Alderman *Atkins'* Breeches be sent to the Navy to poison Bullets.

2. Upon a Petition of the Levellers, it was ordered, That the Sabbath be no more called the Lord's Day, because the word (Lord) is scandalous, and contrary to the equal freedom of the People. And that it be not called Sunday neither, because the Sun is a Monarch.

3. Ordered, That Sir *Henry Mildmay* make a privy search in Alderman *Atkins'* Breeches, for a rich Carbuncle lost lately from his *Excellency's* nose.

4. Ordered, That the Lord *Fairfax*, (in recompense of his faithfull service to the Common-wealth) be made Governor of all Sir *Whimsie Mildmay's* Castles in the Air.

5. Ordered, That all Ministers, which cannot pray and preach by the spirit, shall live by the air.

6. An Act for reforming diverse Texts of Scripture, as being of dangerous consequence, and contrary to the very being of this present State, beginning at *Rom.* 13. where it is said, *Let every soul be subject to the higher Powers:* which words are thus to be reformed, *Let every soul be subject to the lower House.*

7. Ordered, That there be a Thanksgiving in *Holland*, for our Hogen Mogen victories over the *Dutch.*

8. Ordered, That Malefactors condemned to die, be hanged in Wyths; because the States want Ropes themselves.

9. Ordered, That the Books of Kings in the Bible, be hereafter called, *The Books of the*

[11] [Vide much annotation on this phrase in Reed's Shakspeare, (Romeo and Juliet, Act 1. sc. 1.) Vol. xx. p. 7, 8.]

Parliament: and the *Chronicles* also (being a word too hard for vulgar capacities) be, for the time to come, called by the more familiar title of *Diurnalls*.

10. Ordered, That the Cities of *London* and *Wesminster* be called by their proper names of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*.

11. Ordered, That because Coals are so dear, a day of Ashes be appointed; and the Presbyterian ministers to fetch fire from heaven.

12. Ordered, That Alderman *Atkins* be desired to hold forth before the House, and the Dutch Company to give him some school-butter, for his great pains in easing himself.

13. Ordered, That the Assembly of Divines be desired to give in their opinion, whether *Hogen* and *Mogen* be not *Gog* and *Magog*.

14. Ordered, That all seamen's widows be sent to *Obadiah Sedgewick* for due benevolence: and this Ordinance to last both now and anon too.

15. Ordered, That the Assembly of Divines be desired to give in their verdict to Judge *Rolls*, whether the burning of Lords in the hand, be *Jure divino*.

Two Orders not entered in the Parliament's Register; yet since published by *Hoyle's* son, because they related to his Father.

First, That it was death for any man to hang himself.

Secondly, That the member that *Hoyld*, in English *hanged* himself, was made uncapable *ipso facto*, for ever sitting in the House.

Cases of Concience.

1. Whether it be probable, that ever any man will be so purblind, as to take Sir *Will. Davenant* for the Lord Generall *Cromwell?*[12]

2. Whether it be not just, that those members which had sold themselves to work wickedness, should be offered at twelve a penny?

3. Whether Colonel *Pride* be not as humble as his very name?

4. Whether our State did not fall short *de Wit*, when they went to Logger-heads with the United Butter-boxes?

5. Whether the *Diet* in *Germany* doth not go very much against the stomach of our English state?

6. Whether the Drunkenness of our land hath not caused Heaven to set a Brewer[13] over us, with his copper ——?

7. Whether the Dutch be not Anabaptists, seeing they dip our Brethren, if they have but faith enough to adventure upon the seas?

8. Whether we be not turned Papists, since all our Devotion consists in praying to Saints; as St. *Oliver*, St. *Hugh*, St. *Pride*, *adjuva nos?*

9. Whether it be not expedient to pray to them in English, seeing they understand no Latin?

10. Whether *Venter* and *Neuter* be not as true an Anagram as *Atkins, a stink?*

11. Whether Publique Faith be not worse than *Moll Cut-purse;* seeing she helps us to our Thimbles and Bodkins again?

12. Whether the States of *Holland*, by reason of their low situation, may be justly said to be nigher hell, then the Common-wealth?

13. Whether the pitiful Lord *Grey* of *Groby* did not learn of his Father (in the west) to keep running horses at *Stamford?*

14. Whether it was not just that Mr. *Love* should be without a Head, he being so earnest for a Parity?

15. Whether Alderman *Atkins* may be reckoned among our Saints, seeing he is a known loose-liver.

[12] [The contrast of *noses* between the poet and the protector, may constitute the solution of this query.]
[13] [Cromwell.]

16. Whether *Opera Tenebrarum*, be not true Latin, for our late Acts of Parliament?

17. Whether when Colonel *Pride* goes to quarter with old *Nick*, the Proverb will not be verified, *Pride feels no cold?*

18. Whether the King of *Denmark* hath not hitherto detained our Hempen wares on purpose to send them by messengers of his own?

19. Whether *Van Trump* doth not put our *Hogen Mogens* in mind of the *Rear Trump?*

20. Whether it be not probable that our State will ere long fall asunder, seeing they want rope to make them hang together?

21. Whether the word Minister doth not (in *England*) signify one, who will break two Tables to serve one?

22. Whether *Malus, Pejor, Pessimus*, be not Latin for *Lambert, Harrison, Cromwell?*

23. Whether the opening of the Speaker's Purse, will not follow the shutting of his mouth?

24. Whether we did not fall out with the *Dane* and *Dutch* for want of rope and butter?

25. Whether *Cromwell's nose*, though (as yet) the great light of our *New England*, be not likely, ere long, to go out in a *snuff*.

26. Whether a standing Army is worse then a sitting Parliament?

27. Whether the Lord St. *John* be not troubled with the stone in the Heart, seeing he hath swallowed the whole Cathedral of *Peterborough?*

28. Whether the Parliament may not be damned, notwithstanding the Committee of Indemnity?

29. Whether ever since the House of Commons was locked up, the Speaker's Chair hath not been a Close-stool?

30. Whether it be not seasonable to stop the Nose of my Evil?

31. Whether or no, the Army being Saints, yet in the flesh, can overcome the World and the Devil, as well as they did the Members?

32. Whether we may speak truth freely, without being counted Traitors to the State?

33. Whether a man might not take *White-hall* for *Moor-fields*, *Bedlam* being so near?

34. Whether *Bermudas*[14] and the Parliament-house lie under one Planet, seeing both are haunted with Devils?

35. Whether a Parliament-man should not take the upper hand of the Devil when they sit next in Council, since he hath learned as much deceit?

Finis Bibliothecæ et (proh dolor!) Parliamenti.

[14] [Vide the Annotations on Shakspeare's Tempest, Act 1. sc. 2. Reed's edit. iv. 31.]

Twenty-four Queries touching the Parliament and Army; and the Interest of the Royal Party, and Others of this Nation: tending to Settlement, on the Basis of Justice and Honour. By several Friends to Publick Good.

Printed in the Year 1659.

[In One Sheet 4to.]

The two following tracts afford specimens of some of the effusions of the advocates for a free state, *at the period when the succession of Richard Cromwell, to the power and dignity of his Father, alarmed the republican party into a deprecation of the evils to be expected from an approximation to the most arbitrary principles of hereditary monarchy.*
The interrogatory form was a favourite medium with the political pamphleteers of the day.

I. WHETHER this parliament that hath been taxed for so much self-seeking partiality, covetousness, and injustice, ought not to act with so much self-denying impartiality and justice, as may give ample testimony to the world, that they were illegally charged with those crimes, and that the causes of those former miscarriages were created by the enemies of public settlement by way of a free state, that secretly lurked amongst them, and designed those inconveniences, to hinder public good, and their counsels useless?

II. Whether it doth not concern them in point of honour and conscience, to go on with the work of settling these nations, without eyeing the army in any thing, but what doth conduce to public good?

III. Whether or no it would not tend very much to the dishonour of the parliament, if they should miscarry in being swayed or over-ruled by any particular person or interest whatsoever?

IV. Whether or no that the parliament can forget their grand miscarriage of adding and continuing so great power as they did to Oliver Cromwell; by virtue of which he made himself master of his country? An inhuman usurper, and matchless tyrant!

V. Whether or no it doth not behove them to prevent the like evils, by limiting, checking, and balancing the power of the great officers of the army, that at no time they may be able to attempt the like?

VI. Whether or no it doth not consist with conveniency and safety, that the parliament do dispose of all commission offices in the army, and not suffer the great officers to exercise that authority; by which means they make parties, by preferring their kindred and others to depend upon their favour, who are fit instruments to aid them from whom they receive those favours, in any dangerous undertaking, tending to change of government, or any other usurpation?

VII. Whether the commonwealth's arms can be entrusted with more security, or in better hands, than in those who suffered, were imprisoned, or expelled the army, by Oliver Cromwell, for adhering to a commonwealth's interest, or for abominating of his cruelties or oppression; whether or no such persons ought not to be first restored to their former offices, before any member of the army be preferred?

VIII. Whether or no the militia of every individual county of this nation, ought not to be settled in the hands of persons of approved worth and fidelity to a free state?

IX. When the militia is settled in safe hands, and the army thoroughly purged of the promoters, assertors, defenders, and props to the government of a single person, and those persons before premised, viz. friends to the interest of a commonwealth, or free state, are placed in their rooms; whether then that the next work be not to consult the mode and order how the commonwealth shall be governed, that the people may know what to trust unto; that thereby the mouths of the enemies to the government of a free state may be stopped; who often allege, that this parliament intend to govern only by their own wills, and arbitrary power, without rule or law, only as the necessity of affairs shall dictate?

X. Whether or no that the continuance of the government of one and the same parliament, without annual constitution by new election, be not much more dangerous than the government of a single person? And whether that a co-ordinate senate be not cousin-germain to another house?

XI. If so; Then whether or no this parliament ought not to declare when their power shall determine; and also when the next representative shall commence.

XII. Whether or no that exceptions, being duly observed and put in execution, against all persons that have engaged in the late war, or that have shewed, or do shew any dislike of the present government, is not so good and sufficient rule to prevent the people's overthrowing the interest of the public, by their election of persons to represent them in parliament, that are enemies to this government?

XIII. Whether or no there ought not to be a great reward appointed to such a person or persons, as shall detect, discover, or bring to light, and apprehend and bring to trial any person or persons, as should go about directly or indirectly to attempt the supremacy, or aid any by counsel or force, in any such illegal and pernicious undertaking.

XIV. Whether or no it will not conduce much to settling, quieting and preservation of the people of this commonwealth, in regard it suiteth with the desire of the greatest part of the people, to establish a national ministry, that shall be eminent for piety and learning.

XV. Whether or no, that the lesser part of the people should have their desires answered in opposition of what is propounded before in the 14th quære? and whether they should not content themselves with having liberty of conscience, and a like respect and protection, with people of other opinions? it being not reasonable, that one sort of people should have dominion over the other, because they are of such and such opinions.

XVI. Whether or no, ought not the parliament to pass an act of oblivion, that the royal party may not always bear the marks and characters of common enemies; which createth in them a desire of change, and ready to lay hold of any opportunity to re-establish the government of a single person; they knowing, that their principles only fit them to be instruments for owning and promoting of such a government, and that therein they shall arrive to esteem, credit and authority.

XVII. Whether or no, that after ten or twenty years, the royalists may not again be admitted to elections, or to be elected, provided they give sufficient testimony of their liking and approving of the government? it being probable, that in such a time the nation may be so much in love with the intended government, that it may be impossible to attempt the change thereof: nay, when the royalists are by so long experience convinced of the justice and excellency of this government intended, they will be contented to submit to it, to promote it, and defend it: their present dislike of it, arising from the great inconveniencies that they apprehend to be in such a government; as also of their being kept as slaves under it.

XVIII. Whether or no, that after the government and the militia be settled, and those other things tending to the satisfying of all parties and interests be provided for, that the next work to be undertaken, be not the care of trade, so much miserably decayed for this 30 or 40 years last past? in which time those who have had to do with government, have only minded self-preservation; their counsels have tended to nothing else, nor their authority been made use of to no other end: by which means, the good of the public hath been wholly neglected.

XIX. Whether or no, that the fishing of these three dominions, be not to be taken care of, in regard it would be equal to the mines of gold in the West Indies; there being fished out of our seas by computation, so much fish, as in one year hath amounted to three millions of money; in which employment the Hollanders do employ above 2000 sail, small and great: which not only maketh them rich and strong at sea, but also doth employ 200,000 people; sailors to man such a fleet; carpenters to build; coopers for casks; spinners or yarn-weavers, sail-makers, rope-makers, smiths, besides the innumerable number of people that furnish them with other wares, and that attend other occasions upon such a mighty fleet.

XX. Whether that all the ancient laws and statutes touching trade, be not fit to be searched and revived, and put in execution? and all good provision made for the well and true working and making of all commodities?

XXI. Whether that it be not a great detriment to the nation, to suffer any staple commodities to be transported before it be wrought?

XXII. Whether that the parliament ought not to sit to those great ends before mentioned, quietly, undisturbed, in safety, free from being over-awed by the army, or any other party?

XXIII. Whether it be fitting or becoming a member of the army sitting in parliament, to enforce his argument by such an expression as this, viz. "The army will not bear such debates?"

XXIV. Whether that it be not the duty of all persons and interests of this commonwealth to give way one unto another for the general good of all, and acquiesce in the judgment of the parliament, and submit to what government they shall appoint; in regard it is not possible to have such a government as shall suit with every one's mind?

Twenty-five Queries: modestly and humbly, and yet sadly and seriously propounded, to the People of England, and their Representatives; and likewise to the Army in this juncture of affairs.

'Ye suffer, if a man bring you into bondage, if a man devour you, if a man 'take of you, if a man exalt himself, if a man smite you on the face.'

2 Cor. xi 20.

Cui plus licet quam par est,
Plus vult quam licet.

London: Printed for L. Chapman, at the Crown, in Pope's-head-ally, 1659.

[In Two Sheets 4to.]

I. *Query.* WHETHER the people of these nations (though at present their spirits are much debased,) might not, and would not better understand and comprehend their own interest, rights and liberties, and consequently be fitted for the government of a free state upon sober principles; if as much care and diligence were used and employed, rightly to inform and undeceive them, as hath been formerly and of late used to delude them, and render them insensible of what God and nature hath betowed upon

them, and of those privileges which are due to them, as by the divine law, so by that of nature, whereunto the Lord by his providence hath most signally and eminently given his approbation in the late war, which was undertaken for vindication of the laws and liberties of the people, who upon that account, and for that end, did cheerfully contribute their best assistance? And whether godly men, ministers and others, should so insist upon particular forms of worship, or their own persuasions touching the way of propagating the gospel of Jesus Christ, as wholly to neglect the civil rights and liberties of their country; or rather be satisfied at present with that liberty and encouragement that is given unto them by the law of the land, for the professing and preaching thereof? Doth the Christian religion teach any man to separate the gospel from civil and moral righteousness and justice towards men as men? And did not the blessed apostle, who was better acquainted with gospel privileges than any of us, plead his civil rights and freedom according to law, when he told the centurion, that he was 'a Roman free-born;' and that it was 'contrary to 'law for him to scourge a Roman, being uncondemned?' (Act. xxii. 25, 26, 27, 28.) And did not he, in another place, plead for a legal trial, and an honourable deliverance out of prison; where he spoke thus to the goaler, 'The magistrates (which were Roman prætors, 'otherwise called the *Duumviri*) have beaten us openly uncondemned, being Romans, and 'have cast us into prison; and now do they thrust us out privily? Nay, verily, but let 'them come themselves and fetch us out;' (Act. xvi. 37.) Paul stands upon his birth-right and privilege, being a Roman, as knowing that by the Roman law,[1] 'No citizen of Rome 'ought to have bodily punishment or torture inflicted on him, by the magistrates of pro-'vinces.'

II. *Query.* Is there not a great want at this day of public-spirited self-denying men, notwithstanding the seeming zeal of many professors under different church-administrations?[2] What is become of that love and respect which we sometimes had, or seemed to have to our poor country? Where can a man meet with such a spirit as Nehemiah had? of whom it is said, 'That he did not eat the bread of the governor. And though the 'former governors had been chargeable to the people; yea, their servants did rule over the 'people; yet so would not he; because of the fear of the Lord, and because the bondage 'was heavy on the people: nor did he buy any land, as others did; much less did he take 'it for nothing,' (Neh. v. 14, 15, 16, 18.) Is not a right counsellor, or true lover of the commonwealth, hard to be found? and have we not cause to remember that story of Alphonsus King of Spain, who coming young to the crown, some advised him that seven counsellors might be joined to govern with him, such as feared God, and were lovers of justice, and free from filthy lucre: To which he answered, "If you can find out seven such men; nay, bring me but one so qualified, and I will not only admit him to govern with me, but shall willingly resign the kingdom itself to him?" Most men will 'proclaim 'every one his own goodness: but a faithful man who can find?' And yet may not some men so qualified be found out in these nations, if diligent and impartial search were made for them? and surely such men should be employed. 'For the transgression of a land '(saith Solomon) many are the changes and alterations thereof: but by men of under-'standing and knowledge, the state thereof shall be prolonged.

III. *Query.* Whether it be not very necessary and fit, more strictly now than ever, to examine the manner of elections and returns of members for the parliament, considering what foul play and unjust proceedings there have been, by the letters, menaces, flatteries, bribes, and other indirect means of some of the nobility, clergy, sheriffs, and new courtiers, to surprise the poor ignorant inhabiters of the boroughs, and interrupt the freedom of elections, contrary to the fundamental laws of the nation? And is there not also great cause (if we call to mind the unparalleled encroachments which have been made upon the privileges of parliament) that this present parliament should courageously and undauntedly appear in the vindication thereof; which must either be vindicated and maintained, or the rights and liberties of this nation cannot be well established? And if both the privi-

[1] Diod. in Act. xvi.

[2] Mic. vii. 1, 2. Psal. xii. 1. Isa. lvii. 1.

leges of parliament, and the liberties of the people, be forcibly invaded; what colour or pretence can there be for the high and extraordinary actings of this army, and those officers of state now in power.

IV. *Query.* Whether the providence of God doth not call and cry aloud to this parliament, to emit and set forth a rational serious declaration of those great pressures and grievances which lie upon the people of these nations, declaring the causes, and the cures and remedies thereof; imitating therein the practice of the memorable renowned old parliament, who at their first sitting, did publish a very excellent remonstrance of the state of the kingdom,[3] whereby the people came to have a right understanding of their interest and concernments?

V. *Query.* Whether it is probable that those members of parliament who are greatly interested and engaged in respect of the times, and the great places and preferments thereof; should by their speeches, debates, and endeavours in the house, promote the public interest and welfare of these nations, with that faithfulness and integrity as may well be expected from persons who are disengaged and free from such snares and temptations? The acceptation of gifts proving for the most part the prevarication of truth and justice. 'By 'gifts, the eyes of men are blinded: and whereas justice doth establish a nation, he that 'receiveth gifts, destroyeth it,' Prov. xxiv. 4.

VI. *Query.* Whether we may not well hope that all unbiassed members of parliament that love their country, though at present they may not be well grounded in those principles and ways which naturally tend to the good of the commonwealth, yet upon hearing debates in the house *pro* and *con*, wherein the constitution of these nations, and the present posture and condition of our affairs will be displayed and laid open, will attain to a fuller and clearer understanding (than now they have) of the necessity of frequent successive free parliaments, for vindicating the liberties of their native country; and that law, reason, common right, and impartial justice, will gain ground more and more in the judgments and affections of the people of these nations, if the Lord have yet a design to bottom and establish these nations upon a good and lasting foundation, and not expose them to utter ruin?

VII. *Query.* Whether men of reading and observation can instance in any nation or country, that after such a war between a monarch and the people, and so much blood as hath been shed in these nations upon that account, did not either resolve itself into a free state, placing the whole legislative power in the people's representatives, or else was hoised up to a high pitch of tyrannical and arbitrary government by a single person having the militia at his command, to the utter ruin of the people's liberties?

VIII. *Query.* If monarchy be settled and established in any one family besides the Stuarts, may not any man who is but meanly versed in history or chronology, rationally apprehend and conclude, That this is a direct way to entail a perpetual war upon our posterity; the contest being between two families, as was between the houses of Lancaster and York; in which war many princes and nobles, besides thousands of the people of England, lost their lives? And is it not very probable that monarchy being screwed up to a great height of arbitrariness, will at length centre in the old royal family, whereof there are many flourishing branches, who watch but for an opportunity to invade us? And therefore, will not another form of government (if settled and established by a free parliament) be a far more likely means (through the blessing of God) to prevent new broils and combustions in these already much impoverished nations, and to secure all honest men that have engaged in the parliament's cause?

IX. *Query.* Is there not therefore an apparent necessity for those of the old parliament, the officers and soldiers of the army, and all others that pretend to be friends to the good old cause, to lay aside all personal animosities, private opinions, and discontents, and to unite their forces together, to keep out the common enemy, and to promote those principles of public interest, and common right and freedom, which have been held forth

[3] Remonstr. Decem. 15, 1641.

from time to time in the declarations of the parliament and army, as the basis and foundation of a well-grounded peace, and without which there can be no such settlement in the nation, as will in human probability be lasting and durable, and beneficial to posterity: for unless common right and freedom be established, the interest and family of the Stuarts is like to swallow up (in the revolution of a few years) the interest of any other particular family, be it of the noblest descent in the nation: and although all politic bodies and constitutions here below, are very uncertain and mutable; yet it is well known to rational men (who have read histories) that a military or martial body (especially that wherein there is so great variety of opinions in matters of religion, and no such constant pay as will satisfy the soldiery,) is more unstable and uncertain than any other? nay, is it not very probable that such a military body may be so modelled and changed, and reduced to such straits in a short time, that the common enemy (as the like hath been done in other countries[4]) may get up into the saddle by means thereof?

X. *Query.* Whether prelacy, and lordly episcopacy in the church, do not in a prudential way better correspond with monarchy in the civil state, than any other ecclesiastical order of government: according to that known maxim of King James (that great politician) 'no bishop no king?' And where do we find a protestant nation or country whose government is monarchical in a single person, which is not also regulated and managed in ecclesiastical affairs by prelatical bishops? Doth not a free state (in the judgment of rational impartial men) correspond and suit better in all respects with those of the clergy that are of the presbyterian judgment; and especially with the independents, or those of the congregational way (would they but rightly understand and own their professed principles) whose discipline and government is more popular and democratical? Have not the clergy in Holland, Switzerland, Venice, and other commonwealths, due encouragements according to their deserts, living peaceably under the government of the civil state? Have they any cause to complain? Or will any of the clergy quarrel with the government of a free-state, but such as are either grossly ignorant thereof, or such as affect an imperious and lordly domination over their brethren; which by the word of God belongs not to them? And if in case moderate episcopacy (as it is called) should be settled in these nations in a way of subserviency to monarchy in the civil state; besides, that it will not answer expectation (unless there be also a revocation of the church-revenues in land) will not this exceedingly disgust the godly ministers and people of Scotland, who have an antipathy to that government (be it never so much qualified or limited) especially, considering that it is directly contrary to the solemn league and covenant? And will it not also in a very short time make way for a lordly episcopacy or ecclesiastical tyranny (as it hath done in the papacy) considering how apt many ministers are to affect a lordly domination over their brethren in matters of faith? 1 Pet. v. 2, 3.

XI. *Query.* If monarchy should be established in these nations (there being no settled considerable revenue in land to maintain the pomp and court of the monarch; nor the greatness of the clergy in a way of correspondency and suitableness thereunto) is it not very probable that the monarch (having the militia at his command) will in a short time pretend a necessity of restoring the crown-lands; yea, and the bishop's, and dean and chapter's lands, or a good part thereof, upon payment of those inconsiderable sums which the purchasers gave for them: especially if thereby the people may be eased of taxes and contribution, and so their affections more knit and engaged to the supreme magistrate and his government?

XII. *Query.* Is it wisdom or discretion in these times of jealousy and division among godly men, rigorously to insist upon matters of church-government, and points of religion which are disputable and controversial? or doth it argue Christian ingenuity and moderation to endeavour, by the coercive power of the civil magistrate to impose and lay burthens upon brethren in things of this nature, which must be determined, as God shall

[4] Hist. of France, concerning Lewis IV.

be pleased to give out more spiritual light[5] and knowledge. And seeing there is liberty and due encouragement (and like to be) as touching the preaching of the gospel of Christ; is it fit or expedient for the parliament in the first place to meddle much with matters of religion, which come to be known by divine and supernatural revelation?[6] Ought not our fundamental civil rights and liberties (which lie at stake) to be first of all secured and established? And is it not the part of a wise man that hath rich commodities to transport and make sale of, first to prepare and provide a good vessel wherein his commodities may be safely conveyed, before such time as he dispose thereof? Yea, will not a considerate man first build a strong house, wherein his precious goods and household-stuff may be secured, and then afterward dispose of his household-stuff in convenient time and place? And where have we known the power (I speak not of the form) of Christian religion, countenanced by such a magistracy or authority as have oppressed and enslaved the people in things civil?

XIII. *Query.* Admit that the late Protector had authority, by the Advice and Petition (which we know was framed in the absence of 150 eminent members, who were most lawfully chosen by their country, and unlawfully secluded by the Protector and his council) to nominate his successor; yet is not this nomination still exceeding dubious and uncertain? And ought it not to be questioned (as to the legality thereof) by the people's representatives in parliament? We further demand, should not this nomination or declaration have been under the hand and seal of the late Protector, and solemnly declared and published in his life-time? If a man cannot legally dispose of a piece of land, but by writing at least, in the presence of sufficient witnesses; how much less ought the government of three nations to be disposed of, unless it be by writing under hand and seal, and that in the most solemn and public manner? And how doth it appear, that the late Protector was of sound judgment and memory when he nominated his successor, and that he did it voluntarily, and not by the renewed importunities of persons, whose power and interest is concatenated with, and dependent upon the power of the single person?

XIV. *Query.* If a new house of lords be erected, and part of the legislative power settled in them, in matters of greatest weight and importance; as namely, touching the militia, and the settling of a vast yearly revenue for maintaining the government; is there not like to be continual emulation, heart-burning, and strife, between the new-erected lords and the ancient nobility and gentry, not only those who engaged in the king's quarrel, but also others that appeared in the parliament's cause, whose birth, estates and abilities, every way are greater than theirs, who now take upon them to sit and act as a distinct house from the commons? And considering what a prejudice and hindrance the negative voice of the king and house of lords (depending upon him) hath formerly been to the making of good laws, and establishing the rights and liberties of the people (whose interest is bound up in the house of commons:) how can the people of these nations groundedly expect any good from this check which is put upon their liberties by a new house of lords? And is not the engagement still in force, whereby we did promise to be 'true and faithful to the government as then established, without king, or house of 'lords?' Or at least, is not that law still in force, whereby it is made high-treason for any person whatsoever to exercise the office of chief magistrate, or for any person to proclaim him chief magistrate of these nations?[7] And can any lawful power on earth disannul that law, but a free renowned parliament? Nay, did not the Lord by his providence wonderfully bless and prosper the armies and endeavours of that renowned parliament, after they had resolved the govenrment into a free state, though it must be confessed there was too much self-seeking and ambition in some particular members?

XV. *Query.* Whether the foundation of the advice and petition be not enervated and

[5] *Fides est donum Dei, non Cæsaris. Fides est suadendo, non imperando.*
[6] *Sæviant illi, qui nesciunt quantis gemitibus datur vel tantillum de Deo intelligere.* Austin.
[7] Vide Act. Jan. 1648.

destroyed, by issuing out writs for summoning a parliament according to the ancient laws of the land: (the qualifications and number of members being not limited by the last parliament?) And how can a new house of lords be legally summoned; forasmuch as by the ancient laws of the land (by virtue whereof writs are issued forth) the old lords are to sit as barons of parliament? And doth not the incorporating Scotish and Irish knights and burgesses, as members of the parliament at Westminster, invalidate the late Advice and Petition, and entrench upon the fundamental laws of the nation? And is not this worthy to be taken into serious consideration by the present parliament, who ought to make due provision for successive parliaments, both as touching the number and qualifications of their members, the places for which they are to be chosen, the certainty of their meeting, and the time and continuance of their sitting; there having been more inequality and injustice in the last elections, than ever was in the choosing of a parliament?

XVI. *Query.* Was not the power of disposing the militia by sea and land, one main ground of the great and bloody contest and war between the late king and parliament; which after solemn appeals to God, came to be at the sole dispose of the parliament? And if the militia be not settled in the people's representatives, what security can they have for the enjoyment of the propriety of their lands and goods: (the sword being at the dispose of those that uphold a personal interest, in opposition to the public?) Is not this a direct and ready way to enslave the people and their posterity? for suppose the single person and army, now in being, should be zealous for the people's liberties, religious and civil; yet who can promise their successors will be so, and not rather as it was with Rehoboam and his flattering courtiers, whose little finger was heavier than Solomon's loins; and whereas the father 'chastised the people but with whips, the son would 'chastise them with scorpions?' (1 Kings, xii. 10, 11.) Will paper and parchment walls defend the privileges of parliament, and the liberties of the people of England? We trow not. What, though many good laws be consented unto in parliament; yet how easy is it for a prince (that hath an army at his command) to render the best laws ineffectual and void; as we may see in our English chronicle, in the reign of King John and Edward the Second, and other princes, whose proceedings were quite contrary to those good laws which themselves had passed; and so the people were still at a great loss touching their liberties; nor will it be any better, but rather much worse, so long as one and the same person is both chief magistrate in civil affairs, and likewise captain-general of the armies at sea and land.

XVII. *Query.* Hath it not been the constant use and practice of former parliaments, and ought it not likewise to be the practice of this parliament, first to secure the so often violated laws and liberties of the nation, before they grant any subsidies or taxes to be levied upon the people, whose burthens have been great, and are now in a manner intolerable, in regard of the general decay of trade all over the nation? And is it wisdom or honesty to put the people to play an after-game for the securing of their liberties, there being now such a fit opportunity put into the hands of their representative?

XVIII. *Query.* Whether monarchy in a rational way be agreeable to the present constitution of the nation, (which ought to be specially regarded in the settling of a government[8]) the balance of propriety in land, yea, nine parts of ten, if it should be so divided, being in the commons, and not in a single person, nobility and clergy; for where there was one freeholder formerly in the days of our forefathers, there are ten now, who depend not the least as touching the title of their lands, upon the prince or any of his nobility? And if in case a government should be erected and established in the nation, contrary to the balance of revenue in land; will not the prince be thereby necessitated to keep up a great and numerous army, which must be fed by the people's purse; and will in a short time eat them out of all, that so the balance may be altered, and more suitable to monarchial government?

[8] See Sir Tho. Smith's Commonwealth of England, cap. 15. pp. 33, 34.

XIX. *Query.* Whether it be not every way most just, safe, and honourable for the army, especially those officers and soldiers that have wives, children, and estates in land, and therefore are embarked in the same ship with their country-men (inasmuch as they are not soldiers of fortune, raised in a foreign country, in this crisis of danger) to stick close unto, guard, and defend the representatives of the people? for, 1. They were raised and empowered by the parliament. 2. They have their pay out of the purses of the people, who are represented by the parliament. 3. If they divide themselves from the parliament, they may ere long be cashiered out of the army (as their fellow-officers have been without a court-martial) and then they will be in no better capacity than others, but rather much worse; as having not faithfully discharged their trust to their poor country. 4. There is no better way (that a man can imagine) to secure and preserve what they have gotten, and to transmit true freedom to their posterity, than by cordially adhering to the people's representatives in establishing a government by known laws.

XX. *Query.* Whether the commissions of the officers of the army be not void by the death of the late general, who had his commission from the old parliament? And how they can lawfully and with a good conscience draw their swords against any party that shall rise up in the nation, till they be again empowered and commissioned by a parliament of England, which is a lawful authority derived from the people?

XXI. *Query.* Whether it is not fit that the people's representatives, and they only (being the great council of the nation) should be entrusted with making war and peace with foreign states? 'By wise counsel (saith Solomon) wars should be made, and in the mul-'titude of counsellors there is safety.' (Prov. xxiv. 6.) And how can it be expected from the people of the nation, that they should cheerfully contribute to the maintaining of a war with a foreign enemy (if it be made appear to be lawful,) unless their rights and liberties at home, for which they have engaged in a bloody war, be first of all secured and established?

XXII. *Query.* If it shall be thought fit to have a single person to govern these nations with the advice of his council in the intervals of parliament: first, Then will it not be the safest way for the people to have this single person and council invested only with power to execute the laws, and the whole legislative power to be settled in the people's representatives? And again, considering the temper and constitution of the nation, will it not be most equal and just to have this single person elective, to continue for one or two years, and he and his council to be accountable to the parliament for mal-administration? And this single person being thus elective, and not hereditary, nor of long continuance in his office, 1. Will not this way be far less chargeable and burthensome to the nation than hereditary kingship? 2. May it not be an effectual means to prevent strife and division amongst persons of great estate and quality; one being capable of governing in this way as well as another, according to their deserts? And, 3. will not the magistrate be the more careful, faithful, and honest, in performing the duty of his place, as knowing that he must shortly be accountable to the supreme authority of the nation; according to that excellent custom which was among the Athenians: when the magistrate had ended his government (which lasted but a year) open proclamation was made throughout the city after this manner: 'Whosoever can accuse the magistrate of any unjust act committed 'by him, let him come forth, for he hath ended his magistracy:' and hereupon every accuser that could make just proof of offence, had free admission; and he that unjustly accused him was punished.

XXIII. *Query.* Whether it be not a duty incumbent upon all the faithful ministers and people of this land, in such a time as this, to fortify and strengthen the hands of the representatives, (in opposing the common enemy, and vindicating the liberties of the nation) by their sermons and prayers for them, and by their addresses and applications to them; now that such a great and heavy burthen as the safety and welfare of three nations lies upon them? And will not such as truly love their country and posterity be sensible of this duty; though possibly they, or some of them have been ensnared with the temptation of the times? And whether the people of England, if they had been left to

their own liberty and choice in their late addresses, and not surprised by interested time-serving persons, would not have been importunate for the speedy calling of a parliament (which is now called,) that so the government of those weather-beaten nations, might be built upon foundations of common right, justice, and freedom?

XXIV. *Query.* If the great council of the nation shall think fit to communicate their votes to the people, will it not be expedient to appoint an honest faithful man to publish the same in print; and not to encourage, but rather give a timely check to the weekly Pamphleteer,[9] whose words are full of flattery, and his printed Relation exceeding partial?

XXV. *Query.* Doth it not highly concern the present parliament (and hath it not been the commendable practice of former parliaments) to release those prisoners who have engaged their lives for the liberty of their country, and against whom nothing can be alleged and proved in a legal way, to render them worthy of imprisonment: at least, that they may be brought to a fair legal trial, and have the benefit of the petition of right, and other good laws of the land? And ought we not to be as tender of the rights and liberties of our country-men as of our own?

[9] March. Nedham. [The greatest news-writer of his day, and the most mutable and mercenary of the Mercurialists. One of his opponents describes him as the successive author of the opposite-sided Mercuries, entitled Politicus, Intelligence, Britannicus, Pragmaticus, the Spy, the Counter-plot, &c.]

The most royall and honourable Entertainement of the famous and renowmed[1] King Christiern the Fourth, King of Denmarke, &c. who with a Fleete of gallant Ships arrived on Thursday the 16th day of July, 1606, in Tylbury-Hope, neere Gravesend. With a Relation of his Meeting, by our royall King, the Prince and Nobles of our realme: the Pleasures sundry times shewed, for his gracious Welcome, and most famous and admirable Entertainment at Theobalds. With the royall Passage on Thursday the 31 of July, thorough the Citty of London and honourable Shewes there presented them, and maner of their passing. By H. R.

At London, printed for H. R. and are to be sold by William Barley, dwelling in Gratious streete, neere Leaden Hall gate. 1606.

[Quarto, Four Sheets.]

James the Sixth of Scotland had in 1590 *taken as his consort, the Princess Ann, second daughter of Frederick II. King of Denmark, entirely contrary to the views and recommendation of Queen Elizabeth. After his ascent to the English throne, and deliverance*

[1] [*Renowmed* for *renowned*, was customary with our elder writers, the word being derived from the French *renommé*. See Mr. Todd's edit. of Spenser, vol. ii. p. 178.]

from the Gunpowder-plot, he obtained a very considerable subsidy from parliament,[2] *and expended most of it in the sumptuous entertainments given to his Danish brother-in-law, which are here detailed with sufficient particularity, by Maister Henry Roberts; who professes to have been an attendant on these courtly festivities, and appears (from his second Dedication) to have held some employment relating to Irish affairs. More minutiæ however, concerning the failure of an allegorical representation which took place at Theobalds, (and to which Roberts might not be admitted) are given by Sir John Harrington in a letter to Secretary Barlow, in* Nugæ Antiquæ; *and some circumstantial extracts from the Harleian and Cotton manuscripts and other sources, are presented by Mr. Nichols in the concluding volume of his Collection of the Progresses of Q. Elizabeth and K. James.*

To the right worshipful and most worthy favourer of all virtues, Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, all increase of worship in this life, and after death the joys eternal.

Right Worshipful,

As I was in the time of your worshipful father for many great favours bounden, so have I ever devoted myself and all my ability to your worship, and all the rest of his worshipful progeny. Amongst all which, yourself (whose virtues God hath regarded and the prince worthily respected) I have in my chiefest thoughts sought; to acknowledge my duty, and to manifest my zeal to that worshipful house, from whence you proceed. And, albeit to mine own knowledge you have been a spectator of those things wherewith I now make bold to present you; yet thereby I have thought to manifest my love, and humbly beseech you that you vouchsafe the acceptance thereof: the rather, for that it concerneth the honours done by our king unto his most dear beloved brother; all which yourself being better acquainted with than many others, that by fostering it, your honoured name shall be had in acceptance with many thousands of this realm, whose desires are great, to hear the truth of all these honourable entertainments, given and received. Thus humbly recommending myself unto your worship's favour and humbly craving pardon for my presumption, I cease from your further trouble, and rest in all humble duty at your service,

Ready for ever to be commanded,

HEN. ROBARTS.

The royal, rare, and most honourable Entertainment of the famous King Christiern the Fourth, King of Denmark, &c. since his first arrival on shore, the 17th day of July, 1606.

WHEN it pleased God to place the imperial crown of this most blessed and famous kingdom on the head of our most glorious and renowned sovereign, King James, it was not a little admired amongst the commons of this land, the honours done his highness by most christian kings and princes, who by their ambassadors (as from France, Spain, Italy, Denmark, Holland, and others) not only presented their honourable loves and joy for his happiness therein, but desiring peace with his people and state, with love, in all honour to be continued amongst them and their nations.

Their honourable and christian request his highness, with all honour, embraced with

[2] [‘ In good sooth, (says Sir John Harrington) the parliament did kindly, to provide his majesty so seasonably with money; for there hath been no lack of good living:—shews, sights, and banquetings from morn to eve.’ Nug. Antiq. i. 349.]

such kingly conditions, love, and fame, to him and his subjects, as all the kings and potentates of the world may admire, and his own people joy in such honoured peace.

For thereby have our merchants sure and safe traffic to all nations, and they to our land, where they trade at their pleasures.

Since when, divers nations which with good regard of those blessings God hath endued this realm withal, and the troubles of their own countries, preferring their quiet above their native country, wealth, and friends, have left their home-born regions, and placed themselves here with their families, where they live (free from those dangers they were subject unto) under the government of a most religious and honourable king, enjoying their wealth without fear, and resting in all tranquillity of mind, and security of their estates, praise God for his excellent majesty, that so carefully tendereth their lives and safeties as his own people's.

Peace and all happy tranquillity with so many countries being established, and his majesty enjoying the blessing of the most high God that placed him, ambassadors from state to state oftentimes passed, whereby the kings from far received joyful tidings of his royal government, health, and welfare; and his majesty likewise from them and their kingdoms. The affinity of blood, and desire of true brotherly love to be continued, which love is the true loadstone that draweth friends, and moveth the heart to desire the company which they most honour and esteem of; as we have read many famous examples of all estates, as well princes as others.

But in man's memory hath not been heard, nor (hearing) with more rejoicing seen, so rare and most excellent a sympathy of true and honourable love; as is most apparent, by that most royal King Christian of Denmark, who (nothing regarding the dangers of the seas nor any other accidents) albeit he did oftentimes hear of the gracious and happy estates of our dread sovereign King James, his royal and most esteemed princely sister Queen Anne, Prince Henry and their royal issue; that such is his great desire and kingly affection, that no report whatsoever could satisfy his kingly mind, but in person adventured to be partaker of their most royal presence, and to participate with them and their majestical companies; wherein no doubt, a most honourable and true combined royal mind is expressed.

For which honourable intention, his ships of great strength were prepared, and two pinnaces; the Admiral, wherein his own person came, being a most huge ship, is esteemed of 1500 tons: which ship is so adorned with rich gold, and very excellent workmanship, as many thousands (upon report thereof) of purpose have gone to Gravesend, where she doth ride, to view her. Besides the beauty and richness of this great ship, she is appointed with most huge ordnance, men and victuals, fit for so kingly a presence. The rest, likewise, accordingly complete; all rich in ordnance, men, and ammunition.

The kingly attendants of his person, and all others of his train, furnished in apparel very rich and most beautiful, every one in his estate and place: his council and chief men very decent, after their country fashion richly decked in silk, with gold, and silver lace, jewels, and chains of rare estimation.

His pages and guard of his person, in blue velvet laid with silver lace for their best suit; and one suit, for to exchange, of other silk; whitish coloured hats, with bands embroidered; most of them either white or blue stockings; his trumpetors in white satin doublets, blue velvet hose, trimmed with silk and silver lace, watchet[3] cloaks guarded with sundry colours, and white hats with blue silk and gold bands embroidered; his common guard of soldiers with muskets furnished very rich, white fustian doublets, watchet hose with white and blue lace, loose cassocks[4] large and fair, (like our footmen's coats) with white and blue lace, hats with bands suited like, and all his common soldiers in cassocks and hose of watchet colour; the master and his mates, gunners and chief officers, being very rich in their apparel: his trunks, and other provision for carriage, covered with red velvet, trimmed with blue silk and gold lace; his sumpter[5]-cloths, and

[3] [Watchet; *i. e.* blue.] [4] [Horsemen's great coats.] [5] [Horse-cloths.]

coverings to cover his lading, of red velvet with blue silk and gold lace, all made after the English fashion.

For the government of his followers of all sorts, according to his kingly pleasure, he ordained a marshal who had under-marshals many, with great charge from his majesty, that if any man of his company should be drunk, or otherwise to abuse himself in any manner towards Englishmen, or his own followers, to be punished sharply: such is the royal care and honour of his excellency, which is duly executed.

All things being ready for the voyage, which with great care of all his officers was accomplished; after a most honourable order taken for government of the kingdom in his absence, the wind serving fitly, and a heavy parting of the queen, (his honoured and most gracious mother,) with the states and chief of the land, with tears of sorrow plentifully shed of his loving subjects, and their hearty prayers zealously made to God for the prosperous success of his majesty at sea, and happy arrival to his desirous port, he bade them all farewell! leaving them to their charge; and betook his royal person to the mercy of God, that guideth heaven and earth and seas, and in all dangers protecteth his people.

And by God's providence (who sendeth winds at his pleasure) after some more than ordinary expecting of our dread sovereign and his people for his coming, his royal fleet had sight of our land, and in safety entered the same; bearing up the river of Thames, beholding, and with great pleasure admiring, the sweet and pleasant show and fertility of the land; not desiring to land to recreate his excellent person, until the king's majesty, our sovereign, came: But applied with his shipping so high as Tilbury-hope, a road some two or three miles distant from Gravesend, a port town in the county of Kent; where some small way off the road, more near the town, they came to anchor; whereof our gracious king being by posts advertised, having his barges ready (who being a king replenished with all kingly courtesy, well considering of those great travels this kingly brother had undergone, to see his highness, the queen, and their honourable progeny) without long stay, this mirror of all honour, King James, accompanied with the prince, his council, and many of the nobility of the land, with great store of courtiers which gave their attendance, took their barges towards Tilbury; where the king, in his ship, attended his kingly company. The Denmarks looking earnestly now for the coming of the king with his company.

When they came fair with the town's end at Gravesend, they from the ships descried the barges, and gave notice thereof to the king; and presently, at the command of the lord-admiral of the fleet, the company was by the boatswains' whistles called up, and in all the gallant manner that might be, each man in his livery, making a gallant show, and noise of trumpets after the sea manner, and meeting of friends; the tacklings, tops, and every part of the ship, was so replenished with men, that hardly might you discern the ropes, or see the ship's sides.

The king, arriving at the ship's side, was entertained most graciously by the Denmark king to his ship, with the prince, nobles, and gentlemen of his train; which by King James, the prince, and the nobles, was again requited with kingly embracings, and most honourable entertainment to this country. Like honourable favours and great welcomes were made his followers by the council of England, and theirs, to the great joy of all the beholders. One hour and something more being spent with great delight aboard the ship, these famous kings joyed in each other's company. The tide serving, they set forward to the court. The two kings, and the prince, in his barge were placed; and the noblemen of England courteously entertained into their companies the noblemen and best of the king of Denmark's train.

The barges falling off from the ship, after they had rowed some small way, the admiral discharged such a thundering peal of ordnance (whereof many are cannons of brass) that the smoke dimmed the skies, and their noise was heard a far way off. After her, the vice and rear admiral, and so all the rest; which made a long peal: every ship taking his turn, very orderly, in exceeding good sort.

By this time they came to the block-houses, situate near Gravesend, who followed in

discharging their ordnance in like manner, with such good industry and care as was very well commended, and highly praised of both kings and their companies. This honourable welcome given and received, they past the river till they came to Greenwich, where the royal court of England lay. All the way passing, the royal king of Denmark with many loving favours shewed his heart's joy, in embracing the noble and most honourable Prince Henry.

Being now on our English land, a more kind welcome was again begun to all the strangers. To behold the multitudes of people which came to see them was admirable; especially having so small knowledge of the king's arrival.

In royal manner they entered the court at Greenwich, where our gracious Queen Anne lay, unto whom you need not doubt but this happy tidings and kingly brother's company was most pleasing and joyful, as appeared at the most royal and kingly meeting of these most great princes, brother and sister; whose travels he holdeth for pleasure, and therein taketh great comfort; enjoying the sight and welfare of so high and mighty a princess, his dear sister Queen Anne, and so toward and happy issue of their loins, as were present, that in them and their presence, no monarch of the earth might think a more happier contentment.

This night being Friday at night, and the 17th day of July, the royal kings reposed themselves in the court, and Saturday all day and night, with great welcomes and joy of either of them.

On Sunday the 19th day, King James accompanied with his brother of Denmark, and nobility of both kingdoms, very rich in their courtly attire, (the king being in English fashion) went to the chapel, where they heard a learned sermon preached by the reverend father the Bishop of Rochester.[6] By all the way as they passed and returned, the royal king (with admiration) gave great and honourable regard to the multitude of people there present, the honourable state and gallant managing of the nobility and courtiers, with the rare company of gentlemen-pensioners, and the guard in their rich coats, as he wondered highly at that rare and most high service and sumptuous attendance.

The time of dinner being come, the guard of our king appointed to give their attendance on the gentleman-sewer, carried up his kingly viands; where wanted not any thing that could possibly be gotten, with wine and beer plentiful, and served up in most honourable manner, with the noise and excellent music of drums and trumpets, which moved his highness to much delight.

This mirror of esteemed grace and honour, King James, the glory of all Christendom for receiving foreign estates, so entertained the puissant king, his brother, in person, accompanying him in all royal pleasures, delighting him, and most plentifully feasting him, as shall never be razed out of memory so long as the world shall have any being: but the chronicles of these two united and famous nations, to the end of all ages ensuing, shall record the honours given and received between these two most famous and royal brothers, kings of England and Denmark.

The dinner finished, on the first Sunday after his coming to the court, innumerable was the numbers of citizens of London, as well of the better sort and gentry, as the commons, and other adjoining parishes and towns, which flocked thither to see the persons of these two beloved and famous kings. The sight of which people might cause the greatest prince in the world to admire them, and in their admiration to rejoice, in so fair and pleasant a sight of so many well demeaned people; but more in the true loves to them; both which was the cause of their coming thither.

This Sunday spent in God's praises and their comforts, on Monday in the forenoon, being the 20th of July, these gracious kings, accompanied with our royal prince and many honourable persons, most richly mounted on steeds of great price and furniture fair, hunted in the park at Greenwich, and killed two bucks.

After noon, their high estates went to Eltham, (a house of his majesty's some two miles

[6] [Dr. Barlow was the Bishop of Rochester.]

distant from the court) where in the park they hunted with great pleasure, and killed three bucks on horseback: being followed with many companies of people, which in their loves came to see them; whereof a great many, not used to follow such pleasures as hunting, especially being on foot, thought not on their pains, but in joy of their hearts (which no doubt was pleasing unto them) they endeavoured with all their power to follow after their horses, as never wearied in the view of so royal company; thinking themselves most happy (of any other,) to behold so rare and excellent a sight—two kings and a prince; and surely, in the opinion of many, their royal persons might take great pleasure to hear their continual cries to God for his blessing, and to preserve them, their states and dignities, from all malice and traitor's practices for ever.

The sun growing nearer to his place of rest, their pleasures finished, and they returned themselves to the court; all the way pacing easily, that the people might the better obtain their desires in beholding of them.

This first day's pleasure with great delight finished, they reposed themselves until Thursday the 24th of July; at which time, the morning being fair, every man in his place gave their attendance: the barges waited for their majesties, which about 11 of the clock came aboard them; accompanied with his brother, the king and prince, and were rowed to Blackwall, where their coaches with their train attended their coming; with such multitudes of people as were not to be numbered, at the landing there of his highness, the merchants' ships which anchored in the road there, discharged such a peal of ordnance as gave great contentment to that royal company.

Thence they set forwards the way that leadeth to Stratford, and so to Theobald's, (twelve miles distant from London) a famous and most delightful house of the right honourable Earl of Salisbury: all the way met with great company of people, which saluted them and prayed for their happiness; but most especially until they came three or four miles from London: all which way was so replenished with men and women of good sort, some on foot, some on horseback, and some in coaches, that there was hardly way left for their royal company to pass them. Such is the love of this nation to the king, and his lovers and friends; and in their love, their desires so great to behold their delights, that no pain whatsover but they esteem as pleasure to enjoy it, especially to behold so honourable and heavenly sight, two anointed kings, and so royal a prince, whom God in his great mercy evermore preserve and keep from all traitorous practices, and other evils, Amen.

Before these royal persons came near the house of Theobald's, there was strewed in the highways abundance of leaves coloured green, cut like oaken leaves; on every one of which was written in large Roman letters of gold, "WELCOME, WELCOME," which being presented to their majesties, they praised the device, and found their welcomes as great to them and theirs as was spoken of.

At this most beautiful house, after their welcomes given by this most bountiful earl, patron of that famous place, they spent their times four nights and days,[7] where they received many great delights in hunting in the chases and parks near adjoining, where they killed store of deer with great pleasure.

Some other times they spent in viewing the admirable pleasures that place affordeth; beholding in great delight the sweet groves, gardens, and walks, which with such rare workmanship is so beautified, and for variety so exceedeth, that time stealeth too fast away for the beholders, especially where judicial eyes doth take pleasures therein; so rich, rare, and of such exquisite perfection is that place, that a man may fail in describing the same, but cannot suddenly be wearied with many times viewing and reviewing thereof.

On Sunday they rest from their pleasures, giving the honour of that day to Him that sanctified the same; and hearing learned sermons.

Amongst all the things which was to be noted at this honourable place, during these two royal kings stay there, this I may not overpass.

[7] [On the 24th of July, a dramatic entertainment for the two kings of Great Britain and Denmark at Theobald's was prepared by Ben Jonson. See Biog. Dram. i. 414, new edit.]

The house being twelve miles off from the city of London, notwithstanding the distance of the places, the great abundance of people which came from London to see these two royal kings and prince, were so many, that a man may wonder at, but not certainly report: the high-ways thither day nor night never free for multitudes of people, going and coming, in such great companies, that all the towns and villages adjoining were so replenished with people, that there was not lodging to be had for many comers thither, nor victuals for their monies, whereof many of good sort complained, and might have fasted, had they not been provided for in that honourable house. Such was the bounty of this noble earl, in his large allowance to all officers for that time, that beef, bread, beer, wine, and other viands, was not denied to any that were either acquainted in the house with the officers, or any their friends, which would seek it; as many found to their great comfort, and honour of the honourable patron of that house.

The four days, appointed for the stay of this royal company there, brought to end with many delights and pleasure, to God's glory and their grace's good contentment,

On Monday, being the 28th of July, after dinner they leave that place; returning gracious thanks to this worthy earl for their cheer and pleasures; which being truly considered of, may deservedly be spoken of, in all honour, in the courts of the mightiest potentates: as the strangers, partakers of both pleasures and cheer, to their great honours doth applaud, and for ever will commend in all places the renowned earl, and his most kind and royal entertainment, they received at this famous house of Theobalds by his bounty.

The same night they returned again to Blackwall, and from thence to Greenwich, where our gracious Queen Anne (the heart's delight of these two royal kings) kept her court; unto whose gracious and most loving company they were welcome: where, to the protection of the God of all glory and peace, we leave them, who ever defend them and all theirs.

Thus have I brought to end the first welcome and arrival of this famous stranger-king, with his beginning of progress, to God's glory, the great pleasure and content of many thousands, whose desires were enriched with beholding their persons.

At this place of Greenwich they repose themselves until Thursday, which was the 31st of July, and the day appointed for their coming through the city: where they spent the time in solacing themselves with her gracious majesty, the prince, and nobles of his court. About two of the clock in the afternoon, (the tide serving them to go to London) these two royal kings, accompanied with the prince and honourable privy council, the lords and estates of the land, and a most worthy company of knights and esquires, the king's barges giving their attendance, their royal persons came aboard, and were rowed towards London.

By the way as they passed, they were saluted with great peals of ordnance from the merchants ships which rid in the Thames; the gunners of them so carefully applied their business, that they were highly commended for their care, and their owners which were at charge thereof, had thereby great commendations. With these delights and other musical noise of drums and trumpets, they passed on until they came to the Tower-wharf; where those most gracious kings and royal prince landed.

There they made no long stay; but as suddenly as the train could be marshalled according to their ancient manner, they set forwards where the kings was entertained by that worthy magistrate Sir Leonard Holliday, Lord Mayor of the honourable city of London, who delivered the sword unto his highness; who graciously received it, and then proceeded.

The marshals of the city first; who had with great care, and deserved commendations for their travails, from the morning very early rid up and down the city, carefully overseeing the multitudes of people which came to be partakers of these royal sights: who, by the straight commandment received from the Lord Mayor and aldermen for the people's safeties, that no harm might befal any of the companies, so highly and with such great regard did they apply themselves in placing and governing them, that thereby much harm was prevented, which might otherwise have happened by the unruly multitude; as is oftentimes seen at such times and places.

The marshals had allowed for their attendance 12 men, suited in yellow fustian, with ash-coloured hats, red bands, and red scarfs, and each a tip-staff in their hands.

Next them two trumpeters of his majesty, after whom followed the knight-marshal's men, of his highness' household, a famous and most worthy knight Sir Thomas Vavisor. These, his followers, were all suited in clay colour cloaks, streamed with silver lace, white doublets and green hose, with white hats; the bands rolled white and green, and guarded in the trim with green silk; of this company was twenty-three persons.

Then followed the messengers in their coats very richly embroidered, to the number of fourteen; then a herald of arms.

After whom followed his majesty's trumpeters, led by their serjeant in a cloak of carnation velvet, bearing the silver mace of his office, and the rest of his company (to the number of 14) in their livery-coats, very rich and well mounted. Then follows the king of Denmark's drum, riding upon a horse with two drums, one of each side the horse's neck; whereon he struck two little mallets of wood; a thing very admirable to the common sort, and much admired.

Then follow the Denmark king's trumpeters, being eleven in all, decently attired after our English fashion, in cloaks of watchet, garded with black, and striped white, blue velvet hose, and white sattin doublets trimmed with silver lace, white hats with bands embroidered with gold.

With this company the king's guard began to come forward; which marched, soldier-like, by the sides of the train (for a time) to keep the way.

After them more heralds, in their rich coats; then the king's gentlemen and courtiers, being most gallantly mounted, and rich in their apparel.

Then a troop of most gallant knights, of whose riches a number may admire; of whom many of them wore strange feathers of rich and great esteem, which they called 'the birds of paradise.'

These passing on, follow the Knights of the Bath, so richly garnished both in apparel, rich jewels, with gallant horses and costly furniture, that all the princes of the world may admire to hear thereof; but more, to see the most exceeding richness and most gallant personages of them.

Then follow more heralds, the worshipful Dean of his majesty's chapel, and one other with him.

Then barons, and the nobility of England of the younger sort, very rich and well attended upon. The masters of his honourable court of requests.

Then the serjeants at arms, with their rich maces, in number nine.

Then the reverend Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his grace, the Lord Bishop of London, and others.

Then the right honourable Earl of Salisbury, and other Earls, both of the council and others; amongst whom were placed, in great honour, the lords and chiefest of the Denmark king's nobility and council, who wore the most part of them rich jewels on their left breasts; all men of great gravity, and seemly personages.

Then came the right honourable Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, who carried the sword, and between two other two the Lord Mayor of London, who carried a mace.

Then came the most gracious Prince Henry,[8] whose sweet and most majestical grace and favour the whole company with due honour to his grace did applaud; and pray for his most gracious father, and all theirs, in all health to continue.

Then follow these two famous honours of estate and majesty, the two kings; our dread sovereign and his beloved brother Christian the Fourth, king of Denmark; who regarding more the true love of their nation than gorgeous apparel, whereof they have plenty, yet in their pleasures they contented themselves in plain suits to be attired; but rich in jewels, themselves not far unlike; and their horses near coloured and suited.

[8] [The tributes paid to this hopeful prince, during his life and at his death, might fill a volume larger than Dr. Birch's life of him.]

About whom on the sides marched divers of the Denmark-guard, suited in watchet coats and hose, soldier-like, laced with white and blue lace, whitish hats with blue bands, and gilt halberds.

These two most famous brother kings, riding in such love, and in majesty so surpassing, did so joy the hearts of their subjects, as the whole world may admire; yea, such was the honour of this day in London, and exceeding joy to behold these two famous kings, and their unity; as will, while they have any being, never be razed out of memory.

These royal kings passed, after them followed the right honourable Earl of Worcester, one of his privy council, and master of the horse.

After whom followed his majesty's gentlemen-pensioners, who made a most honourable and great show, such was their riches both of men and horse; amongst all which, their rich scarfs and feathers, which made a glorious show, was to be admired, which were thus suited; their feathers yellow and red, their scarfs very large, laced with fair gold lace at each end.

Next to them the king of Denmark's guard, marching three and three, soldier-like: after whom, came our gracious king's guard in their rich coats, to the number of 180, or thereabouts; whose comely personages, and seemliness in apparel, doth so amaze the mind of all strangers coming into this land, as they be admired at in all Christian king's countries, for their persons, civil government, and kind entertainment of strangers.

The train, thus marching as I have described, rid on till they came to Cheapside; all the way as these two famous kings passed from the Tower-hill, stood the companies of London in their liveries, gowns, and hoods; for whom there was places double railed, which was hanged with blue broad cloth, and the rails garnished with ancients, very richly gilt with the king's arms of England; the ancients of silk of each hall, with streamers and pendants of their arms, and several fellowships, the better to be known. The windows and penthouses richly decked with arras, and other costly hangings.

With great admiration passed these famous kings till they came to Cheapside, viewing the numbers of people which stood in windows, the streets, and other places; showing lovely and gracious aspectance of their loves, by their favourable countenance.

In their passing at the Great Conduit in Cheapside, was made with green boughs a very artificial arbour, which was garnished with all sorts of delightful fruits: in this arbour was placed most sweet music, which greatly delighted the hearers, and no doubt pleased his majesty.

At the Little Conduit, as they proceeded, there was erected a most stately pageant; such as for the rare device and beauty was, and is to be admired, and hath seldom been seen; a matter of such state and rare edifice, in so short time to be accomplished, the workmen and plotters thereof, having not past twelve days of respite after their first warning.

Here these most famous princes, and most admired kings, stayed beholding the devices and rareness of the same; unto whom were delivered (in name of the Lord Mayor and his brethren the aldermen, which stood near them in their scarlet gowns, and all the commons of the city,) a most pleasing speech; which ended, the kings gave the city thanks; and proceeded till they came to Paul's church-yard. Where at the school of the worshipful company of Mercers, called Paul's school, there were other delightful speeches delivered: to which they graciously hearkened, and honourably accepted.

Then rode they on, without stay, to Fleet Conduit; which was garnished sweetly. On the top was placed delightful music; and were presented with other speeches, which was graciously accepted. When they came to Saint Dunstan's church, they were presented with a noise of cornets; which showed their cunning to be excellent, and very pleasing to both their majesties.

Hence they proceeded to Temple-bar; where his majesty, and his brother king, giving many thanks to the Lord Mayor and citizens, for their great charge and pains, delivered the sword to the Lord Mayor, and rode on their way to Somerset-house; where they reposed themselves that night, and to their gracious further pleasures.

The Lord Mayor returning, was met by the sheriffs and aldermen of the city, who accompanied him to his house.

Thus finished this day's work, to God's glory, their highness' great delight; which the omnipotent giver of all grace, and preserver of his, ever increase and protect them, and all their royal progeny, from all detestable practices in this world; and in the last, Heaven be their inheritance. Amen. Amen.

England's Farewell to Christian the Fourth, famous King of Denmarke. With a Relation of such Shewes and severall Pastimes presented to his Majestie, as well at Court the fift day of August last past, as in other Places, since his honourable Passage thorow the Citie of London: The most honourable Entertainement of his Highnesse aboord his Majestie's Ships in the Roade of Gyllingame, neere the Citie of Rochester in Kent: with the King's Entertainement aboord the Denmarke Ships at Gravesend: as also their honorable Leave-taking and Farewell, setting sayle from Gravesend on Munday Night, the eleventh of August, 1606. By H. Roberts.

Printed at London for William Welby, 1606.

[Quarto, Three Sheets.]

To the right worshipful Sir John Jolles, knight, alderman and sheriff of the city of London, Henry Roberts, your worship's true devoted, wisheth all increase of worship in this world; and, after this life, the joys eternal.

Right Worshipful,

LONG since in those employments I had for the Irish affairs, in the time of our most dread and gracious sovereign deceased; and ever sithence, I sought opportunity to make some shew of my zeal unto you: but time never favouring the expectation of my desired thought, I was enforced to keep silent my love's intention. Yet now, having some occasion through these great and most honourable favours shewed unto the gracious and renowned King of Denmark, at his being here, by our famous king, nobility, and states of our land, whereof many have been eye-witnesses near this honourable city; yet, considering that many thousands which desired to see the same, have been debarred of their contentments therein; and having bestowed my time and charge in noting, from time to time, what hath been done, in all honour to welcome this renowned king in several places, and sundry honourable pastimes: (no doubt, to the eternal honour of his majesty and this land,) I have emboldened myself to publish the same, under your worship's protection:

and beseech you, of your accustomed clemency, so to accept it, as it is faithfully intended. So shall I bind myself ever to your service; and, in all duty, rest your worship's

Ever to be commanded,

H. ROBERTS.

England's Farewell.

THAT there is no greater comfort to man than perfect love to be maintained one with the other, there is few or none, but (having Christian charity) can testify: for, besides the prescript rule of God, which commandeth we 'love one another;' it bringeth such contentment to the mind, that there can be no jewel of so rare and high esteem, as the perfect love of friends. How many great potentates have, in their inward thoughts, preferred the love of some especial one, in their pleasures, to solace with; and in their counsels, to participate with, in all passions both of body and mind, to be as a second self!

Such is the effect of love, that many have hazarded life, and whatever the earth did afford them, in their love to make it known. Some, for their country's love have died; some, for their friend; and many, by adventuring honour of their houses by the force of their love.

If such be the touchstone of that virtue, and so highly ought to be regarded; how may all Christians joy therein, that have or do participate of the same! And how may we admire, in this iron age, wherein so many vices abound, to behold the amity of neighbour with neighbour, nation with nation, and friend with friend. Where, by the contrary, no torment on earth may be comparable to the inward griefs that heart endureth, where envy hath domination: and, truly, it is said and written of that horrible sin, by whom, and through whom, many great outrages have been attempted and done, and daily we have seen the subject attempting the death of their sovereign, the son the father, the husband the wife, and many times the wives their husbands. This hell-hound Envy, begotten by the devil, where it once fostereth, never giveth over his host, until he hath brought him to confusion: of which we have too many examples. God grant, we that profess Christ Jesus, in one sympathy of heart and mind, may abolish that hag; and truly embrace that heavenly commandment, to 'love one another;' and that we all, subjects of this peaceable and most gracious sovereign, King James, may be so united in love to our Maker, and duty to his majesty, that the devil never have power to cause us forget the one or the other: but that, seeing his excellency is the true touch of love, not only to us his home-born people, but unto all Christian nations, whatever they be that seek his favour or comfort, a father to the stranger, and a careful maintainer of peace for his people, a true Jonathan to his David, a holy anointed of the Lord, in this most royal king. Oh! let us all true subjects note, and noting, imprint in our hearts, the rare and most honourable love of his majesty, shewed to the person of his royal brother, King of Denmark; between whose loves there may be no comparison. The one, love caused to commit his kingly person to the adventure of fears and enemies, to see his joy, the comfort of his royal estate, our gracious sovereign, the queen's majesty, and their royal issue: whose love, with brotherly love hath so joyfully accepted of their highnesses, as never hath been seen in this land the like. Yea, such a surpasing joy may it ever be amongst us, that we can never think, speak, or write too much thereof.

Oh, rare love! oh, kingly and royal precedent, for all people to note, what hath happened since the sixteenth of July now last past; the day of this famous King of Denmark's first arrival in Tilbery-Hope, where he was entertained and brought from his ship with his chief delight, our dread sovereign, and the prince; lovingly welcomed by the queen and states, and joyfully received by all their subjects; who with duty and zeal made it known, in all the best manner so short time would give leave. Yet such it was, as his princely mind was much delighted in the same; and, no doubt, doth applaud this

honourable city, both for beauty, wealth, and pleasure; a most excellent note and honourable appearance of his gracious acceptance of their loves showed, may be gathered by his sudden and silent coming again in person, to view the state of this city and rare monuments thereof; who having seen it the last of July in all royalty, the citizens in their rich attire, the houses garnished, and such multitudes of people of all estates, in this manner ensuing, came to view it.

The next day being Friday, and the first of August, this royal king knowing the zeal and love of our nation, whose loyalty he need not distrust, accompanied with the Earls of Nottingham, Sussex, and others, in their coaches, came to St. Paul's church; where he walked and viewed the same; and from thence to the top of the steeple, where he took much delight to behold the beauteous situation of London, the pleasant gardens and fields adjoining, the richness of the Thames, so furnished with ships of great countenance and worth, as he graciously applauded the excellency thereof. But, amongst all other things, he admired most when the noblemen accompanying him did report the being of a horse upon that place, coming up such a way of great danger, and so high, that he took very good notice thereof, and wonderfully did admire the same.

From thence he took his coach, with his company, and passed on to the Exchange; viewing the beauty of Cheapside, and the riches of the inhabitants, the goldsmiths, mercers, and other wealthy trades, all the way setting their commodities to sale: a sight which may delight any prince in the world to behold.

To grace this Royal Exchange (so named by our late royal queen) his grace walked round about the pawn above, and viewed with great pleasure the same. Then came he to the merchants' walks beneath, where it was told his highness the manner of our merchants, and the hours of their meetings; where, from all countries, there was daily news to be heard, by one means or other. Here they make great exchanges of their merchandize, make their traffic to foreign countries, ship their men for service; so that their greatest affairs were every day twice there effected.

There-hence proceed they by Corn-hill, Gracechurch Street, and Fenchurch, to the Tower of London; where our gracious sovereign, his dear esteemed brother King James, met his highness, and with kingly welcomes entertained him, and in his own person conducted him to the offices of the jewel-house, wardrobe, of the ordnance, mint, and other places; where to their kingly presence in the jewel-house were presented the most rare and richest jewels, and beautiful plate; so that he might well wonder thereat, but cannot truly praise, or estimate the value thereof, by many thousands of pounds.

The like in the wardrobe: where for rich robes beset with stones of great price, fair and precious pearl and gold, were such as no king in the world might compare: besides, the rich furniture of hangings, cloths of state, cushions, chairs, and kingly furniture for his palaces, as may cause much admiration, and bring great content to the beholders.

But passing then on to the office of the ordnance, he well viewed the warlike provision of the great ordnance, which at an hour is ready for any service to be commanded. Over every piece the ladles and spunges hang, to lade them withal; and the traces and collars for the horses, to draw them away when they shall need to serve.

The armoury and store of small shot so well maintained and kept, the numbers ready fitted of all sorts of muskets, calivers, petronels, dags, and other serviceable weapons; as pikes, halberds, targets, shields of sundry fashions, for variety, antiquity of the things, and the relating of their uses, did make him (with great and honourable admiration) to behold them all very well, and commend them.

These rare, rich, and most admirable pleasant sights over gone; their majesties ascend to the mint, which they viewed; and from thence to the lions, and other wild beasts, there kept and maintained for his highness' pleasures and pastimes; all kingly delights, and such variety, as I think the world cannot bring in one country more store; as it hath been noted by many great travellers, who have seen the greatest courts of the world.

From this place, as they went to take their barges, the King of Denmark walked a turn or two upon the Tower-wharf, viewing the rich and forcible ordnance there placed

whereof there was no small store; as his majesty might well remember, by the honourable peal was made him the day before, at their setting forwards from the Tower to go through the city.

When their pleasures were well delighted with these shows, the tide serving to shoot the bridge, they took their barges and were rowed to his majesty's house, Whitehall. At their going from the wharf, an honourable peal of great ordnance was discharged; the officers using great diligence and foresight, and the gunners applying themselves very painfully for the performance thereof; the time being so short, as truly they did all deserve great commendations.

This day brought with honour to end, they repose themselves this night; and in the morning, very early, being Saturday, they hunted in the park of St. James, and killed a buck.

Then passed they on to Hyde-Park, where they hunted with great delight; spending the rest of the forenoon in following their pastime; and about the time of dinner returned, and there dined; and about four o'clock, their barges being by commandment ready at the privy stairs, they went by water to Greenwich.

The next day, being Sunday, her majesty was churched, to the great joy of all the beholders; the two kings being present at that time, where they heard a learned sermon.

This day they solace in their private delights: the kingly brothers, the queen, prince, and nobles of both realms, showing by all the means they can, their loves, by variety of delight, to beguile time, and bid them welcome.

On Monday, the 4th day of August, the queen (who had not been partaker of any their kingly sports) accompanied their royal persons, and the prince, who were attended on by the nobility and gallant courtiers: at which time their sport was to run at the ring; in following which they spend that afternoon: where sundry of the young noblemen proved their skill at that exercise, but none excelled his majesty and the Denmark-King; at whose good success the queen was very much delighted, and took great pleasure therein.

The next day being the solemn observation of his majesy's thanksgiving, for freeing his highness from the treacherous practices of the Gowries; the forenoon of that day they spent in thankfulness to God, whereof his majesty had a most religious and zealous care. The afternoon, for their delight, were the bears and bulls brought; in which sport some time was spent: but made the shorter, by reason of the honourable exercise of tilting; the lords and courtiers being ready armed, upon notice given them, repaired to the tilt-yard, every one with his several device, most gallantly mounted, and richly armed.

To honour this royal presence the more, the King of Denmark (armed very rich, and mounted on a most stately courser) came to the tilt, and ran eight courses: the first four with the Lord of Effingham, who brake their staves most gallantly, three a piece, and foiled the other. Then the noble and most toward Earl of Arundel, ran with his majesty of Denmark; and brake three staves a piece, to the great joy of all the beholders. Then followed the rest of the tilters, as they were appointed: so gallantly behaving themselves, as was both honourable and delightful to that most gracious and royal company. Night growing upon them, they were enforced to give over their sport: where taking their humble leaves of the two kings, the queen, and prince, they left the tilt-yard; and, being unarmed, returned to the court: where, besides former graces, and favours showed them by all their royal persons, they received many thanks; and so spent the rest of the evening in other delightful sport, till time of night called them to rest.

At this honourable exercise, the toward and most hopeful prince showed himself in his armour; being gallantly mounted, and a heart as powerful as any; though that his youth denied strength. For this day's exercise, all the masters of defence, and professors thereof, were summoned, with their weapons to show their skill, that the King of Denmark might see the manner of our fight, and the variety of weapons practised for men's defence, as well in private quarrels as their country's service: but the time over-

slipt, the challenger fences, when they had marched with their drums and ancients, about the tilt-yard, departed.

The next morning, the King of Denmark being desirous to see some of their practice, they which were ready in the town, having warning to give their attendance, in the morning early repaired to the tilt-yard; and there, in presence of the two kings, many of the nobility and courtiers showed both manhood and skill; wherein the kings took great pleasure, and gave them kingly thanks and favours.

This sport was made more short, by reason of the king's going from court, to see our king's houses nearest London, and to hunt in their parks. After they had broken their fasts, they set forward with their trains to Richmond: there that night they hunted and lay; and the next day dined at Hampton Court, and there hunted and killed deer with great pleasures: and surely the king of Denmark was very much delighted with the gallantness of these royal palaces of his majesty; as did appear by his earnest noting of them, and often recounting of their pastimes and pleasures.

From thence they proceeded to Windsor, where he was entertained by the king most royally: here was presented unto him the Knights of Windsor, being all goodly gentlemen, and such as had served Queen Elizabeth in her wars; and for service done, preferred in their latter years to this place of rest; and are called by name of 'King James' Knights of Windsor.'

These goodly ancient gentlemen, being in their robes of purple and scarlet, with the garter and Saint George's cross upon them: which goodly and charitable manner when the King of Denmark was possest withal, and the order of their first foundation and continuance, the king highly commended the founder; and in charity wished, the successors to the world's end might continue so honourable an action as that: whereof, by God's grace, there is no doubt; his majesty, from his first coming, having so graciously and most bountifully showed his zeal to that honourable action, in augmenting their portions, which were possest of those places.

Long did they not make stay in Windsor, by reason that the time began to shorten for the King of Denmark's departure: wherefore, after some time spent in hunting, they made their return to the court at Greenwich, where her majesty lay; and on Friday the eighth of August, there arrived, and so rested till Monday following.

The next morning then, being Saturday the ninth of August, the tide serving fit for their purpose, this gracious and royal King of Denmark being now to take his farewell of those he held in esteem; with great courtesy, and many thanks to those of the council and nobility, which stayed from following the king; he gave them a princely and most loving farewell: and so of many others of honour and worship, with many rich and bountiful rewards to the officers of the king's household and guards. Which done, the barges giving their attendance, these two royal kings, the queen, and Prince Henry, came aboard them; and were rowed, by all industrious means, down the river of Thames, so low as Northfleet, or thereabouts; where they had their train attending, and their coaches: so passed they on the way to Rochester, leaving the way to Gravesend; all the way followed with such numbers of people, as well from London as other places, that it was to be wondered at.

Time hath brought them near the city of Rochester, where they are met with the mayor, and brethren of the city, who with reverence delivered his mace unto his majesty; which graciously did accept the same, and re-delivered it to the mayor; willing him to keep it, and to use it with justice, as before. Which done, the mayor taking his foot-cloth-horse, which was ready, and rode on before his majesty; bearing the mace before him, throughout the city, to the house of the right worshipful Sir Peter Buck, Knight, one of his highness' officers of the navy; which house was the lodging of the King of Denmark, whom our king there left to his repose, and returned himself to the house of the reverend Bishop of Rochester, Doctor Barlow, and the queen and prince to their lodgings, which were all several.

The next day being Sunday, which holy appointed day of the Lord their majesties came to the cathedral church of the college, where they heard a most learned sermon by a reverend, grave, and learned doctor.[1]

The sermon ended, (their dinners prepared aboard the ships, and their boats and barges attending them) they set forwards to the water's side; where every officer in his place served: the right honourable Earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral, being present; Sir Robert Mansell, Sir John Trevor, and others.

The king had a note delivered him, containing the names of every ship, what burden they were, and what munition and men they had: which note his highness observed, and viewed every ship as they rowed along; keeping their way, until they came to the ship prepared for them to dine: which ship was perfumed with sweet and pleasant perfume, and hanged with cloth of gold, all the sides within; wherein three chairs of estates was placed, for the two kings and queen.

The dinner was furnished with all kinds of dainty provision in such abundant manner, that the King of Denmark marvelled where such store of meat should be dressed: and, to see the manner of it, his majesty took occasion (after dinner) to go upon a spacious gallery made upon lighters, between the two royal ships, the Elizabeth Jonas, and the White Bear. Near which two ships rid a great hulk, which was furnished with ovens for baked meats, and had in it three fair ranges to roast with; all which his majesty in person saw; and throughout that ship went from place to place, noting every room.

The time passing away, the kings took their barges, accompanied with the queen, prince, and noblemen, and rowed on towards Chatham, where they had sight of all the ships, which were rich in ancients, pendants, flags, and streamers; and withal so furnished with goodly men, as might joy their majesties to behold. All which made so glorious a show, that might well amaze the mind of a man to think on, being a friend; but terrify the heart of the proudest enemy, to see it. When their majesties had viewed the whole fleet, they were rowed to the shore; where on a hill, very convenient, they might overlook the whole navy, there was ordained places for them. When being seated, and the word given, every ship in their due course discharged orderly their whole ordnance; in such order and form, the one ship after the other, as was greatly pleasing to their majesties, and gained credit to the gunners, performers of that service. The great shot then discharged, was two thousand three hundred; besides the health at dinner, which was begun with shot, and answered.

This welcome most honourably performed, the kings gave the lord high admiral, and the officers, thanks for their pains, and care taken herein: and returned to Rochester to their lodgings. That evening the gunners of the navy showed very excellent and rare fireworks. The next morning, being Monday, and the eleventh of August, the kings, the queen, and prince, with their trains, set forward toward Gravesend: by the way so followed with people, as was wonderful, and did make the train of courtiers admire: yea, such was the multitude of people, Londoners and others, which came to Rochester, that thousands could get no lodgings, or meat, for their money.

The time hath brought these royal persons near to the town of Gravesend, where the port-reeve of the town, with his brethren, in a very decent manner, presented themselves to his majesty, and offered his office unto his highness; which graciously accepted the same, and delivered it again unto him.

So passed their majesties forwards to the water's side: at whose coming they were saluted with a mighty peal of ordnance from the King of Denmark's admiral, and so from all the rest of his fleet; who having finished the two block-houses of Tilbury and Gravesend began, and thundered such a volley of shot, as was highly to be commended.

Aboard the royal ship of the Denmark-King, are these princes gone: where a most

[1] [Dr. Parry, Dean of Chester, and afterward successively bishop of Gloucester and Worcester. His sermon was in Latin, and the King of Denmark is said to have presented him with a very rich ring in requital. See Athenæ Oxon. i. 416.]

hearty welcome they receive, and great cheer. The ordinance often times discharging, upon healths to all friends; which ordnance was answered by our two block-houses, in such order, as deserves commendation.

After dinner, the gunners of the King of Denmark's ships showed their rare devices of fireworks: the beauty of which was not to be seen, by reason of the brightness of the sun, which dimmed the same.

Dinner ended, and the tide (which stayeth not) serving to go for London; our gracious king and queen, having brought his kingly brother to his own ship, from whence he brought him, after many kind adieus, given on every side, as well by the princes as their noble train, they commend his majesty to God's protection, and heartily wish his safety in his own country. Which solemn farewels accomplished; the king, queen, and prince, took their barges to come for the court; leaving the King of Denmark to God's pleasure, and favour of the winds; who sent after them a token of princely love, in the thundering noise of all the ordnance from all his ships. These royal companies parted, as you have heard: the King of Denmark took order for rewards to be given to all offices of his majesty's household; which (as it is said) was most bountiful. And, for other places aboard the ships, to the masters like rewards.

Thus have I recounted, in two several pamphlets, the whole dicourse and royal entertainment of this most royal king: whose pleasures and great welcome in all places no prince but may admire.

And most worthily was the love of all men bestowed on his highness; for all courtesy and loving favours [that] might be expected from a king of his magnificence, was not wanting in him; as his gracious countenance showed in all places. Besides which, it hath very seldom or never been seen, so many strangers together in this land, so well governed, and so kindly used: such was his princely care of them, and our nation, for breeding of quarrels by any of his people, that of all other vices their charge was to keep them from being drunk, and withal inflicted upon them a heavy punishment, for any that should offend contrary to his commandment: for the execution of this his majesty's pleasure herein, he appointed a marshal, who had divers men as officers under him, to have a vigilant care over them, which with all diligence performed the same; and such as they found drunk; were brought to a house appointed for their prison, where their thumbs were chained together, and nailed by it to a post; where they remained till some suit was made for their delivery, and hearty repentance for their faults: the due execution whereof kept them in such awe, that you shall seldom (after the first week) see any of them out of order.[2]

A comfortable hearing it is, to all Christians, to see so vile a sin reformed. God grant us all to follow like examples of well doings, preserve our dread sovereign Lord King James, the queen, the prince, and all the rest of their royal issue; and send their famous kingly brother a fair wind, and a safe and pleasant passage to his desired port.[3] Amen.

[2] [This precaution was most needful; if we are to credit the written testimonials of Sir John Harrington, Sir Edward Peyton, and Howell the historiographer.]

[3] [During this royal visit, the following interchange of courtly presents is recorded to have taken place.—
From King James to King Christiern—a sword and hanger valued at 17,000l. a cup of 5000l. To the King of Denmark's council, plate to the value of 2000l. To his gentlemen, chains of gold to the same value: to the inferior Danes 1000l. in money.
The King of Denmark gave in court 30,000 dollars, viz. to the household beneath the stairs 15,000 dollars; to the officers above the stairs 10,000; to the equerry or stabler 5000; and to every one of the king's and queen's bed-chamber, jewels of great value. On the queen he bestowed his picture richly set with jewels: on the prince, his Vice Admiral, and best fighting ship; being, with all her furniture, not worth less than 25,000l. and a rapier and hanger valued at 20,000 marks. He also made liberal presents among the English navy. See Nichols' Progresses, &c. vol. iii. anno 1606.]

A very godly Letter made by the Right Honourable Sir Henry Sidney, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, Lord Deputie of Ireland, and Lord President of Wales; now xxv yeeres past; unto Phillip Sidney his Sonne, then of tender yeeres, at schoole in the Towne of Shrowesbury, with one M. Astone: Most necessarie for all yoong Gentlemen, to be carried in memorie: With an excellent Epitaph of the Life and Death of the said President. Both which being put in Print, at the humble Request of one William Gruffith of Coredaney, in the Countie of Angles; sometime Clarke of his Kitchen.

Printed at London, by T. Dawson, 1591.

[Small Octavo, One Sheet.]

The Letter here announced from Sir Henry Sidney to his all-accomplished son Philip, during his boyhood, will be found in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. vii. p. 603. *But this tract contains an interesting* POSTSCRIPT *to the said letter by Lady Sidney, not inserted there.*[1] *It also comprises an* EPITAPH *on Sir Henry, by a writer whose verse-making pretensions have not met with a memorial in Ritson's* Bibliographia Poetica. *Both these possess meritorious claims to insertion here: the former, on account of the writer; the latter, on account of the subject. For Sir Henry Sidney (as Dr. Zouch observes) deserves to be better known: since a more exalted character can scarcely be found in the volume of history. In him we behold the brave soldier, the consummate general, the able counsellor, the wise legislator: while in the recesses of private life he was no less estimable as a husband, a father, and a friend. He was firmly attached to the church of England, and adorned his Christian profession by his temperance and exemplary piety. In Ireland he endeavoured to conciliate the blessings of peace and order, and conducted himself with such sweetness and affability of manners, as to engage the affections of all ranks of society. In short, he left to provincial governors an example of integrity, moderation, and wisdom, never surpassed. Lady Mary Sidney, his illustrious and amiable wife, was eldest daughter of the ill-fated Duke of Northumberland. Sir Henry died May 5th,* 1586; *and his lady, on the 9th of August following. Their peerless son, that* lumen familiæ suæ, *Sir Philip, lost his life at Zutphen, in the field of honour, Oct.* 17, *in the same year.*

A Postscript by my Lady Sidney, in the skirts of my L. President's Letter, to her sayd Sonne Phillip.

YOUR noble and carefull father hath taken paynes (with his owne hand) to give you in this his letter, so wise, so learned, and most requisite precepts, for you to follow with a diligent and humble thankefull minde, as I will not withdrawe your eies from be-

[1] [Neither does it appear in the Sidney papers published by Collins, nor in Dr. Zouch's memoirs of Sir Philip Sidney.]

holding and reverent honoring the same; no, not so long time as to read any letter from me: and, therefore, at this time I will write unto you no other letter then this; wherby I first blesse you, with my desire to God to plant in you his grace; and, secondarily, warne you to have alwaies before the eyes of your mind, these excellent counsailes of my lord, your deere father; and that you fail not continually once in foure or five daies to reade them over.

And for a finall leave-taking for this time, see that you shewe your selfe as a loving obedient scholar to your good maister, to governe you yet many yeeres; and that my lord and I may heare that you profite so in your learning, as thereby you may encrease our loving care of you, and deserve at his handes the continuance of his great joy, to have him often witnesse with his owne hande the hope he hath in your well-doing.

Farewell, my little Phillip; and, once againe, the Lord blesse you!

Your loving Mother,

[1566.] MARIE SIDNEY.

The Epitaph of the worthie Knight Sir Henrie Sidney, Lord President of Wales.

How fraile and fickle stands the state
of mortall creatures here,
The late eclips of Sidney's sonne
doth make it plaine appeere;

Whose pearles[2] praise triumphant Fame
Oft caus'd to scale the skies;
And standes, for sundry rare exploits,
a mirrour to men's eies.

Till gastfull Death, with dismaile dart,
procur'd through Envie's spight,
Untwin'd his twist, brake of his threed,
and dim'd his splendent light.

Oh! why should man be puft with pride,
or beare a loftie sayle?
Sith death doth in a moment make
the hawtest courage quayle.

No state so stronge, no fort so firme,
no bulwarke halfe so sound;
But soon is topsie-turvie turn'd,
and tott'ring dasht to ground.

Let SIDNEY'S fall a mirrour bee,
in whom alone did rest
All gallant gifts, that ever lodged
in mortall creature's brest.

If predecessours' matchlesse praise,
or auncients' spotlesse race,
May to successors credite bring,
then Sidney bare the base:

For he of puisant princes three
did lineally descend;
And, princelike, in most pompious sort,
did make his finall end.

But auncients praise nought profits us;
we must ourselfes so frame,
As our own actions may procure
our credite, or defame.

Admit this true, yet Sidney's praise
perforce must pearse[3] the skie;
For his owne actions every where
extolls his fame on hie.

God Mercurie with Mars was mixt,
the moment he was borne;
And both with Sol and Jove conjoyn'd
This Sidney to adorne.

A Tullie's tongue, a Scipio's hart,
a courteous constant mind,
A deepe foresight and judgement sound,
to Sidney they assigned.

And with such vertues rare him dect,
that Pallas flatly spake;
Had she not sprung from Jova's raigne
for Sire she would him take.

Him Prudens pruned, him Temperance
taught,
him Justice did advaunce;
Him Fortitude, for martial feates,
most highly did enhaunce.

[2] [Peerless.]

[3] [Pierce.]

A type to true nobilitie,
a staffe to honour's stay,
A courtier brave, a soldier stout,
a counsailor of great sway.

For courage Alexander's mate,
Ulisses for fine witte,
For courtuous nature Trojans peere,
for counsell Cato fitte.

A zealous Mima,[5] a Nestor grave,
a Regulus of great trust;
A constant Sceuola Sidney was,
an Aramanthus[6] just.

He restless ranne in Arates tilt,
his pilgrime race so right,
That fortune's force had never force
to force his faith to slight.

His bowe was God, his shaft was zeale,
his string was meaning true;
And vertue was the ayming white
whereat his dart he threwe.

In peace and warre, at home, abroad,
in countrey and in court,
His glittring beames so brightly blazed,
as passed envie's hurt.

Such hope his youthfull yeeres did yeeld
of future's vertuous light,
That in King Edward sixt his raigne
he dubbed was a knight.

And, being scarse twise twelve yeeres old,
his credite did so launce,
That as Ambassadour he was sent
unto the king of Fraunce.

And in our late queen Marie's time,
emong the Irish crewe,
He Treasurer and Chiefe-Justice was,
their furie to subdue.

Where he Lord-Deputie thrise bare rule,
and eight[7] whole yeeres remain'd;
And, six and twentie yeeres, of Wales
stoode President[8] unstain'd.

In both which seats of government
he was so just and right,
As both may happles wish to match
with such a peerles knight.

For money hourelie hudling in,
and fines fast following still;
Whereby, if he had thurst for wealth,
he might have had his fill:

But he by nature was so franke,
and pondred so his charge,
As by no purchase, fraude, nor force,
he would his lands enlarge.

But, with his old demaines well pleas'd,
he all the rest applide
To benefit her Highness' state,
as dutie had him tide.[9]

The castle that in Diblin[10] standes,
and Ludlowe's castle brave,
Are paterns plaine, how with his wealth
he did himselfe behave.

For both neere tottring, like to fall,
so gorgeously he deckt,
That both are famous every where
for every rare respect.

Let Envie, therefore, glut her gorge
upon our Sidney's life;
Let Zoylus, with reprochfull termes,
unsheath his carping knife;

Let grislie Spite, with poysned throte,
not spare to speak her worst;
Let Rancor rage, let Furies fret,
let Hatred's belly burst:

Let hedious Death, with all his force,
doo what it can to spot
His rare exploits, and from Fame's rule[11]
his famous facts to blot:

Yet books shall ever blaze his prayse;—
but if all books should quayle,
His monuments to sound abroad
his fame will never fayle:

But if those fade; whiles men do live,
whiles wood and stones remaine,
Whiles time beares rule, and time being past,
whiles endlesse blisse doth raigne:

From East to West, from North to South,
his staineless fame shall flie;

[5] [Qu. Mimas?] [6] [Qu. Rhadamanthus.]
[7] [Dr. Zouch makes him Lord Deputy of Ireland for eleven years. See Memoirs of Sir P. Sidney, p. 15. From Beatson's Political Index, it seems he was chief governor for about *seven*, during the space of eleven years.']
[8] [In this official honour he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.]
[9] [Tied.] [10] [Dublin.] [11] [Roll.]

And from the pole Antarticke fast
to Artick pole shall hie.

Dame Nature fram'd him, from the nonst,[12]
in such a curious frame,
As skill, nor art, nor wisedome's lore,
should imitate the same.

Revengment none he deem'd so great,
as spare when he might spill;
Full oft he staide, when he might strike,
and sav'd, when he might kill.

Disdainfull pride, contentious jarres,
a quenchlesse prowling mind,
A double tongue, or fleting faith,
in him no place could find.

And, to be briefe, might vertues rare
preserv'd our Sidney's life;
His corpse had never felt the brunt
of Attropos his knife.

But what is past, is past all hope;
nothing more sure than death!
Scipio, Cirus, Cæsar stout,
have been depriv'd of breath.

Now hath her Highness lost a peere;
the court, a courtier brave;
Now hath the countrey lost a guide,
the realme, a counsailor grave.

Shall Caldea weepe for Moses' want?
shall Creete for Minos waile?
Shall Thebes for Tremegistus sobbe?
shall Troy for Priam quaile?

Hath Athens lost a Solon sage?
and Greece, a Nestor wise?
And shall they both, their patrons losse
lament, in ruthfull guise.

And shall not we of Cambrie coast,
salt brinish, teares distill;
And for our Sidney's late deceasse
toull forth our dolefull knill?

Yes, doubtless yes; both yong and old,
rich, poore, both weake and strong,
Both great and small, of Sidney's death
soundes foorth their mournefull song;

And would with trubling thrilling teares
their Phenix' death lament;

But, that from cinders his they hope
an other will be sent:

Who both in forme, in shape, in shew,
in grace, in faith and fame;
In pompe, in power, in gifts and glee,
will raise his Father's name.

And therefore Death was foule deceiv'd,
and mist his purpose quite,
In seeking to suppresse his name,
by darking of his light.

For as the man whom Jason strake
in bosome with his knife,
Brake his enpostume, and for death
did lengthen long his life:

So Mors, in minde through envie's hate
to darken Sidney's name;
Hath now, by vomiting of his spite,
enlarged much his fame.

And as Calisto, to a beare
being turn'd through Immo's[13] spight,
Was plac'd by Jove in azurde skies,
to be a starre most bright.

So Sidney's corps, by death subdued,
and rest of vitall breath;
In sp'rite doth peerce the cristall clowdes,
and live to conquere death:

And, Virbius-like,[14] again revives,
like fame abroad doth reepe;
His noble offspring in each point
their Father's course doo keepe.

Our Sidney therefore he is safe;
though, Death, thy force were showne,
Thou nought of his save bones retainst,
his sp'rit to skies is flowne.

As much of him as smelt of earth,
so much in earth he left;
The rest, ordained to endlesse blisse,
Jehova to him reft.[15]

Hence, therefore, Death! go shake thine eares,
and triumph in thy trash;
Thy power, thy force, thy shaft, thy dart,
our Sidney downe doth dash:

[12] [Nonce.]

[13] [*Alias* Juno's.]

[14] [A name given to Hippolytus, *quasi Vir bis*, after he had been restored to life by Esculapius, under the direction of Diana. Vide Ovid. Metamorph. lib. xv.]

[15] [Preterite of *reave*: took away. Spenser has it repeatedly.]

And if thou hast none other meane
to plague whom thou doest spight,
Then, Death, let Sidney's happy lot
upon our shoulders light.

Make us remaine where Sidney raignes;
for that a life well led,
Importes an happie blissfull state,
When as the corps is dead.

Our Sidney therefore, living well,
most vertuous, just, and pure;
No doubt but that in Heaven's blisse
he hath his seat most sure.

Which state GOD graunt to all the imps
that beares our Sidney's name!
And whiles that in this vale they dwell
they gaine no lesser fame.

WILLIAM GRUFFITH.

A Supplication to our moste Sovereigne Lorde Kyng Henry the Eight, King of England, of Fraunce, and of Ireland, and moste earnest Defender of Christe's Gospell, supreme Head under God heere in Earth, next and immediately of his Churches of England and Ireland.

Nowe newly imprinted and set forth for the speciall use thereof, that may be made in our time.

'The harvest is great, but the laborers are few: wherefore pray the Lorde of 'the harveste to sende foorth laborers into his harvest.' Mathew, ix.

Imprinted in the year of our Lord 1544, in the month of December.

[Small Octavo, containing Twenty-six Leaves.]

MOSTE dread sovereigne lorde, and moste Christian prince, when I remember the lamentable and wonderfull great blindnesse wherein the most part of all England not onely of the laytie, but also of the clergie, have piteously erred and wandred manie hundred yeeres, accepting, reputing, and most ungodly, erroneously, and blindly, esteming the bishop of Rome to bee supreame heade over and above all Christian congregations, and in divers other points, suche as bee touching the necessarie articles of our faith. I could not but marvell howe and by what meanes suche pestilent errours and horrible darke blindnes coulde or might enter, invade and overflowe this your realme, and to continue so long in the same, not espyed, perceived, nor repelled. Considering that by all that time and space this your realme (as the moste part of men did then judge and esteeme) was well endewed, replenished, and furnished with manye profounde learned clarkes: whereof some were bishops, archdeacons, deanes, prebendaries, parsons, doctors, bachalers in divinitie, and other profound learned clarks in both the universities, which were grave, sage, and auncient fathers. Contemplating and revolving these things in my mind: not a little mooved, troubled, and vexed with the same, I applied me with all my power and diligence, exquisitly to search and know the first ground and cause

therof. And in conclusion amongst other thinges it chaunced me to reade in the v. chap. of Esay a proposition that much lamenteth the captivitie and bondage which commeth and groweth to all people for lacke of knowledge in God's word, saying: 'Therfore commeth my flocke also into captivitie, because they have not understanding, 'their glorie is famished with hunger, and their pride marred with thirst: therefore 'gapeth hell, and openeth her mouth marvelously wide.' By this text (gratious Lorde) it appeereth that all miserable blindnes, captivitie and bondage under sin, commeth for lack of knowledge in God's word. I had forgotten at that time, that Christ reproved the Pharisies, saying: 'You erre not knowing the scriptures.'[1] Which reproofe and rebuke should have beene a sufficient admonition and doctrine to me and to all other, wherby wee might have knowne that all errour commeth for lacke of understanding and knowledge in the scriptures. But by what reason then could there be suche errour and blindnes for lacke of knowledge in God's word in this your realme (most gratious Lorde) seeing there were such profound clarks, and auncient fathers, bishops, and students in the same, which did teach and preach to the people continually. The Apostle Paul in the vi. chap. to Timothie describeth two kindes of doctrines: the one he calleth a godly doctrine and a doctrine of health, the other he calleth a proude doctrine full of unprofitable questions, striving more for words then for godlie knowledge, whereof springeth envie, strife, raylings, evill surmisings, and vaine disputations of men with corrupte mindes, destitute of the truth, which thinke that lucre is godlines. This kinde of learning and subtill disputations unto this daye wee call schoole matters, from the which Paule commaundeth all Christians to seperate themselves. Such clarks (saith Paul) be 'ever learning, but never attaine to the knowledge of the truth.'[2] With such vaine, ungodly, and unprofitable learning, this your realme (most redoubted sovereigne) was over much replenished through the preaching and teaching of such schoole men and subtill disputers, otherwise called deceivers. Which was one of the causes of our miserable blindnesse, and of diverse errors and abuses sproong up and crept into this your grace's realme. For certainly if the clarks of this your grace's realme had ben indued with true knowledge of God's word, and had also sincerely preached the same: although such errors and blindnes had entred into this realme, yet thei should never have so long continued in the same, but we should have been delivered through the word clearlie from them. As Christ saith: 'If you continue in my words, then 'are you my verie disciples, and shall knowe the truth, and the truth shall deliver 'you, and make you free.'[3] Therefore, most dread sovereigne Lorde, seeing that all error, spirituall blindnes, miserable captivitie, and servile bondage unto sin commeth for lacke of knowledge and sincere understanding in the holie scriptures, and of the contrary part, through the knowledge and sincere understanding of the holy scriptures 'we knowe 'God our Father, and his sonne Jesus Christ our Lorde, which is eternal life, we be 'also become free from all condempnation of sin.'[4] And through the sincere and true knowledge of the word we be newlie regenerate, and become the children of God, the habitacle and dwelling place of the holy Ghost, which mooveth and stirreth us ever to mortify the flesh, and all her sinfull lusts and concupiscence; to abhor and resist vice. What is then so necessarie, good and profitable for the christian people both spirituall and civil welth, as the word whereby we receive faith, and by faith the holy Ghost? What troubleth all common welthes, but treason, murder, theft, covetousnes, adulterie, extortion, whoredome, dronkennes, perjurie, and such other sin, as sayth the holy Ghost. 'Justice and righteousnes maketh the people wealthie, but sinne maketh the people most 'miserable.'[5] And all these the faithfull through the true and sincere understanding of God's word, doe ever studie and labour to overcome, and utterly to abolish by faith. As Paul saith, 'They which be Christ's doo crucifie the flesh with her lusts and concu-'piscence.'[6] All good woorkes and counsailes increased and established through faith.

[1] Marke, xii. [2] 2 Timoth. iii. [3] John, viii. [4] John, xvii.
[5] Proverb. xiv. [6] Gal. v.

There is no studie, strife, nor labour against sinne, but through faith. All consciences that be quiet from sinnes, onely through faith be made quiet. As Paule saith. 'Because we are justified by faith, wee are at peace with God through our Lorde Jesus 'Christ.'[7] What comfort hath any Christian man in adversities, temptations, desperation, but onely by faith in God's worde. The Christian man hath no refuge nor helpe to resiste sinne, but onely by God's woorde, as our Saviour Christe did, wherin he must fixe a sure and constant faith. 'Faith causeth us and all ours to bee acceptable in the 'sight of God.'[8] For a conclusion, 'Whatsoever is not of fayth that same is sinne.'[9] And 'without a constant and sure faith, it is impossible to please God.'[10] All men may well perceive, that by the lawes, and by the just execution of them, although sinne may bee for a time prohibited and restrained, yet it can not bee suppressed and abolished, but onely through faith. For there was never more godly lawes made for the punishment of sinne, nor never more juste and godly execution of lawes administred, and yet there was never more sinne raigning. For cyvile lawes made by man, cannot bee of greater efficacie or strength, nor woorke greater perfection, vertue, and good will in man, then the lawe of Gode: but the law of God not onely woorketh no obedience of vertue, but rather through occasion taken of the infirmitie of the fleshe, stirreth up sinne, as saith Paule. 'I knowe not what lust did meane, except the lawe had saide 'thou shalt not luste. But sinne tooke an occasion by the meanes of the commande-'ment, and wrought in me all maner of concupiscence, for verily without the lawe, sinne 'was dead. I once (sayth Paule) lyved without law. But when the commaundement 'came, sin revived, and I was dead, and the very same commandement which was or-'dained unto life, was found to be unto me an occasion of death.'[11] But nowe (gracious Lord) for asmuch as it appeareth, that the lawe of God was not geven to take away sinne, but rather to declare and punish sinn: much lesse any law made by man, can avoyd and put away sinne. But faith is the true instrument appointed by God, wherby sinne is overcome and exiled. As the scripture saith, that 'God through faith, doth purifie and 'make cleane all heartes.'[13] Also Christ sayth, 'now are you cleane, and by the 'meanes of the wordes, which I have spoken unto you.'[14] This fayth shall cause, nourishe, and breede true obedience, and all other vertues in your grace's subjectes heartes: whereby they shall be enforced to labour not onely to observe and keep God's lawes, but also al your grace's ordinaunces, commaundementes, and lawes, without grudge or murmuration. This faith, as the apostle saith, 'commeth by hearing of God's word preach-'ed,'[15] whereof bishops, parsons, vicars, and suche other called to have spirituall cure, be or should be diligent ministers, to whose vocation justly pertaineth to declare and publishe God's word sincerely and truely, to all the people committed to their spirituall charge. Most mightie prince: wherfore if the pastors appointed to preache and teache God's worde, within this your grace's realme: doe not diligently instruct, and teache the people committed to their spirituall charge wyth the saide worde, according as they bee commaunded in the scriptures. Act. xx. 1 Pet. v. and Malachy, xx. 'all kinde of sinne 'shall encrease and abound, and the people utterly be devided.' As saith the holy Ghost. 'When the word of God is not preached, the people perisheth.' Also the wise man saith. 'All men be vayne in whome there is not the knowledge of God.' Wherfore without any doubt the want and lacke of preaching of God's worde sincerely and truely hath bene the verie originall ground and cause of all the insurrection, commotion, discention, which hath risen or begonne within this your grace's realme or any parte thereof. For through the want of preaching of God's word sincerly have entered in all popishe blindnesse, vayne and dead ceremonies, men's traditions be crept into the consciences of the simple innocentes in the stead of the lawe of God. Yea idolatry and all hypocrisie wyth detestable superstition for lacke of the light of God's worde, is become God's service. And yet notwithstanding this want and lacke of knowledge in God's worde and the evill whiche

[7] Rom. v. [8] Mathew, iv. [9] Rom. xiv. [10] Heb. xi. [11] Rom. vii.
[13] Act. xv. [14] John, xv. [15] Rom. x.

commeth manifestly thereof, (the more it is to be lamented,) there be many popishe monkes whiche late were abbots (to whome not onely unworthely, but also unjustly, were geven great pensions) and many of their convent monckes havyng neither learning nor other godly qualities apt, meete, or convenient to be in spiritual pastours be nowe admitted to have cure of soules. And some suche whiche did never knowe what is a soule, nor yet be able to have cure over one soule, be now admitted to have charge over an hundreth and many mo, to the increase of all ignorance and all popysh blindnes, the hye way and meanes to let in al kinde of sinne, to the utter dampnation of all the soules commited to their spiritual charge. Alas do neither the patrons of such benefices, nor yet the incumbentes ponder or regard God's threatninges, by his prophet Ezechell, saying: 'As truely as I live saith the Lorde, for as muche as my sheepe are robbed and 'devoured of the wilde beastes of the field having no shepheard, and seeing that my 'shepheardes take no regard of my sheep, but feed themselves onely, and not my sheep. 'Therfore heare the word of the Lord, O ye shepheards, thus saith the Lord God. Be-'holde I my selfe wil come upon the shepheards, and require my sheepe from their 'handes, and make them cease from feeding of my sheepe. Yea, the shepheardes shall 'feede themselves no more, for I will deliver my sheepe out of theyr mouthes, so that 'they shall not devour them after thys.'[16] If this threatning be not sufficient warning and monition to such blinde shepheards, yet at the least let them feare God's cursse pronounced in the same chapter against suche negligent and ignoraunt shepheardes, saying, 'Woe be 'to the shepheardes of Israell that feed themselves, should not the shepheardes feede the 'flocke? you have eaten up the fatt: you have clothed you with the wolle: the best 'fedde you have slaine: but the flocke have you not nourished. Heaven and earth shall 'muche rather perishe, then these wordes wherewith God threatned suche pastours 'shall be founde untrue.' That is I will require my flocke of the handes of the shepheard. Surely (most mightie prince) it is to busie an office, to muche and laborous for one spirituall shepheard (although hee were very expert and cunning) to guyd, order, and keepe, two or three flockes of sheepe: specially being so farre distant one from an other, that the saide shephearde cannot bee dayly present with them, to see the governance of them: whose nature is daily to fall into dyverse offences and spiritual disseases. For the office of a good shepheard is not onely to feede his sheep in good pasture, but also to seeke the lost sheepe, to call agayne the strayed sheepe into the right waye, to salve and to make whole the broken, which are broken by adversitie, the weake and sick sheepe in the faith, with the comfortable promises of God, declared in the Gospell: to make strong and constant: and in conclusion to adventure his life (if neede require) for the defence of his sheepe, ever circumspect, lying in waite to resiste the 'roaring lion, 'which never sleepeth, going about and seeking whome he may devour.'[17] Suche I saye should be their diligence, and daily cure over their flocke shewed, that not onely their sheepe, but also other seeing and perceyving their great paines and labours sustayned and taken for the helpe and comforte of their sheepe, the gentle entertaining, wyth all patience, humilitie and meekenesse, the fatherly love, care, and affection which the said bishops and other pastors should daily shew, exercise and practise towards Christe's flocke committed to their spirituall charge, shal judge them not onely good shepheardes which enter in by the dore, but also shall receave and take them to be most gentle, provident, kinde, and looving spirituall fathers. But (most prudent governour) how shall this fatherly care, love, zeale, and affection, be shewed by the pastour to his spirituall sheepe which daily cowcheth and waiteth in your grace's household and courte, and in other noble and worshipfull menne's houses, attending to please men whiche is called onely to serve God. And notwishstanding his calling to bee a shepheard to feede Christe's flocke, yet hee will scarse see and visite them once in the yeare. And when hee visiteth his sheepe, what ghostly counsel hee geveth them, God knoweth. But for the most part, hee looketh more to his owne profite than to their wealthe. Alas the ambitious appetite

[16] Ezech. xiv. [17] 1 Pet. v.

and burning covetous desire of the yearely commodities, profites and advauntages of the benefices, hathe utterly extynguished and supped upp the spirituall love, zeale, and affection which ought to be in the spirituall shepheardes. So that, nowe it is straunge and wonderfull to see or know one justly to execute his office. Is this the honour of anye king, or of anye other governour? that under the cloke and colour of hys service, a bishoppe or priest called to feede the flocke of Christ, shall leave the same untaughte, and so transgresse the commaundement of Christ for the pleasure of menne? Have not kinges and other rulers sufficient to endewe their chaplaines, wythout retayning suche whiche have receaved living and stipend to bee in their churche's feeding Christe's flocke. This is too muche dishonor to the higher powers, agaynst God's commaundement and worde to retayne an other man's servaunt. But certainely although your highnes or other rulers would neither call nor retain such ambitious blind guides and covetous pastors, yet they their selfs will by their friends make importunate suite and labour to be in service with your majestie and with other rulers. The cause is this (one inconvenience granted, many folow.) There is a lawe made in this your noble realme, that all spiritual parsons of your counsell may have three benefices with cure.[18] And al the chaplaines of the king, queene, prince, princes or of any of the king's children, brethren, sisters, uncles and aunts, may have licences to have two benefices with cure. Every duke, marques, erle, vicount, archbishop, bishop, with divers other estates aswell men as women may have two chaplaines which may have two benefices with cure. And also divers other degrees of schoole may have, every one, two benefices with cure, so that over one of his cures although he take the profites yet from that he must needs be no resident, and peradventure to both hee will be no feeder nor teacher. And also in the same statute all attendance in the court and al other attendances upon such noble and worshipful men which be licenced to have chaplains may be non resident, yea pilgrimes in the time of going and comming from their pilgrimage be by that statute dyspenced to be non resident. O Lord where was the light of thy word, which shuld have bene written in the harts of the makers of the statute. If there had bene godly shepheardes whiche hadde dilligently executed their office and calling, we had never wandered so blindly to agree or consent to the making of any suche statute. Doe wee whiche thinke us christen men, esteeme spirituall benefices to be nothing els but livings to be geven at our pleasure to priests for service done? Is not the benefice geven in respect of a spirituall office to bee executed and done? Doth not God commaunde straitly shepheardes to feede their flock dilligently? Can man or any law made by man dispence with God's commaundement? O Lord in thy hands be the hearts of all kinges and other rulers: inlighten their heartes Lord with the light of thy word, that they may know and see thys pestilent ill blindnesse, whiche so long hathe caused thy sheepe to wander in darckenesse. And when they perceave it they may have grace and time to reforme the same, to thy glory and the helpe of this realme. And I shall ever desire of God, and wish in my heart to all such as be called to be attendant neere your majestie, and al other governors, that for any carnall love, favour, or affection whiche they beare to any man for kindred, friendship, luker, or otherwise: they do not make any such ungodly suits, petitions, or requestes to your highnesse or anye other governour for any parson to bee admitteed to any office, eyther spirituall or temporall, whome they do not certainly know by most certaine and sure proofes and witnesses, to be apt, meete and convenient, as wel in learning as in conditions, to exercyse, use, and to occupie suche offyce and roome, whereunto he by such their suite made, should be called, appointed, and admytted (not onely for the shame, rebuke, and trouble which upon due examination had and founde contrarie to their untrue suite) might come and grow to them, but also for the evill incommoditie and pestilent mischiefe which shall ensue to all such which shall bee committed to his or their governance and charge. Alas that ever amongst the christian flock should be known or seene that suche office which in Christe's church should be the most godly, most necessary, most spiritual, and

[18] The law of anno 21 Henrici 8. for having chaplaines.

most profitable both to the body and soule, now is become a worldly honour, a lordely dignitie, a riche carnall proud living estate and countenaunce, and the possessor thereof, having onely the name of a spirituall minister, but no vertue nor godlie qualitie, which of right ought to bee in anie such minister. If this be well pondred and remembred most (mercifull governour) it is most to be lamented. But seeing this blindnes hath so long continued, and so much evill hath ensued and followed therof in the default of godly pastors, it is not only needful above all things to be circumspect in choosing earnestly tried, experte, and well learned ministers to preache God's worde sincerelye, but also to compel the same to be demurant abiding, and resident upon their cures. And all such which be crept into benefices for lucre and advauntage uppon untrewe suggestion, and false fained suites made, which can not or doo not feede their flocke, to deprive them of such benefices, because they either cannot or doo not execute the office to that belonging. Surely no wise man lighteth a candle and putteth him under a bushell. And if he set up a candle (which eyther for lacke of tallowe or for other cause cannot give light) shortly he taketh him downe and putteth another which can give good light in his place. So al godly wise men wil order all spirituall lightes which in deede cannot give godly light for lacke of spirituall grace which should be in them. For bishops and other pastors which be chosen and instituted contrary to the ordinaunce appointed and prescribed by God's worde, which other doo not, nor cannot execute the office perteining to his or their calling, be not godly and true bishops, but rather images and idols, having and bearing onely the name and outward appearance of a bishop, or pastour. But as concerning the learning, vertue and other good qualities which pertaine and bee of great necessitie, and justice requisite to be in everie godly pastour, they have nothing lesse. For if Christ (which said to Peter, 'From henceforth I will make thee a fisher to catch 'men'[19]) do not endue the officer with learning, grace, power, and good will to preach his word before patrons present him to any such spirituall office, the elect and admitted notwithstanding the admission and patrons presentment, shall continually abide and remaine an hypocrite, and such one 'which dooth not enter in by the doore, but pre-'sumeth to enter without a wedding garment,'[20] whome Christ condemneth to outward darkenes, and also calleth him a theefe, whose reward without doubt, shall bee at the day of the last judgement with theefes, if he repent not and resigne up his office which he cannot execute fulfill and perfourme. Wherefore I mistrust not but that all such which have power to presente and to admitte their clarkes to spirituall offices reading this little booke for the discharge of their conscience, and for the glorie of God, the commoditie and utilitie of the common welth, (which will ensue the godly presentation and admission of wel learned, approoved, and godly clarks to spirituall offices) will from thencefoorth applie and conforme them to the forme and maner of election of spiritual ministers appointed, prescribed, and limited by God's worde, which is this. That everie man chosen to any spirituall office, should be first wel prooved as well for their learning as also for their other vertuous conditions. First for their learning, wherewith they muste not only be able to instruct and teach the people committed to their spirituall charge, but also able to reproove other which resist the same doctrine, with many other good qualities. As it appeareth in the first Epistle of Paule to Tymothie, and also to Tytus.[21] Now (moste mightie defender of the Christian religion) seeing that God's worde hath prescribed and declared that everie man which shal be called and appointed to be a spirituall minister must first be prooved and knowne how godly and spiritually he hath instructed and teached the people, what learning hee hath in the scriptures, and not in the lawes, to reproove errours, and to condemne heresies. What paynes he hath taken in preaching God's worde, and also whether he hath gyven good example of living according to hys doctrine. In this manner everie Christian ought to proove his clarke before he eyther present or admit him. But nowe also (moste benigne lord) consider of the contrary part, and remember for what causes the kinges your noble progenitors in times

[19] John, x. [20] Math. xxii. [21] Tim. iii. Tit. i.

paste have chosen bishops, and other patrons have presented their clarkes to parsonages, and vicarages, to have cure of soules. These both causes wel considered, no man wil greatly marvell that we have wandred so long in blindnes. For in times past kinges have given their bishopricks to their counsellers, chaplaines which have beene daylie attendants in the court, which also have done to them good service, as embassadors, or to such which have taken paines in their houshold, as almners, and deans, of the chappel, clarkes of their closet, and such other officers, where God's worde doth not approove any bishopricke to be given to any man for any such service done, or for any such pains taken, but onely for the gift which hee hath from God to preach his word, and for the paines and labors sustained in preaching of the said worde. And as kinges in times past have abused their giftes of bishoprickes, so noble men and worshipfull men, as wel of the clergie as of the laytie, have abused their presentations to their prebends, parsonages, and vicarages, giving them to their chaplains, or to other for kindred in blood, or for aliance, or els to such as have bin surveiors of their lands, receivers of their rentes, stewardes of their houshold, falconers, gardiners, or to suche other whom they favour for such worldly service and qualities.[22] To such they give benefices as rewardes or wages to hirelings for suche service done, or to be done, having litle or no regarde to the greate charge and spirituall cure which by God's woorde belongeth to all suche spirituall offices. For kinges and rulers in times past had no lesse knowledge of any thing, then if God's worde, which the subtill bishops and craftie priests were ever studious and desirous to keepe secret from the higher powers. For so long as God's woorde was kept secret and hidden from governors, so long the clergie did leade not onely the kings, but also all governors and the commons whither they would. This was the craftie pollicie of the clergie, to keep the knowledge of God's worde from al men, that they might unlawfully and unworthily be promoted to spirituall cures, and use the profites of them ungodly, and that they might also continually exercise their lustes and iniquities. As Paule saith, 'They bee against all men forbidding us to speake to the people wherby they might 'be saved, that thei might fulfill their iniquitie and sin continually.'[23] Have not some of the bishops with their retinue at this day practised their olde pollicie, to extinguishe the lighte throughout all England, that they might once againe lead us quietly in darknes? Is not there a lawe made through their craft and subtiltie, that giveth power to certaine commissioners, wherof the bishop's chaunceler or commissarie shalbe named to be two of the commissioners, which shall have full power to take into their custodie all such bookes wherin is contained any clause or article repugnaunt to any of the six articles, and the same books to burne and destroy, as to the discretion of three of them shall be thought expedient. Marke wel what they purpose by this estatute. Are there any bookes which write against the pope's primacie, but they also write against some of the six articles? Their colour is to take away all bookes which write against the six articles, but their verie intente, purpose and meaning is to take away all books which conteine any godly learning that write against the bishop of Rome's primacy. How cruelly do the bishops punish al them that pretend to have learning, and specially in God's word? Such they call heretiques, and persecute with putting them to open shame, with imprisonment, and in conclusion with death most fearefull and paineful. All this they do to discourage all men from the studie of God's worde, fearing least that by such studious braines which learne God's word, and publish the same, their iniquitie should be made manifest. What study and paines they take to keep the light from the people. But no man which knoweth the scriptures, will marvel of this their pollicie and crueltie. For Saint John declareth their practise plainly, saying: 'He hath done evill hateth the 'light, and why? because his workes which be evil should not be reproved by the light.'[24] And for asmuch as our bishops countenaunce of living, their great possessions, and lordly dominions in them agreeth with God's worde, as death with life, God with the devill,

[22] The same abuses in chopping, chaunging and alienating, are even in these dayes. [23] Thessa. ii.
[24] John iii.

light with darkenes, therefore they hate the lighte which declareth the same, and studie to suppresse the same by all craft and pollicie. And seeing they can so craftily juggle, and have such frendship and favour to convey, [and] bring to passe, that all bookes shall come into their hands under the colour of the six articles, it is to bee feared that shortly they will by like craft, subtiltie, and frendshippe, procure the Bible in English to bee taken from the laytie, and then wee shall be ledde in darkenes by our bishops, and other blind guides, and not pastors, at their pleasure and wil, which is the effect of all their studie, labour, and purpose. Nowe (moste valiant defender of Christ) it appeareth plainely how manie miseries we bee wrapt in, through the ungodly election of suche as bee admitted to have spirituall cure and office to teache God's woorde, which not onely have little learning, but also they bee enemies to all men which can and doe preache God's woorde sincerely and truely, because they lyve contrarie to the same, as I have before declared. And thys is the originall grounde and cause of the abundance and increase of darkenesse, and of sinne, as also of the longe continuaunce of popish blindnesse whiche hath raigned in this realme so long. Wherefore if the byshops and other elected and appointed to bee shepheards according to their vocation and calling, be not first knowne and well prooved to have such knowledge and godly doctrine, so that they can and also do instantly and diligently preach God's word whiche is the light, expelling al darcknes of sinne, then must needs sin increase and abound without any restraint or bridle. 'For if the light which 'is amongst you be darckenes, how much shal the darcknes be?[25] Your grace and your cyvile power do punish sinne, when it is done and committed, according to the justice of lawes, as to your vocation and office of right belongeth to do. But the office and duetie of the pastor is to preach God's word, whereby he shall convert the heart of the sinner, which is willing and disposed to doe sinne so that hee shall not breake forth to doe sinne in the acte, which the civile power for the example of other by equitie and justice is bounde to punishe. Therefore the diligent execution of the office of the pastour shall bee the principall meane and occasion that lesse sinne shall be committed, and so the higher powers shall have lesse occasion to execute the extreame justice of lawes, and consequently many men's lives which now for lacke of the knowledge of God's word should be lost for committing murder, felonie, and such other offences, shall then bee preserved that they shall not commit such offences, whiche the higher powers by the lawes of equitie and justice be compelled to condempne and to punish with death. Wherefore the godly tranquilitie, rest, and peace of all this your realme (soveraigne lord) and the good order of the same, hangeth and resteth much upon the godly and diligent execution of the office of pastors, and of the spirituall shepheardes duely called and admitted according to God's worde. Therefore it behoveth the presenter of the clarke to a benefice and cure of soules to be circumspect and well aware what he doth present, and that hee have good knowledge, experience, and proofe of his clarke before he present him. For if a pastour do not feed the flocke of Christe committed to hys charge, the 'death of their soules shalbe required of his handes,'[26] as the prophet Ezechiell sayth in the xxxiii. chapter. And if the patron willingly, either for kindered, favour, friendship, service, or money, present a clarke whiche hee knoweth not to be so learned in God's word, that he be able to instruct and teache the people committed to his charge both with the law of God and with the gospell, every such patron consenteth to the death and dampnation of the soules committed to the charge of suche unlearned priest. And therefore suche a patron shall also be punished wyth like paine, which is eternall, as the apostle saith. 'Not onely they that doe evill, but also they which consent thereunto 'shall be punished with like payne.'[27] What wise man living would hyer a shepheard to govern his beastly and worldly sheepe whiche neither would nor could feede, handle, salve, nor once see his sheep committed to his charge. Such a wise shepheard woulde shortly make hys maisters profite come to little advauntage. Surely a wise man woulde choose no suche shepheard. And if he were deceived through the perswasion of some

[25] Math. vi. [26] Ezech. xxxiii. [27] Rom. i.

of his friendes, yet when he hath proved that hee hath no comming nor dilligence, he will shortly discharge him of his cure and service. Shall wee be esteemed christen men whiche have more tender love and affection to our corruptible profite, than we have to the honor of God and the eternall wealth of the immortall soules of our christen brethren, whom God commandeth to love as our self. Christ did not commit to Peter the cure and charge of his sheepe before he 'asked thrise of Peter whether hee loved him.'[28] As who should say, I would not commit my best beloved jewell and treasure unto thee, unlesse thou love me heartily. I would wishe that all governoures and rulers in this case should take example and follow Christe, whiche knowing the good will of Peter's heart, yet as one ignoraunt thereof did demaund this question of Peter before hee did commit the cure of his flock to hym, therby to geve example and common doctrine to al his faithfull followers that they should have such tender and fervent love towards the Christen soules, that they would not commit the governaunce and cure of them to any man, but unto such of whom they have proofe and sure knowledge, that aswell by theyr preaching and sincere teaching of God's word, and also by their vertuous living consonant to the same worde they hadde unfainedly a faithfull hearty love towards Christ's flock. A blinde eye which cannot direct and lead the body is a blemish and a burden to the natural body, and no commoditie. In likewise a man chosen to be a spirituall pastor which hath not the knowledge and grace to preach the lawe and the gospell, is but a blinde eye not able to direct and lead the spirituall body. Wherfore if any patron choose any such ignorant man to be a pastor, a spiritual eye and light to lead the spirituall soules, he not onely deceiveth them but also as muche as lieth in him killeth the body, and doth great injury to Christe's bloude. Nowe (it maye please your highnesse) to note and marke what mischiefe and inconvenience followe the election and admission of any ignoraunt pastour. First, if an ignoraunt bishoppe in God's word be admitted, hee cannot execute his office because hee knoweth not the scriptures whiche teacheth him what shuld pertaine to his own office. And as the bishop is ignoraunt in God's word, so he admitteth such as be unlearned in God's word, even such as by no possibilitie can execute the office of their calling. Idle parsons, unhappy, dronkards, swearers, common plaiers at all unthrifty games, in whom there is no chastitie, no humilitie, justice, nor temperaunce. For a conclusion, suche they admitte in whome there is no holinesse, godly doctrine, nor good example of living. To such they commit the health of soules, the flocke of Christ dearely bought with his bloud, by such idle and wicked harlottes the inheritaunce of Chryst is troden under foote. All evill conditions, maners and doctrines by them be taught, so that in the stead of holy scriptures is crept in, the doctrine of lyes, all superstitions, dead and vayne ceremonyes, ane lycence to doe all kinde of sinne. Some of the blinde ignoraunte priestes teache the people that God is honoured, and soules relieved of their paynes through the ringing of belles, painting of postes, and setting up tapers and candelles, before the saide postes, whome the blinde priests doe both sence[29] and sprincle with holy water. An other sorte of blinde shavelinges teache the people to get heaven with fasting, this prescript daye and that daye, with trentalles and masses of *scala cæli*, with forbearing of bodely workes and keeping idle holy dayes, they preach muche holinesse and God's service to stand in their holy oyle, holy creame, holy water, holye ashes, hallowed bedes, mumbling of a number of psalmes in Latin, keeping of church ales, in the which with leaping, dauncing, and kissing, they mayntayne the profite of their church (to the honour of God as they both say and thinck.) And thus the blind leadeth the blinde, that both fall headlong into the lake of eternall burning fire. What natural heart is there whiche will not lament the miserie, yea the dampnation most certainly threatned by God's word unto al ignoraunt and negligent byshoppes and other spirituall shepheardes, whiche doe not diligently execute their office and vocation? What honest loving hart doth not bewaile the aboundaunce of sinne, the long miserable blindnesse wherin this realme hath bene ledd and wrapped in through the ignorance and negligence of suche blinde guides. But is

[28] Jo. xxi. [29] [Insence.]

there any Christen heart whiche can forbeare continual sighing and mourning, remembring the multitude, yea the infinite number of soules (which without the great mercy of God passing all hys workes) through the ignorance and negligence of such blinde shepheards, he utterly cast away and dampned. What good civile heart woulde not, I saye, lament and bewayle the greate burden wherewith this your realme (gracious lord) is overcharged through the great multitude of chaunterie priests, soule priestes, chanons, residensaries in cathedrall churches, prebendaries, munck pencions, morowe-masse priestes, unlearned curates, priestes of gyldes and of fraternities or brotherheades, ryding chaplaines, and such other idle parsons, whiche if they be well noted, and also what fruite springeth of them indifferently valewed, considered, and pondered, it will appeare manifestly to al reasonable and godlye wittes, that they doe bring no manner commodity, profite or utilitie either spirituall or temporall to this your publicke wealth. No, no, they bee not onely no commoditie nor profite to the common wealth, but rather muche hinderance. And truely no little wasters, spoylers, and robbers, and that of the most poore, indygent and needye of your looving subjectes whiche be most craftely, subtelly, and unrighteously deprived of the charitable succour and almes of many simple unlearned innocentes, through a vayne hope and false confidence that their soules shoulde bee releeved, and released of their paynes and tormentes dewe for theyr sinnes, when they be departed this worlde, by the long prayers of priestes. And (the more it is to be lamented) no little number of your subjects through suche ungodly trust and confidence in masses and dyriges to bee song and celebrated for them when they be dead, be greatly encouraged to lyve both wickedly towardes God, and also unfruitfully towards the world, little remembring and esteeming their vocation and calling wherein God hath appointed them to walke, and muche lesse the extreame necessitie of their Christen brethren. This vayne hope in the long prayers of priestes (no doubt gracious Lord) is a great occasion of muche povertie amongest the poore and needy of this your realme. For the speedy remedy of this povertie amongst your loving subjectes, and the utter suppression of such vaine hope in the praiers of priestes to be made for your subjects when they be dead, which is the great cause of this miserable povertie, it may please your majesty of your accustomed goodnesse to cal to your gracious remembraunce, that all the people of this your region be subject unto your gracious power, rule, and dominion unto theyr supreme head and governour duely by God appointed to governe them onely during their naturall lives, but when it pleaseth God to take their soules out of this miserable worlde, then your grace is discharged of all governaunce, cure, and charge over them, as of such which after their death do not appertaine to your grace, nor be of your kingdome, but only of the kingdome of God, under his governaunce, provision and rule. Into the whiche kingdome neither your grace, nor no other earthly prince may lawfully usurpe or take anye rule, provision, care, or governaunce, for the soules entered thereunto. Seeing that your grace have no aucthority nor power over the soules departed, you be not onely discharged to governe, to care, or to provide for them being dead, but muche rather to provide that they may not be deceived so under the colour of long praier, but that they may be taught sincerely God's worde while they bee living under your subjection, so that they may beleve constantly and live godly, and then by Christe's promise hell gates shall not prevaile against them, much lesse they shall have any neede of such strange succour and help of men, nothing appointed nor taught by God's word to be profitable or necessarie for their soules after their death. Wherefore I mistrust not but that your majestie when you shall next intreate for the reformation of the enormities and abuses sprong upp in the Christen religion, you will godly reforme such abuse and dissembled covetousnesse, and certainly being no godly remedy nor help for soules departed which hath no strength nor efficacie of God's worde, which is the very true foundation of all the Christen religion and helpe for soules. And in the meane season I doe no lesse thincke and also pray heartily to God that your majestie wil provide and make ordinaunce, that all such landes and possessions whereupon so many idle hipocrites and deceyvers be great burdeine and charge to your realme, which hitherto have lived ungodly and unprofitablely, maye from henceforth be partly converted to the sup-

portation and maintenaunce of common schooles, whereby errours crept uppe through ignorance may be through knowledge repressed, and godly learning and knowledge more plentiously planted and administred, and partly that your poore loving subjectes may be more mercifully releeved and succoured, while they live under your subjection, charge, and governance. This godly distribution (moste prudent soveraigne) of the landes and possessions ordained and appointed for the comfort, succour, and helpe of your poore loving and living subjectes, is much more consonant and agreeable to God's word and more certeyne discharge of your grace's conscience then to suffer the same possessions to be ungodly caste awaie and consumed under such false colour and pretence to releeve soules departed, of whome your majestie have neyther cure nor charge, nor cannot assure to them by God's worde through suche long praiers of priestes, release of paynes after their death, or anye other ayde, comforte, or succour. For without any doubt (gracious Lord) if suche hyred praiers had bene godly and necessarie for the soules departed, either Christ or his apostles woulde have taught it, or at the least have praised or practised it, and not so manifestly reprooved and threatned it, saying, 'Beware of them which devour widowes' houses 'under colour of long prayers, their judgement shall bee much longer.'[30] In all the New Testament there is no mention made of any suche officer nor office instituted nor appointed to praye for the dead. And yet al men I thincke will confesse that the trueth of God's worde was moste sincerely sette forthe and preached in the time of Christ and of his apostles, in whose time there was no suche craftie learning published nor taught by them, nor long time after. But then men stablished and grounded their religion and hope of healthe uppon Godde's worde, which teacheth us that who so beleeveth is saved and hath no need of long priestishe praiers, and who so beleveth not, shalbe condemned. Between these extreame contraries there is no meane, as Sainct Augustyn saieth. Wherefore I exhorte all them, whiche (contrarie to al holy scriptures) trust to the third place, and thereto have release of paynes through the long praiers of priestes, that they would geve over suche fained fantasie of men (subtilly imagined only through unsatiable covetousnesse of ambitious priestes, to gette money therwith to maintayn their ungodly lusts, and to live idlely and delicately) and to trust rather to the sure and infallible trueth of God's word, whiche without doubt is to repent and beleeve, and utterly to forsake all sinne, and than constantly to trust to God's promise of mercy. Here manifestly appeareth (soveraigne Lorde) in what miserable blindenesse the most part of this your realm have long time bene ledde, yea and almost drowned through the long custome used therin. Who is it that cannot lament (I saye) this deplorate and miserable sorte of blynde shepheardes. Be they not bought with the same price wherewith wee be bought, to be members of one body whereof Christe is head? If we be members of one body, certainly wee cannot then but taste and feele not onely their evill, but also the lamentable estate of all other cast awaye through them. Lord I trust the punishment is past wherewith thou hast threatned the world to be punished 'with hunger and thirst, not with hunger and thirst of bread and drincke,'[31] but for lacke of hearing thy worde. It is now time, Lord, to shewe thyne accustomed goodnes and mercy, for the which we doe daily and heartely pray, saying, 'Through the tender mercy 'of God wherewith hee hath visited us, geve light to us which sit in darcknesse, and in the 'shadowe of death, to guide our feete into the way of peace.'[32] Also it is a daungerous thing to admitte one to bee a spirituall pastour whose profession and studie all his youthe hath bene in decrees and popish lawes. For suche a studie for the most part ingendereth a popishe heart. If any such be admitted to be a pastor, hee shall not onely eyther secretly in confession, or by some other craftie meanes, poyson his flock with man's traditions and popish doctrine, but also shall augment the popishe power, for the abrogation wherof your grace and your honourable councel have taken great paine and travaile. Now eftsoones I trust that all men whiche read this litle booke shall perceave thereby what inconvenience and dampnable evill ensueth the ungodly presentation and admission of the unlearned in God's worde, and carnall priestes to spirituall offices. And although such pa-

[30] Marck xii. [31] Amos viii. [32] Luke i.

trones have little zeale and love to the common and publick wealth, yet for the singuler and carnall love which they beare to their clerkes (whome they addict and binde surely to eternall dampnation, if they geve them such spirituall offices, whiche they neyther can nor will execute and performe) or for the tender zeale and love whiche they have to the soules so dearely bought wyth Christe's bloud, they will with all circumspection prove their clarkes that they bee not onely well learned in God's worde, but that they have also taken great paynes in preaching the same, and that they have also lived according to their preaching. Suche experiment and proofe was commaunded to be made of widdowes, before they were admitted to live uppon the charge of the congregation. And it appeareth in Tymothy,[33] Much more than evident and sure proofe of pastors (whose office is so necessary) should be had and made before they be admitted to their spiritual office and charge. And although the election of the bishop and of other spirituall pastours in every poinct be had and done according as I have before written, yet (most dread soveraigne lord) I see two foule deformities and great lamentable mischiefes annexed to the vocation and office of bishoppes, whiche not reformed will poyson and utterly corrupt the godly vocation and election of the sayde bishops. The one infection and pestilent poyson is their great lordshippes and dominions with the yeerly proventes of the same. Whiche hathe so fashioned them in proude countenaunces and worldly behaviour, that nowe they be most like to heathen princes and most unlike unto Christ, although they woulde bee esteemed of al men to be his true successors, yet poore Christ saith, 'The foxes have holes, 'the byrdes of the aire have neastes, but the sonne of man, hathe not wherein to lay hys 'head.' But our bishoppes have gorgeous and sumptuous builded houses, mannors, and castelles pleasantly set about with parcks well replenished with deare; warrens, swarming full of conyes, and fishe pooles well stored with divers kindes of fishes. And not onely these commodities and pleasures: but also divers other pleasures. How this lordly and worldly byshoplike estate agreeth with Christe's wordes, I thincke a man cannot reasonably conjecture or imagine by their countenance and living, that they be Christe's true disciples. The other mischief and evill is that they have to many worldly cures and busines. For to these manners and lordships belong many tenantes, for whose leases to be made fines, and haryots to be appointed and taken, amerciamentes to be assessed, taxed, and also forgeven, and dispenced: there be no fewe suites made to my lord bishop, also the hearing of testamentory causes, divorses, causes of matrimony, of slaunderers, of lecherie, adulterie, and punishment of bawderie, and such other bumme courte matters (whereof not one belong to hys office and vocation appointed by God's worde,) my lord bishop is so occupied and unquieted, that hee hath no leisure to study nor to preach God's worde. But such affaires and worldly businesse nothing perteining to his vocation be very great hinderance and let to my lord bishop, that he cannot apply him to exercise his owne office. For 'no man can serve two maisters, sayeth Christ.'[34] The apostles[35] thought it not just and equall to provide for the necessarie living of the poore, leaving God's word untaught. But my lorde bishoppe doing these thinges nothing pertayning to his office, thinketh that he hath exactly done his office. From these great mannors commeth yeerely great rentes, pleasures and profites, whiche although they be the good creatures of God, yet thaboundance of them (being where they bee more impediment than helpe) be a great occasion of corruption in the user of them. And peradventure they would allure and intise a bishop's heart to trust in them, and so corrupt him, as the Scripture sayth, Blessed is the riche which is found without blemishe, and hathe not gone after golde nor hoped in money and treasures, where is there such a one and we shall commend hym and call him blessed, for great thinges doth hee among his people. And if my lorde byshoppe should geve the superfluitie of hys goodes to the poore (whose goodes justlie they be) as the prophet Esay saith,[36] then my lord should lacke them to furnish his lordly countenance, and so my lord should loose his lordly honour and praise of the worlde. Wherefore as these superfluous possessions bee annexed to estates of bishops by man's vaine fantasie,

[33] Tim. v. [34] Math. v. [35] Act. vi. [36] Esay iii.

and not by God's worde, so my lorde bishop will either keepe them to make him more frendes, remembring that riches maketh many frendes, but the poore is forsaken of his neighbour, or devise the expence of them contrarie to God's woorde, either to make sure frends in the courte about the king to obtaine more promotions, and benefices, or in curious building, sumptuous and delicate fare, well apparelled servantes, trimme decked horses to ride pompously like a lorde. Although there were no authoritie to prove this, yet the lordly countenaunce and fashion of bishops, yea their common exercise and also practise, can well proove and testifie this plainely before the face of all men which knoweth the lordlines of bishops. As the prophet Esay saith, 'The chaunging of their countenaunce 'bewrayeth them, yea they declare their own sinnes themselves as Sodomites, and hyd them 'not.'[37] Doo not these things faintly agree with the saying of their predecessour Paule the apostle, which saith, 'When we have foode and rayment wee must bee contented.'[38] Is not this lordly honour directly against Christe's woordes, which sayeth, 'The kinges of nations 'raigne over them, and they that have aucthoritye over them are called gratious lordes. 'But you shall not bee so.' Also Peter speaketh to his true successours, saying: 'Feede you 'Christe's flocke as much as lyeth in you, taking the over-sighte of them not as compelled 'thereunto, but willingly, after a godlye sorte, not for the desire of filthie lucre, but of a 'good minde, not as though you were lordes over the parishes, but that you bee an example 'to the flocke, and that with good will.'[39] But our lordlye bishops estate and prowde countenance of living, (as it is nowe used) is contrarye to God's woorde, as it appeareth by these woordes, 'But you shall not bee so.' And also by these sayinges, 'Not as though you 'were lordes over the parishes.' And Christ sayeth, 'Hee that is not with mee is against mee.'[40] Wherefore so long as they raigne so lordlye in the clergie contrarie to God's woorde, so longe be they against God, they be not sente from God, and then can they not preache truely and sincerelie his woorde. 'For howe can they preach except they be sent'[41] (saith Paul) Christe was sente to preache as it appeareth, Marc 1. Luke 4. and Esaye 61. And Christe sayeth to all his true disciples: 'As my father sent me, so do I sende you.'[42] And commandeth also all his apostles and true successors of the apostles to preach the gospel to the whole world, and not lordly to raigne in the clergie, whom Paule teacheth to be as ministers, saying: 'Let a man this wise esteeme us, even as the ministers of Christ, and 'the stewards of the secrets of God.'[43] To preach the gospel therefore (most gratious and prudent lord,) is the true vocation and office of all godly bishops, parsons, vicars, and of other shepheards, and not to bee embassadors to princes, nor to be judges to heare matters of contention, testamentory causes, divorces, slaunders, bawderie, and such other. Your grace hath of your laiety sufficient both in learning and wisedome, and of good conscience to heare and judg such causes and variances, remitting bishops to attende their office and vocation by God (and not by man) appointed. And therefore they should not exercise any other office then God hath appointed to them. For no man can serve two maisters.[44] And if bishops, and other pastours would diligently execute their vocation and office, much fewer of these matters of contention shall be in ure and experience either to be heard or judged. Seeing the scriptures commaundeth so earnestly every man to walk as he is called, many Christian men marvell greatly why the bishops desire and procure so greedilie to exercise the office pertaining to an other vocation, and to leave their vocation and office (appointed by God to them to bee exercised) not executed nor performed, and doone. Verily because they love the glorie of men, more then the glorie of God.[45] And surely even as Cayphas and Annas being bishops, and exercising the office of seculer and temporall judges, did judge Christe to bee crucified: so our bishops so long as they (contrarie to their calling) doo exercise the office of temporall judges, so longe shall they persecute Christe and hys members, and studie to suppresse his worde, and not to preache the same. Have not they businesse sufficient wherewith to occupie them in their owne office? If they woulde looke well thereunto, doo not they see on everie side detestable sinne raigne throughout all this your realme? Is there not such excesse and costlines of appa-

[37] Esay iii. [38] 1 Tit. vi. [39] Luke xxii. [40] Math. xii. [41] Rom. x.
[42] John ii. [43] 1 Cor. iv. [44] Math. vi. [45] John ix.

rell, because of diversitie and chaunge of fashions, that scarce a worshipfull man's landes which in tymes past was woont to find and maintain twentie or thirtie tall yeomen, a good plentifull houshold for the reliefe and comforte of manie poore and needie, and the same nowe is not sufficient and able to maintaine the heire of the same lands, his wife, her gentlewoman, or mayde, twoo yeomen, and lackey. The principall cause hereof is their costlie apparell, and specially their manifolde and divers chaunges of fashions, which the man and specially the woman must weare upon both head and bodie. Sometime cappe, sometime hoode, nowe the French fashion, nowe the Spanishe fashion, then the Italian fashion, and then the Millaine fashion, so that there is no ende of consuming of substaunce and that vainely, and all to please the proud foolishe man and women's fantasie. Hereof springeth great miserie and neede. The fathers consuming their goods in vaine pride, and wanton lustes, called uppon by your grace to serve your majestie for the defence of this your realme, have not to doo their duetie, whereby they bee compelled to sell their landes, or els to burden their frends, or els to daunger themselves in debt to manie. Hereof riseth it that the father is compelled to declare his will upon his lands to bee executed after his death (when he cannot occupie the same himselfe) for the advauncement and helpe of his children, and the payment of his debtes, whome easilie he mighte in his life have advaunced, holpen and discharged, if suche royotous expences had beene avoyded. The prophet Ose saith: 'There is no truth, no mercie, no knowledge of God in earth, cursing, 'lying, murder, thefte, adulterie, hath broken in, and yet do our shepheardes hold their 'peace.'[46] What commessation, dronkennes, detestable swearing by all the parts of Christe's bodie (and yet calling them in scorn hunting othes) extortion, pride, covetousnes, and such other detestable vice raigne in this your realme, against the which our bishops and other pastoures should continually crie out, as the prophet saith, 'Crie nowe as loude as 'thou canst, leave not off, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their of-'fences, and the house of Jacob their sinnes.'[47] But alas they bee become both blind and dombe, as the prophet saith, 'His watchmen are all blinde, they have altogither no under-'standing, they are al domb dogges not able to bark, they are sleepie, foolish are they and 'lye snorting, they are shamelesse dogges that be never satisfied. The shepheards also in 'like maner have no understanding, but everie man turneth his owne waye, everie one after 'his owne covetousnes with his power.'[48] What is the cause that they doo not execute this their office? Either because they canne not, or because they have so muche worldlye busines that they wyll not applye them-selves to perfourme both. Or els they bee afrayde to speake the truth, least they shoulde displease men. Whome Paule reprooveth, saying: 'If I shoulde please men I should not bee the servaunt of Christe.'[49] Also the prophet saying: 'God breaketh the bones of them which studye to please men, they bee confounded 'because the Lorde despiseth them.'[50] Notwithstanding our bishops love so well their greate dominions whereby they maintaine their lordly honour, that they will not displease men with preaching the truth, least they should then loose their greate possessions, and consequently their lordely glorie. But surelye as longe as they possesse their great dominions, so longe they will continue and maintaine their pryde. And so longe as they continue in pryde, so longe they shall not receive the Holye Ghost, which shall teach them to speake the trueth. 'For upon whome shall my spirite rest (sayth the prophet Esay) but upon 'the meeke and lowlye, and uppon him which feareth my sayinges.'[51] Also the prophet saieth, 'God resisteth the prowde, and unto the meeke and lowlye hee giveth his grace.' Wherefore so long as the bishops continue in this worldly wealth and honour, so long will they never do their duetie and office, but rather persecute the worde of God, which declareth and sheweth what is their offyce and duetie. And so longe as they do not exercyse their office and vocation, but doe persecute the woorde, and suche as sincerely preach the same, so longe shall sinne increase. For if the eye bee wicked, all the bodye shall be full of darknes. For even as at such time when the Bishop of Rome was firste endued with great possessions, a voice was heard, saying: "Nowe venome and poyson is

[46] Ose iv. [47] Esay v. [48] Esay lxvi. [49] Galat. i. [50] Psal. lii. [51] Esay vi.

cast and shed forth into the church of God."[52] In likewise no doubt (most godly governor) semblable voice and saying maye bee verified in and uppon all the church of England, sithen your bishops were endued with so great possessions, and lordly dominions. No doubt (gratious Lorde) so long as great lordly dominions, worldly honors and wealth be annexed and knit to the vocation and offices of bishops, and other pastours, these mischiefs and inconveniences shall ever ensue and followe. First the moste proude and ambitious, the most covetous and wicked, which either by monie, frendship, or flattery can obtaine the benefice, wil labour with al studie, and pollicie, to gette the benefice, onelie for the worldly honour, and not for the zeale and love which he shoulde have to instructe and teach the people committed to his cure and charge. And for the profite which belongeth and appertaineth to the same benefice, they will dissemble humilitie and despising of all worldly profits and pleasures, so colourably and subtilly, that it shalbe verie harde for your majestie, or any other having authority to give benefices, to perceive them. And when they have obtained the benefice, then everie Christian man shal wel perceive that he hath not entred in by the doore; that is for the zeale and love to doo and execute the office: but hath climbed up and ascended by another way, that is for the luker and honour annexed to the office. And then certainly whosoever ascendeth and entreth in by any other way, cannot be but a theefe, by day and by nighte, whose studie and laboure must bee to steale, kill, and to destroye. As Christe (whose wordes must bee ever true) saith, 'The 'theefe commeth not but to steele, to kill, and to destroye.'[53] So that so longe as so much worldlye profitte and honour belongeth to the benefice: so longe will hee that for wante and lacke of learning canne not doo the office, and also the most covetous and prowde will laboure to have the office, whereby the people committed to his cure, shall not onely bee untaught, and not learned in God's worde, but also all they which can preach and teach God's worde, and love the same, by such a worldly woolfe, shall bee extreamely persecuted and tormented. For he cannot but steale, kill, and destroye, and utterly abhorre, and hate the godlye, as Christ sayeth, 'If you were of the worlde, the 'world would love his owne. But because you bee not of the worlde, but I have chosen 'you from the worlde, therefore the worlde dooth hate you.' No doubt a man shall much rather uppon thornes gather grapes, and upon brambles and bryers to gather figges, then of such greedie theeves to have anye Christian religion, either set foorth, preached, or stablished. Wherefore (moste redoubted prince) seeing that their great possessions, riches, worldly offices, cures, and businesse, be the impediment and let that they doo not execute their vocation and office, which is so godlye, profitable, and necessarie for this your commonwealth, you beeing our soveraigne lorde and king (whome God hath called to governe this your realme, and to redresse the enormities and abuses of the same) by all justice and equitie are bounden to take awaye from bishops and other spirituall shepheards such superfluitie of possessions and riches, and other seculer cures, businesse, and worldly offices, which be the cause of much sin in them, and no lesse occasion whereby they bee letted to execute their office, to the greate losse and hinderaunce of much faith, vertue, and goodnesse, which might be administred to your subjectes, through the true preaching of God's worde. And that done, then circumspectly to take heed that none be admitted to be pastors, but such as can preach and have preached sincerely God's woorde. And all such as will not, to remoove them from their cures. This godlye order observed in the election of spirituall pastours, and the pestilent poyson moved and taken away from their vocation, faith shall increase, and sinne shall decrease, true obedience shall be observed, with all humilitie to your majestie and to the higher powers by your grace appointed in office. Civill quietnes rest and peace shal be established, God shalbe feared, honored and loved, which is the effect of all Christen living.

O LORD save our moste soveraigne lord King Henry the Eight, and graunt, that he may once throughly feele and perceave what miserable calamitie, sorrowe and wretched-

[52] Barnard. [53] John x.

nesse wee suffer nowe in these dayes abroad in the countrey, by these unlearned, popishe, and most cruell tyrauntes, even the very enemies of Christe's crosse, whose payne shall be without ende, when wee shall live in joye for ever. Graunt yet once againe I say good Lord and most merciful father, through thy sonne Jesus Christ, that when his grace shall know and perceave (by thy gift and goodnesse) their most detestable wayes in misusing thy heritage, that he will earnestly goe about to see a redresse amongst them, and to the penitent and contrite in heart to shew his accustomed goodnesse, and to the other his justice, according to Sainct Paule's doctrine, and his grace's lawes.

And most dread soveraigne (with all humilitie and humblenes of heart) I beseeche your grace (according to your accustomed goodnesse) to take this my rude supplication to the best, as a fruite of my obedience, wherein I have not dissembled, but have opened fully unto your graee the ground and very bottome of my hart, not of any grudge, evill will, or malice that I beare to any spirituall shepheard (God I take to record) but onely for the glory of God, the honour of your grace, and the wealth and profit of your most naturall and loving subjectes.[54]

[54] The like praier is now made of all faithfull professors of the Gospell for her Majestie.

Memoirs of Sir John Berkley: containing an Account of his Negotiation with Lieutenant-General Cromwell, Commissary-General Ireton, and other Officers of the Army for restoring King Charles the First to the Exercise of the Government of England.

London, Printed by J. Darby, in Bartholomew Close, for A. Baldwin in Warwick-lane, 1699.

[Octavo, containing Ninety-three Pages.]

It has been said, by the British Critics, *that 'the French, who abound in original Memoirs, 'illustrative of their history, are diligent in preserving and reprinting them: while we, who 'have but few works of the kind, have been so careless of those few, that they have in many 'instances become scarce and forgotten.'*

The last assertion, so far as it relates to the paucity of original memoirs in England, it would, perhaps, be no difficult task to controvert: and the reproach of carelessness is about to be done away, by the eagerness with which all the memorials of "time-enshrouded days" continue to be sought after. Many other modern publications of this nature might be instanced, besides those of Cary, Naunton, Lonsdale, *and* Hutchinson.

The following tract appears to partake of the same qualities. It professes to be written (and I know not any reason to doubt its profession) by the person to whom it principally relates, and combining the minutiæ of biography with historical facts, may assist to throw light upon the latter. To render it more complete, the following incidents in the life of Sir John Berkley, antecedent, and subsequent, to the period contained in the Memoir, have been concentrated from Clarendon's History, Collins's Peerage, *and other sources.*

He was the youngest of the five sons of Sir Maurice Berkeley, and brother to Sir Charles Berkeley, Viscount Fitz-Harding. In the army raised anno 1638, *to march against the Scots, he was a commander; and received the honour of knighthood from Charles I. at*

Berwick, July 27, eodem anno. *From the commencement of hostilities betweeen that monarch and the Parliament, he signalized himself in the royal cause, and was one of* 'those 'very good officers,' *who Lord Clarendon relates*[1] *were ordered, in conjunction with the Marquis of Hertford, to form an army in the west.*

But before his appearing there, he was sent over to Holland, to hasten the provision of arms and ammunition which the Queen was to send the King; which, in 1642, *he safely landed in the parts of Holderness, (having narrowly escaped the parliament's ships), and afterwards came to the King at York, and from thence went into the west.*

At Sherborn he joined the little army of the Marquis of Hertford, which spiritedly withstood the Earl of Bedford, General of the Horse to the Parliament, and other Ephori, with a large body of cavalry and foot, and so disheartened them as to oblige their commander to retire disgracefully. Shortly after, Sir John and some other officers were left with their little troop of horse, (Hertford going with the foot into Glamorganshire) and directed to march into Cornwall, in hopes to find that county better prepared for their reception, and the disaffected there easily to be reduced. In joint commission with Lord Mohun, Sir Ralph Hopton, and Colonel Ashburnham, and with the assistance of the posse comitatus, *and a large body of volunteers, Sir John Berkeley, and his brother officers, preserved Cornwall entire, made some bold incursions into Devonshire, and beat the parliamentary forces under the command of Ruthen, the Scotch governor of Plymouth. This done,* 'Sir 'John Berkley (says Clarendon) with a good party volant of horse and dragoons, with 'great diligence and gallantry, visiting all places in Devon, where their people were ga- 'thered together, and dissolving them, took many prisoners of name, and so kept Chud- 'leigh, the Major-general of the Parliament forces, from raising a body there; which he 'industriously intended.'[2] *On many other occasions, during this western campaign, he was equally distinguished; particularly at the siege of Exeter, (upon the reduction of which he was appointed governor, and tenaciously held it,) and appears to have been a valuable and highly serviceable officer.*[3] *He received a commission under the great seal to be* 'Colonel-general of the counties of Devon and Cornwall, and to command the whole forces 'of both counties, as well trained bands as others;' *but there was unfortunately much altercation concerning their local jurisdictions, between him and Sir Richard Greenvil, who had been similarly commissioned: the proceedings on this subject are related at length by Clarendon,*[4] *and were attended with much bitterness and disquiet.*

Sir John was so much in favour with the Queen, that she chose Exeter to lie-in at; where, on July 16, 1644, *she was delivered of the Princess Henrietta Maria, who was married to the Duke of Orleans. And in a letter from her Majesty to the King, dated March* 13, 1644-5, *are these expressions:* 'Farewel, *my dear heart: behold the mark which you de-* 'sire to have, to know when I desire any thing in earnest. I pray begin to remember what 'I spoke to you concerning Jack Berkley, for master of the wards.'[5]

After Sir Thomas Fairfax had defeated the King's forces, he laid siege to Exeter, which was defended by the governor, Berkley, for three months; till being distressed for want of provision, and no relief expected, he surrendered the city, April 13, 1645, *on most honourable conditions.*[6] *After spending his six*[7] *months allowed by the articles, to solicit his affairs where he would, he transported himself into France, and waited upon the Queen at Paris, being still a menial servant to her Majesty: and* 'having (says Clarendon) a friend in 'that court that governed and loved him better than any body else did.[8] *As soon as the* 'reports came thither of the King's being with the army, he repeated many discourses he 'had held with the officers of the army whilst they treated with him of the delivery of Exe-

[1] [Hist. Rebell. edit. Oxon. 1807. I. 1065.] [2] [Id. II. 200.]
[3] [See further respecting his military achievements in Clarendon, II. 504. 956.]
[4] [II. 965. 1001. 1010-12-13.]
[5] [Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 101. This post he afterwards unsuccessfully attempted to gain. See Clarendon, III. 662.] [6] [Id. p. 99-100.]
[7] [So says Clarendon; but Collins allows but four months: the latter is probably correct.]
[8] [Hist. Rebell. III. 80.]

'ter, how he had told them "upon how slippery ground they stood; that the Parliament, 'when they had served their turn, would dismiss them with reproach, and give them very 'small rewards for the great service they had done for them; that they should do well 'seasonably to think of a safe retreat, which could be no where but under the protection of 'the King, who by their courage was brought very low; and if they raised him again, he 'must owe it all to them; and his posterity, as well as himself, and all his party, must for 'ever acknowledge it; by which they would raise their fortunes, as well as their fame, to 'the greatest degree men could aim at;" which, he said, made such an impression upon 'this and that officer, whom he named, that they told him at parting, "they should never 'forget what he had said to them; and that they already observed that every day produced 'somewhat that would put them in mind of it." In a word, "he had foretold all that 'was since come to pass, and he was most confident, that, if he were now with them, he 'should have credit enough to bring them to reason, and to do the King great service;" 'and offered without delay to make the journey. The Queen believed all he said; and 'they who did not were very willing he should make the experiment; for he that loved him 'best was very willing to be without him:[9] *and so receiving the Queen's letter of recommendation of him to the King, who knew him very little, and that little not without some 'prejudice, he left Paris, and made all possible haste into England.' Of his negotiations there, we now leave Sir John to tell his own tale in the following Memoirs; premising, that there are some differences in Lord Clarendon's relation, which the reader may do well to consult.*[10] *The noble historian, however, we must remember, could only gather his information from the report of those about the court and army, while Berkley narrates the actions in which he was a party concerned, and which took place within his own observation. But the following intelligence, which we learn from the former, must induce us to peruse the narration of the latter with a jealous eye: 'Sir John Berkley, who, shortly after the King's 'being in the Isle of Wight, had transported himself into France, and remained still with 'the Duke of York, to the time of King Charles the Second's return, and Mr. Ashburn-'ham, who continued in England, and so the more liable to reproach, had been so soli-'citous to wipe off the aspersions which were cast upon them jointly, that they had it in care 'to preserve the reputation of a joint innocence; but whilst each endeavoured to clear him-'self, he objected or imputed somewhat to the other that made him liable to just censure; 'and in this contention, their friends mentioned their several discourses so loudly, and so 'passionately, for the credit and reputation of him whom they loved best, that they con-'tracted a very avowed animosity against each other; insomuch as it was generally be-'lieved upon the King's return, that they would, with some fierceness, have expostulated 'with each other in that way which angry men choose to determine right; or that both of 'them would have desired the King to have caused the whole to be so strictly examined, that 'the world might have discerned where the faults or oversights had been, if no worse could 'have been charged upon them: but they applied themselves to neither of those expedients, 'and lived only as men who took no delight in each other's conversation, and who did not 'desire to cherish any familiarity together. And the King, [Charles II.] who was satisfied 'there had been no treasonable contrivance, (from which his father had absolved them) did 'not think it fit, upon such a subject, to make strict inquisition into inadvertencies, indis-'cretions, and presumptions, which could not have been punished proportionably.*

'*It is true that* they both writ Apologies,[11] *or narrations of all that had passed in that af-'fair; which they made not public, but gave in writing to such of their friends in whose 'opinion they most desired to be absolved, without any inclination that one should see what*

[9] [The historian Clarendon seems to intend some arch allusions concerning this friend at Paris, which are now obscure: 'Having a friend in that court that governed and loved him better than any body else did;' and 'For 'he that loved him best, was very willing to be without him.' Qu. May not Clarendon mean himself? There was, as we shall see hereafter, a disagreement between him and Berkley, in which the latter talks of their twenty-years' friendship.]

[10] [Hist. Rebell. III. 81. 109. 113-116. *et infra.*

[11] [The Editor cannot trace the preservation of any copy of Mr. Ashburnham's relation among our public repositories; and it is remarkable that Sir J. Berkley's should have been published at a date [1699] long posterior to the facts which it records, without any preamble from the bookseller as to the source from whence it was obtained. Perhaps this may not be the first impression.]

'the other had written; in which, though there were several reflections upon each other, 'and differences in occurrences of less moment, there was nothing in either that seemed to 'doubt of the integrity of the other; nor any clear relation of any probable inducement 'that prevailed with the king to make that journey. I have read both their relations, and 'conferred with them at large, to discover in truth what the motives might be which led 'to so fatal an end: and if I were obliged to deliver my own opinion, I should declare 'that neither of them were, in any degree, corrupted in their loyalty or affection to the 'king; or suborned to gratify any persons with a disservice to their master. They were 'both of them great opiniators; yet irresolute, and easy to be shaken by any thing they 'had not thought of before; and exceedingly undervalued each other's understanding: 'but as it usually falls out in men of that kind of composition and talent, they were both 'disposed to communicate more freely with, and consequently, to be advised by new ac-'quaintance, and men they had lately begun to know, than old friends, and such whose 'judgments they could not but esteem; who they had no mind should go sharers with them 'in the merit of any notable service which they thought themselves able to bring to pass.'[12] *Lord Clarendon continues his remarks at too great length to be transcribed here; but they are so acute, and display such a masterly knowledge of the subject, that the reader is likely to be informed and gratified by a perusal of the whole.*

After Sir John's return to France, he was sent by the Queen to wait upon the Duke of York (who, in April 1648, *had made his escape from St. James's to Holland;) and Lord Byron, his governor, being absent in England, Sir John was appointed to his situation by her Majesty's desire; but his services proving unacceptable, owing to the machinations of Colonel Bamfield (who, having assisted in the Duke's escape, coveted the post himself,) were soon resigned. Berkley was, according to Clarendon, of an ambitious and unquiet humour, and not choosing to appear inferior, upon Byron's return, he endeavoured to exempt the Duke from his superintendence, and induce him to military adventures: this being opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (as Clarendon was then designated) occasioned animosity between him and Berkley, which was strengthened by many subsequent circumstances. In the end, Sir John plainly told him, 'that since he was resolved to break all 'friendship with him, which had continued now near twenty years, he thought it but just 'to give him notice of it, that from henceforward he might not expect any friendship from 'him, but that they might live towards each other with that civility only that strangers 'used to do.' The Chancellor told him, 'that the same justice that disposed him to give 'this notice, should likewise oblige him to declare the reason of this resolution;' and asked him 'whether he had ever broken his word to him? or promised to do what he had 'not done?' He answered, 'his exception was, that he could not be brought to make any 'promise; and that their judgments were so different, that he would no more depend 'upon him:' and so they parted, without ever after having conversation with each other whilst they remained in France.*[13]

Collins would have us believe, that this was the reason that the Earl in his History of the Rebellion *has endeavoured to lessen Berkley's services and merits; though, he adds, 'from 'what I have observed, it may be justly said, that he behaved with courage, honour, and 'integrity.' In the year* 1652, *by the death of the Lord Byron, he was again at the head of the Duke of York's family, and had the management of all his receipts and disbursements, calling himself* Intendant des affaires de son Altesse Royale; *and endeavouring to extend his influence to marry the Duke to a deformed French lady of fair fortune, the daughter of the Duke de Longueville.*

On May 19, 1658, *the King advanced him to the Peerage, in consideration of his loyal and successful services, under the title of Lord Berkley of Stratton in Cornwall, (the site of one of his military achievements) by letters-patent, dated at Brussells, May* 19, anno regni x.[14] *and he becomes by his* Memoirs *a noble author.*

On the restoration of Charles II. he was admitted of the Privy Council, and in 1669 *consti-*

[12] [Hist. Rebell. III. 123.] [13] [Id. III. 665.] [14] [Bill. Sign. de anno 10. Car. II.]

tuted Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; but was succeeded three years after by Arthur Earl of Essex. He appears to have been employed in an embassy to France, anno 1675, *and died at Twickenham (where he was buried) August* 28, 1678, *aged* 71; *leaving, by the widow of Henry Rich, Lord Kensington, three sons and a daughter.*

Memoirs of Sir John Berkley.

IN the year 1647 her majesty, and his highness the Prince of Wales, were pleased to send me into Holland, to condole the death of the Prince of Orange; and having performed that office, I returned with Mr. John and Mr. William Ashburnham to France, by the way of Calais; where we met with the news of his majesty's being seized by one Cornet Joyce in Holmby House, from whence he was carried with a guard of 400 horse towards the army; the cornet producing no authority whereby to warrant this proceeding. The next post brought us advertisement to Calais, that his majesty was well received by the officers and soldiers of the army, and that there were great hopes conceived that they would both concur to establish his majesty in his just rights. From Calais we went to Rouen, where we met a confirmation of this intelligence, and heard withal, that one Sir Edward Ford (who was brother-in-law to Commissary-General Ireton) was sent by her majesty and his highness the Prince of Wales into England, to discover the intentions of the army, and to promote an agreement between his majesty and them. From Rouen we went to St. Germains; where we were no sooner arrived, but we heard that Mr. Denham (who during his imprisonment had contracted a great familiarity with Mr. Peters, a preacher, and a powerful person in the army) was dispatched with a commission to the like effect with that of Sir Edward Ford. As I was going up to her majesty, I met accidentally with my Lord Culpepper, who scarce had saluted me, before he told me, that I must prepare myself immediately for another journey, her majesty being resolved to send me into England after Sir Edward Ford and Mr. Denham. I answered, "that I had no pass, nor any acquaintance with any one of the army; and that I doubted, if the king's party should come too thick upon them at first, those of the army would be jealous they should have too many sharers in the places and preferments they might perhaps meditate to procure and preserve to themselves." His lordship replied, "That if I were afraid to go into England, her majesty and his highness would serve themselves of some other person, because they conceived it necessary to employ some to the army, that might be supposed to have greater trust both with the queen in France, and with the king in England, than either Sir Edward Ford or Mr. Denham had." I returned, "That if after a serious consideration it should be judged of use to dispatch me into England, I would adventure; though I had not the honour to be very well known to his majesty, and therefore could not expect any great trust from him." To that part his lordship replied, "That there was an intention to send Mr. John Ashburnham after me; but that he would not go without a pass, and therefore I should have it added to my instructions to procure him one. Within few days after, I had my dispatch, and went by the way of Dieppe, where I met with Mr. William Leg of the bedchamber to his majesty. He embarked with me for England; we arrived at Hastings, and from thence went the next day towards London. Two miles on this side Tunbridge I met with Sir Allen Apsley, who had been my Lieutenant-Governor of Exeter, and afterwards governor of Barnstaple in the county of Devon. He told me that he was going to me from Cromwell and some other officers of the army, with letters, and a cypher, and instructions, which were to this effect: 'That he 'should desire me to remember, that in some conferences with Colonel Lambert and other 'officers of the army upon the rendering of Exeter, I had taken notice of the army's bit-'ter inveighing against the king's person, as if he had been the worst of men, and their 'excessive extolling the parliament; both which being without any colour of ground, I 'had concluded that those discourses were not out of any persuasion of mind, but affected

'to prepare men to receive the alteration of government they intended the parliament 'should effect by the assistance of the army; which I had said was not only a most 'wicked, but a very difficult if not an impossible design, for a few men not of the 'greatest quality to introduce a popular government against the king and his party, 'against the presbyterians, against the nobility and gentry, against the laws established 'both ecclesiastical and civil, and against the whole genius of the nation, that had 'been accustomed for so many ages to a monarchical government. Whereas on the other 'side, if they would but consider, that those of their party had no particular obligations to 'the crown, as many of the presbyterians had, and therefore ought less to despair of his 'majesty's grace and favour; that the presbyter began this war upon specious pretences 'of making the king a glorious king; that under that pretext they had deceived many 'well-meaning men, and had brought great things to pass; but that now the mask was 'taken off, and they discovered to have sought their own advantages, and at the same 'time the power almost wrested out of their hands to do themselves much good or others 'hurt, and that by the independent party, who could establish themselves no way under 'heaven so justly and prudently, as by making good what the presbyterians had only 'pretended, that is restoring king and people to their just and ancient rights; which would 'so ingratiate them with both, that they would voluntarily invest them with as much trust 'and power as subjects are capable of. Whereas if they grasped more, it would be with 'the general hatred, and their own destruction. To this discourse of mine they only gave 'a hearing, but no consent, as proceeding from an interest much divided from theirs: but 'since they have found by experience all or the most part to be so reasonable that they 'were resolved to put it in practice, as I might perceive by what had already passed; they 'desired for the present nothing of me; but that I would present them humbly to the 'queen and prince, and be suitor to them in their names, not to condemn them absolutely, 'but to suspend their opinions of them, and their pretensions towards his majesty, and 'judge them rather by their future behaviour, of the innocence whereof they had already 'given some testimonies to the world, and would do more and more daily. When I should 'have done this office, they desired I would come over into England, and become an eye-'witness of their proceedings.' I thought this rencounter no ill omen to my future proceedings. Sir Allen Apsley told me "I should have to do with subtle men, that governed themselves by other maxims than the rest of the world." I remember I answered, "that the caution was good, and that I would arm myself the best I could; but that it was hard to secure ourselves from malicious men when we were absolutely in their power." I took the best information I could from Sir Allen Apsley, and resolved with him to go into London before I went to the king or the army, that I might be enlightened by the most able men of our party; which I did, and collected this following discourse from them.

[During the time his majesty was at Newcastle, the independent party was so prevalent in the house of commons, that the presbyterians were forced to consent to have the king rendered by the Scots to the parliament; and his majesty was accordingly delivered by them to the English committee, and a guard of English set upon him of the presbyterian party, and no passionate enemies of his majesty. The presbyterian party, that was very numerous in the house of commons, and over-voted the other in most questions, had engaged themselves privately (by some of their chiefs) to the Scots in two points; first, that the army should be disbanded, and then the king brought to his parliament with honour and safety. The disbanding was gone about very seriously by the parliament; and a committee (whereof the Earl of Warwick was the chief) chosen, and accordingly sent to Newmarket or Saffron-Walden, where the army then lay. Many of the army professed really their obedience to the parliament as to the disbanding; but none more solemnly than Cromwell, who made great execrations against himself in the house, if he did not desire it cordially. He had always professed great submission to the parliament, who had very liberally rewarded him for his service, and was hopeful to have begotten so great a confidence in them, that they would have been contented to entertain the army as their prætorian band, and therefore was very sorry to see the house bent to license them, but

durst not appear against it, because he had many ill-willers in the army, and did believe they durst not, or would not, unanimously oppose the parliament in that particular, and therefore refused to go to the army, though he was sent for often by the mutinous party, who upon that score were not a little offended with him; and at length, their discontents increasing, seeing themselves deserted by their superior officers, thought of some means to secure themselves from their ungrateful parliament, which they began now perfectly to hate, and thereupon chose to themselves adjutators in every regiment and in every troop of horse, by whom they engaged themselves to be absolutely concluded. The first resolution these new-elected officers took, was, not to disband, and the next to seize the king's person. Cromwell staid very long in London, for one that had been the author of that design: however, he at last stole out of town, and joined with the mutineers, but did not so readily concur in the seizing the king's person, or at least pretended not to do it: For he sent his kinsman Whalley with orders to use all means but force, to cause his majesty to return to Holmby; but his majesty absolutely refusing, Whalley marched with his majesty towards the army.]

This account I had from the most discerning of my acquaintance in London, from whence I went to the head-quarters at Reading, with intention (after I had delivered my message) to desire leave to wait on his majesty at Causum. I was no sooner arrived at Reading, but I spoke with Sir Edward Ford and Mr. John Denham. Both of them were much of the same advice with those I had discoursed at London concerning the present power of the adjutators, by whom the most important affairs of the kingdom and army were transacted. By them I learned that his majesty came very unwillingly from Holmby; that his majesty would not go to the army, though he were earnestly invited by the officers; that his majesty, against the consent of the army, concurred with the vote of the parliament, to go to Richmond, where he would have been out of the army's power, and would not be persuaded out of his resolution, till the army forced the parliament to recal their vote: then his majesty would needs go to Windsor, much against the sense of the army; but because they could not persuade his majesty, they forced him from thence by ill usage; and that the rather, because he would not be intreated to pass by the army in his way to Windsor: in sum, they doubted that his majesty hearkened to some secret propositions of the presbyterians, and bent all his thoughts to make an absolute breach between the army and the parliament, which Ireton discerned, and told his majesty plainly, "Sir, you have an intention to be the arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be it between your majesty and the parliament."

Two or three hours after my arrival, Cromwell sent an officer to excuse him to me, that he could not wait on me till ten at night, by reason he was sitting with the committee of parliament, and should not rise till then. He came then accompanied with Rainsborough and Sir Hardress Waller. After general discourse, I told him the sum of my instructions from the queen and prince; which were to assure them, that her majesty and his highness were not partial to the presbyterians, nor any way averse to them; that I should endeavour to incline his majesty to comply with them as far as would stand with his honour and conscience, and to dispose them to press his majesty no farther. His answer was in these words: "That whatever the world might judge of them, they would be found no seekers of themselves farther than to have leave to live as subjects ought to do, and to preserve their consciences; that they thought no men could enjoy their lives and estates quietly, without the king had his rights, which they had declared in general terms already to the world, and would more particularly very speedily, wherein they would comprise the several interests of the royal, presbyterian, and independent parties, as far as they were consisting with each other;" which I understood afterwards, to be meant of the proposals of the army. I went the next day to the general, by Cromwell's direction, to ask his leave to see the king; which he was pleased to grant. I delivered my letters and instructions to his majesty. I found that his majesty discovered not only to me, but to every one he was pleased to converse with, a total diffidence of all the army except Huntington, and grounded it chiefly upon the officers' backwardness to treat of receiving any favour or advantage from

his majesty. I was of his majesty's sense, that men whose hands were yet hot with the blood of his most faithful subjects, ought not entirely to be trusted, but thought they ought absolutely to be well dissembled with, whilst his majesty was in their hands, at least that he might the better get out of them, and to this end offered several expedients; as, to suffer Peters to preach before his majesty, of which he was very ambitious; and to converse with him, and others of the army, with freedom; and by all means to endeavour to gain the good opinion of the most active adjutators, and the like. But his majesty concurred in none of them; which made me doubt his majesty valued my reasons something the worse for the author, and therefore I meditated nothing so much as to procure a pass for Mr. John Ashburnham, with whom I hoped I might prevail, and he with his majesty; which within few days after I did obtain, and caused it to be delivered to his servant.

About four days after my coming to the army, there came two general officers from the council of war to me, to let me know, that they had been informed that I had some wrong done me upon the rendition of Exeter, to a great value; and that if I would put the sum under my hand, they would see that I should have satisfaction. I gave them most hearty thanks; but withal told them, that I came not to them upon my own business, but that of his majesty; which as soon as they should dispatch, no man living would be more ready to receive and acknowledge this or any other favour from them; till then, it would no way become me to do it. This was a generosity which those self-denyers thought might do well in discourse and speculation: but could not understand it when brought into practice, and therefore concluded that I was so great a presbyterian, that I would choose rather to lose twelve hundred pounds (which was my pretension) than to offend my Lord Roberts, a great presbyterian, who must have made me reparation; in which opinion they were confirmed by two letters they had lately perused, the one from Sir Marmaduke Langdale at Antwerp, and the other from Sir William Fleetwood at London; both affirming, that to their knowledge I was an engaged presbyterian. I was altogether a stranger to them both, and therefore did attribute this either to their envy that I was admitted, or grief that they were excluded from the employment between his majesty and the army. However it was, upon those surmises Cromwell came to expostulate the matter plainly with me, and I replied to him in these words, that I was as much presbyterian as independent; that I, as well as others, was inclined to think the better of them, because they pretended to mind the king's restoration, but bid them be assured, that as soon as I should discover they were not real, I, and I thought all the king's party, would join with any that would but dissemble better than they; and concluded, that I thought nothing would separate the crown and the king's party. Cromwell seemed not unsatisfied with this plain dealing, and so left me. The next day Huntington, who was sent to me by the king, made me acquainted with two general officers, whom I durst not name because they are obnoxious to the present power. With these I had often and free communication; and inquiring what opinion they had of the army in general, as to a conjunction with the king, they replied, that they did believe it was universally desired both by the officers and adjutators; that if Cromwell was not real in it, he was a great dissembler, and so was Ireton; that for the present the whole army was so bent upon it, that they durst not be otherwise; that if they should ever happen to change, they should easily discover it; and because they had been in great part the cause that Sir Allen Apsley was sent to me, they thought themselves obliged to give me all the light they could of things and persons; which to the last they performed, in my opinion most sincerely. I let them know at our first meeting, that I doubted there would be three great difficulties which would obstruct the agreement. First, they would expect that the king should not only give them liberty of conscience, but alter the established ecclesiastical government, which his majesty was persuaded he could not in conscience do. The second, that they would not be contented to separate some few men from the court, and from bearing great offices, unless they and their posterity were ruined, and that by the king's act, which his majesty could not in honour permit. And thirdly, that

they would not be contented with a security of the militia during his majesty's life, and his majesty could not grant it farther, but infinitely to the prejudice of his posterity. They assured me that his majesty would be pressed in none of these particulars, and that there was a draught of proposals which Ireton had drawn, and which would certainly be voted by the whole army, wherein there was nothing tending to any such purpose; and if his majesty would consent to them, there would be an end of all difficulties; and they thought the sooner his majesty did it, would be the better, because there was no certainty in the temper of the army, which they had observed to have altered more than once already. I asked whether I might not have a sight of these proposals; they answered, when I pleased. I went with them to Ireton for that purpose, and remained with him almost till morning. He permitted me to alter two of the articles, and that in most material points; and I would have done a third, which was, the excluding seven persons (that were not named) from pardon, and the admitting of our party to sit in the next parliament. To the first he answered, that being they had prevailed in the war, if they should not in the sight of the world make some distinction between themselves and those that were worsted (who always bear the blame of public quarrels) they had so many malicious enemies both in the parliament and army, that they should be censured of betraying their party, and to have sought their own ends by private and indirect means. To the second, he confessed that he should himself be afraid of a parliament, wherein the king's party should have the major vote: but after the agreement, if the king's party and they could piece kindly and cordially together, there would be nothing easier than to procure his majesty satisfaction in those two particulars. He concluded, by conjuring me as I tendered his majesty's good and welfare, that I would endeavour to prevail with him to grant the proposals, that they might with the more confidence propound them to the parliament, and make an end of all differences. Out of my discourses and inquiries I collected these observations: first, that the army was governed partly by a council of war, and partly by a council of the army or adjutators, wherein the general had but a single voice; that Fairfax the general had little power in either; that Cromwell and his son Ireton with their friends and partisans, governed the council of war absolutely, but not that of the army, which was the most powerful, though they had a strong party there also; but the major part of the adjutators carried it. Amongst these adjutators there were many ill-wishers of Cromwell, looking on him as one who would always make his advantages out of the army. These observed that Cromwell resolved to prosecute his ambitious ends through all means whatsoever, and did not only dissemble, but really change his way to those ends; and when he thought the parliament would make his fortune, resigned himself totally to them, even to the disbanding of the army before it was paid: when the presbyterians prevailed, he took the covenant: when he quitted the parliament, his chief dependence was on the army, which he endeavoured by all means to keep in unity, and if he could not bring it to his sense, rather than suffer any division, went over himself, and carried his friends with him into that way the army did choose, and that faster than any in it. Upon this ground, when the army was for the parliament, no man so violent as he in both: when the army became for the king against the parliament, no man drove so furiously as he; and when the army changed a third time for the parliament and against the king, he was still the leader: and if the army shall change a fourth time to become levellers (though he will oppose this at first, as he did all other changes) no man shall outgo him in levelling. All that he seems to desire is, that the army would be constant in any way, that he might not be necessitated to the playing of so many different parts, he being equally indifferent to all that will afford him equal advantages.

When I came to Reading, I found many of the adjutators jealous that Cromwell was not sincere for the king, and desired me, if I found him false to their engagement, that I would let them know it, and they did not doubt to set him right either with or against his will. But in all my conferences with him, I found no man in appearance so zealous for a speedy blow as he; sometimes wishing that the king was more frank, and would not tie

himself so strictly to narrow maxims; sometimes complaining of his son Ireton's slowness in perfecting the proposals, and his not accommodating more to his majesty's sense, always doubting that the army would not preserve their good inclinations for the king. I met with him about three days after I came to Reading, as he was coming from the king then at Causum: he told me that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the king and his children, and wept plentifully at the remembrance of it, saying, that never man was so abused as he in his sinister opinions of the king, who he thought was the uprightest and most conscientious of his three kingdoms; that they of the independent party (as they were called) had infinite obligations to him for not consenting to the Scots propositions at Newcastle, which would have totally ruined them, and which his majesty's interest seemed to invite him to; and concluded with me by wishing, that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart towards his majesty. I immediately acquainted his majesty with this passage; who seemed not well edified with it, and did believe that all proceeded out of the use Cromwell and the army had of his majesty, without whom he thought they could do nothing; and this I conceive was inculcated daily by Bampfield and Loe at first, and afterwards by the Lord Lauderdale, who had frequent accesses to his majesty from the Scots, the presbyterians, and the city of London, who knew there was nothing so fatal to them as a conjunction between the king and the army. Out of all my observations I drew these conclusions, which I prosecuted to the best of my power: that his majesty was concerned to come to a speedy issue with the army; that he might either agree with them, or discover that they intended not to agree with him; and in that case that his majesty should secure his escape, and in the mean time that his majesty should not give them the least colour of exception to his actions; that seeing the officers were more easily fixed to his majesty by a visible prospect of their interest in case of a conjunction, I took the least pains with them, and applied myself to Peters and the adjutators, who swayed their officers more than their officers commanded them; and it was more hard to satisfy them (being many) in point of interest, than their officers who were few.

About ten days after my arrival at the army, the contentions grew high and hot between them and the presbyterian party in the house, which was the major part by much, and the city of London; the one contending to have the parliament purged of corrupt members, and the other to have the army removed farther from the city. This caused the army's march from Reading to Bedford, and consequently his majesty's remove with his wonted guard from Causum to Woborn, a house of the Earl of Bedford, where I procured his majesty a sight of the army's proposals six or eight days before they were offered to him in public. His majesty was much displeased with them in general, saying, that if they had a mind to close with him, they would never impose so hard terms upon him. I replied, that I should suspect them more than I did (if they had demanded less) that they did not intend really to serve his majesty, but only to abuse him, since it was not likely that men who had through so great dangers and difficulties acquired so great advantages, should ever sit down with less than was contained in the proposals; and on the other side, never was a crown so near lost, so cheaply recovered, as his majesty's would be, if they agreed upon such terms. His majesty was of another advice, and returned, that they could not subsist without him, and therefore he did not doubt but that he should see them very shortly be glad to condescend farther; and then objected to three particular points of the proposals. The first was, the exception of seven, not named, from pardon. The second, the excluding his party from being eligible in the next ensuing parliament. And the third, that though there was nothing against the church-government established, yet there was nothing done to assert it. To these I replied, that after his majesty and the army were accorded, it would be no impossible work to make them remit in the first point; and if he could not, when his majesty was re-instated in his throne, he might easily supply seven persons beyond the seas in such sort as to make their banishment supportable to them. To the second; that the next parliament

would be necessitated to lay great burdens upon the kingdom, and it would be a happiness to the king's party to have no voice in them. To the third, that the law was security enough for the church, and it was happy that men who had fought against the church, should be reduced (when they were superiors) not to speak against it. His majesty broke from me with this expression, "Well! I shall see them glad ere long to accept more equal terms." I now began to long impatiently for Mr. Ashburnham, as hoping he had some better topics for his majesty; and within few days after he arrived to his majesty's great contentment as well as mine. His instructions referred to mine, which we were to prosecute jointly. I gave him presently all the light I had, which he seemed to embrace at first; but after he had discoursed more amply with his majesty, I found him so far from crossing him, that he abounded in his majesty's sense, and held afterwards this discourse with me: that for his part he was always bred in the best company, and therefore could not converse with such senseless fellows as the adjutators were; that if we could gain the officers sure to the king, there was no doubt but they would be able to command their own army, and therefore he was resolved to apply himself totally to them, and so did, and there grew immediately great familiarities between him and Whalley, captain of the guard that waited on the king, and then with Cromwell and Ireton; and daily messages between his majesty and the head-quarters, which Mr. Ashburnham carried, and sometimes me with him, though I seldom knew the message, at least he would have me believe I did not; for he chose to speak apart with Cromwell and Ireton when I was present, alledging, that they would not speak freely to two at once. What with the pleasure of having so concurring a second as Mr. Ashburnham, and what with the encouraging messages his majesty had by my Lord Lauderdale, and others from the presbyterian party and the city of London, who pretended to despise the army, and to oppose them to death, his majesty seemed very much erected; insomuch that when the proposals were solemnly sent to him, and his concurrence most humbly and earnestly desired, his majesty (not only to the astonishment of Ireton and the rest, but even to mine) entertained them with very tart and bitter discourses, saying sometimes, that he would have no man to suffer for his sake, and that he repented of nothing so much as the bill against the Lord Strafford; which though most true, was unpleasant for them to hear; that he would have the church established according to law by the proposals. They replied, it was none of their work to do it; that it was enough for them to wave the point, and they hoped enough for his majesty since he had waved the government itself in Scotland. His majesty said that he hoped God had forgiven him that sin, and repeated often, "you cannot be without me; you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." Many of the army that were present, and wished well, at least as they pretended, to the agreement, looked wishtly and with wonder upon me and Mr. Ashburnham, and I as much as I durst upon his majesty, who would take no notice of it, until I was forced to step to him and whisper in his ear, "Sir, your majesty speaks as if you had some secret strength and power that I do not know of; and since your majesty hath concealed it from me, I wish you had concealed it from these men too." His majesty soon recollected himself, and began to sweeten his former discourse with great power of language and behaviour. But it was now of the latest. For Colonel Rainsborough, who of all the army seemed the least to wish the accord, in the middle of the conference stole away and posted to the army, which he inflamed against the king with all the artificial malice he had. As soon as the conference ended, I followed him to Bedford, where the army then lay. I met with some of the adjutators, who asked me what his majesty meant, to entertain their commissioners so harshly? I told them, that Rainsborough had delivered it amiss to them, as indeed he had by adding to the truth. I then desired a meeting with Ireton and the rest of the superior officers, and obtained it, and there asked them, if the king should grant the proposals, what would ensue? They replied, they would offer them to the parliament. But if they refused them, what would they do then? They replied, they would not tell me. I then returned, that I would tell them, I would lose no more time with them: for if there came of proposals but the propounding, I could then

propound as well as they. They all replied, that it was not for them to say directly what they would do against the parliament; but intimated that they did not doubt to be able to prevail with the parliament. When I appeared not fully satisfied with this reply, Rainsborough spoke out in these words, "If they will not agree, we will make them;" to which the whole company consented. But we had a harder work with his majesty, who was so far from granting, that he sent for Sir Thomas Gardiner, Mr. Jeffry Palmer, and Sir Orlando Bridgman, his learned counsel, men indeed of great abilities and integrity; to these were added Mr. Philip Warwick, Mr. Ashburnham, Mr. Denham, Sir Richard Ford, Dr. Gough (who came over with Mr. Ashburnham from France) Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and myself. We easily answered the proposals both in point of law and reason. But we had to do with what was stronger than both.

All this while there wanted not those that mediated a better understanding between the parliament and the army; but that not taking effect, the army advanced nearer London, and lodged at Windsor, and his majesty at Stoke. At this time those that were supposed best inclined to his majesty in the army, seemed much afflicted with his majesty's backwardness to concur with the army in the proposals; and the rather, because they conceived great hopes that within few days they should be masters of London, which they doubted might alter the temper of the army towards the king. Cromwell, Ireton, and the rest of the superior officers of the army, knew that London would certainly be theirs two days before they communicated it to the army; and therefore sent an express to Mr. Ashburnham and to me, that since his majesty would not yield to the proposals, yet his majesty should at least send a kind letter to the army, before it were commonly known that London would submit. We caused a meeting of the above-named persons at Windsor, where the letter was immediately drawn: but his majesty would not sign it, till after three or four several debates; which lost one whole day's time, if not more. Mr. Ashburnham and I went with it at last, and upon the way met with messages to hasten it. But before we came to Syon, the commissioners from London were arrived, and our letter out of season; for though his majesty was ignorant of the success when he signed the letter, yet coming after it was known, it lost both the grace and efficacy. All that the officers could do, they did; which was, whilst the army was in the act of thanksgiving to God for their success, to propose that they should not be elevated with it, but keep still to their former engagement to his majesty, and once more solemnly vote the proposals; which was accordingly done. The next day the army marched into London, and some few of the presbyterian party, that had been most active against the army, disappeared. From London, the head-quarters came to Putney, and his majesty was lodged at Hampton Court. Mr. Ashburnham had daily some message or another from the king to Cromwell and Ireton, who had enough to do both in the parliament and council of the army, the one abounding with presbyterians, the other with levellers, and both really jealous that Cromwell and Ireton had made a private compact and bargain with the king; Lilburn printing books weekly to that effect: and Sir Lewis Dives afterwards acknowledged to me, that being his fellow-prisoner, he had daily endeavoured to possess him with that opinion, of which although he were not persuaded himself, yet he judged it for the king's service to divide Cromwell and the army. On the other side, the presbyterians were no less confident of their surmises; and amongst them, Cromwell told me, that my Lady Carlisle affirmed, that I had said to her ladyship, that he was to be Earl of Essex, and captain of the king's guards. I had the honour to be well known to her ladyship, but forbore, contrary to my duty and inclination, to wait on her, for fear of giving any umbrage to the army, she being of the contrary party; but having several messages from her ladyship by my Lady Newport and others, I waited on her. I was not long there, but Arpin came into her chamber, who was an adjutator, and sent for, as I conceived, to be an eye-witness that I was in my Lady Carlisle's chamber, though nothing passed but general discourses; and I should have lied if I had said any thing to that purpose. But these and like discourses made great impression on the army; to which Mr. Ashburnham's secret and long conferences contributed not a little; insomuch that

the adjutators, who were wont to complain that Cromwell went too slow towards the king, began to suspect that he had gone too fast, and left them behind him: from whence there were frequent complaints in the council of the army, of the intimacy Mr. Ashburnham and I had in the army; that Cromwell's and Ireton's door was open to us when it was shut to them; that they knew not why malignants should have so much countenance in the army, and liberty with the king. These discourses, both in public and private, Cromwell seemed highly to be offended with; and when he could carry any thing to his majesty's advantage amongst the adjutators, could not rest until he had made us privately partakers of it; but withal he told Mr. Ashburnham and me, that if he were an honest man, he had said enough of the sincerity of his intentions; if he were not, nothing was enough, and therefore conjured us, as we tendered his majesty's service, not to come so frequently to his quarters, but send privately to him, the suspicions of him being grown to that height, that he was afraid to lie in his own quarters. But this had no operation upon Mr. Ashburnham, who alledged, that we must shew them the necessity of agreeing with the king from their own disorders.

About three weeks after the army had entered London, the Scots had prevailed with the parliament for another solemn address to his majesty, which was performed in the old propositions of Newcastle, some particulars in reference to the Scots only excepted. The army was very unwilling the king should grant these propositions, of which the king advised with all the persons above-mentioned, who were all of opinion, that it was unsafe for his majesty to close with the enemies of the army whilst he was in it; and therefore followed the advice of all the leading part of the independent party both in the parliament and army, by refusing the articles, and desiring a personal treaty, whereof his majesty thought the proposals a better ground than the articles, though there were something in them to which his majesty could not consent. We gave our friends in the army a sight of this answer the day before it was sent, with which they seemed infinitely satisfied, and promised to use their utmost endeavours to procure a personal treaty, and to my understanding performed it: for both Cromwell and Ireton, with Vane and all their friends, seconded with great resolution this desire of his majesty. But contrary to their and all men's expectation, they found a most general opposition, and that this message of his majesty had confirmed the jealousy of their private agreement with the king; so that the more it was urged by Cromwell, &c. the more it was rejected by the rest, who looked on them as their betrayers. The suspicions were so strong in the house, that they lost almost all their friends there; and the army that lay then about Putney were no less ill satisfied: for there came down shoals every day from London of the presbyterian and levelling parties that fomented these jealousies; insomuch that Cromwell thought himself, or pretended it, not secure in his own quarters. The adjutators now begin to change their discourse, and complained openly in their councils both of the king and the malignants about his majesty. One of the first they voted from him was myself. They said, that since his majesty had not accepted of their proposals, they were not obliged any farther to them; that they were obliged to consult their own safety, and the good of the kingdom, and to use such means towards both as they should find rational: and because they met with strong opposition from Cromwell and Ireton, and most of the superior officers, and some even of the adjutators, they had many private solemn meetings in London, where they humbled themselves before the Lord, and sought his good pleasure, and desired that he would be pleased to reveal it to his saints, which they interpret those to be who are most violent or zealous (as they call it) in the work of the Lord. These found it apparent that God had on the one side hardened the king's heart, and blinded his eyes, in not passing the proposals, whereby they were absolved from offering them any more; and on the other side, the Lord had led captivity captive, and put all things under their feet, and therefore they were bound to finish the work of the Lord, which was to alter the government, according to their first design: and to this end they resolved to seize the king's person, and take him out of Cromwell's hands. These proceedings struck so great a terror into Cromwell and Ireton, with others of the

officers that we supposed best affected to us, that they were of opinion the army should be drawn to a rendezvous, and their endeavours used to engage them once more to adhere to the proposals. As soon as the tumultuous part of the army had notice of it, they resolved before the day of the rendezvous to seize the king's person. I had been now about three weeks removed from the king, and about a fortnight after me Mr. Ashburnham. Mr. Leg still remained with his majesty, and waited in his bed-chamber.

About eight or ten days before the time appointed for the drawing together of the army, Mr. Ashburnham invited me from London, and Mr. Leg from Hampton Court, to dine with him on a Sunday at Ditton, being the other side of the water. They were both there long before me, and I a good while before dinner. But just as dinner was ready to come in, they took me aside in the room, and told me that his majesty was really afraid of his life by the tumultuous part of the army, and was resolved to make his escape; and that they had order from his majesty to command me in his name to wait on his majesty in his intended escape. I replied, it was a great honour, and accompanied with not a little danger; but withal it was new to me, and therefore nothing occurred to my thoughts at present but two things: the first was, that I thought it absolutely necessary that Mr. Ashburnham, who kept the king's money, should immediately employ his servant Dutton, who was well acquainted with the coast, to provide three or four ships in several ports, to be ready in all events; the second, that I also might receive his majesty's commands immediately from himself. To the first they seemed to concur, but nothing was ever done in it, which to this day amazes me. The other was effected, and I went the Tuesday night after to Hampton Court privately, being introduced a back way by Mr. Leg. The king told me he was afraid of his life, and that he would have me assist in person in his escape. I asked which way his majesty would go? his majesty replied, that both Mr. Ashburnham, who was present, and I, should know that by Will. Leg. The Monday before, Mr. Ashburnham and I went to the head-quarters, to desire passes to return beyond the seas; and by the way back he told me, that the Scots had much tampering with the king, but could come to no agreement; that they would fain have his majesty out of the army, and to that end had much augmented his just fears; and therefore asked me what I thought of his majesty's coming privately to London, and appearing in the house of lords? I replied, very ill; because the army were absolutely masters both of the city and parliament, and would undoubtedly seize his majesty, and if there should be but two swords drawn in the scuffle, they would accuse his majesty of beginning a new war, and proceed with him accordingly. He then asked me what I thought of the Isle of Wight? I replied, better than of London; though I knew nothing of it, nor who was governor. He replied, that he had had some communication with the governor of late, and conceived good hopes of him, but had no assurance from him. I then asked him, why his majesty would not make his retreat secure by quitting the kingdom? He replied, not for two reasons; the first was, the rendezvous would be a week after, and his majesty was not willing to quit the army before that were passed; because if the superior officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their public engagement; if they were overtopped, they must apply themselves to the king for their own security. The second was, that the Scots were in treaty with the king, and well nigh a conclusion, which they would never come to, but out of their desires to separate the king and the army; that if the king went before, they would hold him to impossible conditions, and therefore his majesty was resolved to conclude with them first. In which advice Mr. Ashburnham was most positive, and told me often, that the world would laugh at us, if we quitted the army before we had agreed with the Scots; and let them, replied I, so his majesty be secure. On the Wednesday, as I take it, we had orders to send spare horses to Sutton in Hampshire, a place where I never had been; and the Thursday after, his majesty, with Will. Leg, came out at the closing of the evening, and immediately went towards Oatlands, and so through the forest, where his majesty was our guide; but lost our way, though he were well acquainted with it, the night being excessively dark and stormy. When his majesty set first out, he discoursed

long with Mr. Ashburnham, and at last called me to him, and complained very much of the Scots commissioners, who were the first that presented his dangers to him, and offered him expedients for his escape; but when he came to make use of those they had offered, they were fullest of objections; saying, that his coming into London was desperate, his hiding in England chimerical, and his escape to Jersey prevented, because my ship was discovered; which particular my Lord Lanerick affirmed. The king thereupon asked me, if I had ever a ship ready? I answered, that I neither had nor could have any, having not one penny of money; that I had desired Mr. Ashburnham earnestly to make provision, but knew not what he had done in it. The king then asked me, what I thought might be the reason they should say I had one, and that discovered, if I had none? I replied, it was hard for me to affirm what was their meaning in that particular, or in general in their proceeding with his majesty: but I did conjecture, they were very desirous to have his majesty out of the army, which made them present his dangers to him so frequently as they had done: and in the next place they desired that his majesty should put himself again into their hands, but wanted confidence, or believed it would be ineffectual to move it directly to his majesty, because they had given so ill an account when he was last with them; and therefore they objected against their own expedients of coming into London, and obscuring himself in England. And because they could find no other against his going to Jersey, they pretended that I had a ship discovered; believing perhaps that I was totally separated from his majesty, and so should not have had any occasion to contradict it; and by this means his majesty being excluded all other means of escape, should have been necessitated to make use of Scotland. His majesty laid his hand upon my shoulder and said, "I think thou art in the right," and believed it afterward more confidently than I did. I then asked his majesty which way he would go. His majesty replied, that he hoped to be at Sutton three hours before day, and that while our horses were making ready, we would consider what course to take. But what by the length and illness of the way, the darkness of the night, and going at least ten miles out of our way, it was day-break when we came to our inn at Sutton, where our servant came out to us, and told us there was a committee of the county sitting about the parliament's business. His majesty thereupon sent for our horses out, and we continued our way towards Southampton; and his majesty resolved that we four should walk down the next hill with our horses in our hands, and as we walked consult what we were to do. Then I enquired if Mr. Ashburnham had gotten a ship, and finding he had not, I proposed going farther west, where I was sure I had some friends would favour our escape: and here again I found the two reasons prevail, of not leaving the army before the rendezvous was passed, and the treaty with the Scots finished. His majesty resolved (and that the first time for ought I could then discover) to go for the Isle of Wight, whither he ordered Mr. Ashburnham and me to go with these instructions, by word of mouth, to the governor Hammond, and return to his majesty, who went with Will. Leg to a house of my Lord Southampton at Titchfield; that we should carry him a copy of the letter his majesty left behind him at Hampton Court, and of two letters sent to him, one from Cromwell, the other without a name. Cromwell's and the other letter contained great apprehension and fears of the ill intentions of the levelling party in the army and city against his majesty; and that from Cromwell added, that in prosecution thereof a new guard was the next day to be put upon his majesty of that party. His majesty's letter contained his distrust of the disorderly part of the army, and his necessity thereupon of providing for his own safety, which he would so do as not to desert the interest of the army: that in order thereunto we should let the governor know, that of all the army his majesty had made choice of him to put himself upon, as a person of a good extraction, and one, that though he had been engaged against him in the war, yet it had been prosecuted by him without any animosity to his person, to which he had been informed he had no aversion: only his majesty, that he might not surprise him, thought fit to send us before to advertise him, and to desire his promise to protect his majesty and his servants to the best of his power; and if it should happen that he might not be able to do

it, then the governor should oblige himself to leave us in as good a condition as he found us, that is, suffer us to make our escape. With these instructions we parted: but before I had gone ten yards, I returned to his majesty, and said, I had no knowledge of the governor, and therefore could not tell whether he might not detain us in the island; and therefore advised his majesty, if we came not to him by the next day, that his majesty should think no more of us, but secure his own escape. His majesty thanked me for the caution, and pursued his way, and Mr. Ashburnham and I ours. The first thing we resolved was, that since his majesty went towards the east side of the island, that we would go on the west, to a place called Limington, where Mr. Ashburnham told me there was a short passage over. By the way I asked Mr. Ashburnham if he had any acquaintance with Hammond the governor. He replied, not very much, yet he had lately had some discourse with him upon the highway near Kingston, and found him not very averse to his majesty; but that which made him conceive the best hopes of him was the character Mr. Denham, and the commendations my Lady Isabella Thynn gave of him. We came to Limington that night, but could not pass, by reason of a violent storm that blew. The next morning we got over, and had then eight miles to the Castle of Carisbroke, where the governor dwelt. We came thither after ten in the morning, and found the governor was newly gone out towards Newport. When we overtook him, Mr. Ashburnham desired me to open the matter to him, which he would afterwards second himself. After I had saluted him, I took him aside, and delivered our message to him word for word. But he grew so pale, and fell into such a trembling, that I did really believe he would have fallen off his horse: which trembling continued with him at least an hour after, in which he broke out into passionate and distracted expressions, sometimes saying, "O gentlemen! you have undone me by bringing the king into the island, if at least you have brought him; and if you have not, pray let him not come: for what between my duty to his majesty, and my gratitude for this fresh obligation of confidence, and my observing my trust to the army, I shall be confounded:" otherwhile he would talk to a quite contrary purpose. I remember, to settle him the better, I said, that, God be thanked, there was no harm done; that his majesty intended a favour to him and his posterity, in giving him an occasion to lay a great obligation upon him, and such as was very consisting with his relation to the army, who had so solemnly engaged themselves to his majesty: but if he thought otherwise, his majesty would be far from imposing his person upon him. To that he replied, that then if his majesty should come to any mischance, what would the army and kingdom say to him, that had refused to receive him? To this I replied, that he did not refuse him, who was not come to him. He returned, that he must needs know where his majesty was, because he knew where we were. I told him he was never the nearer for my part. He then began a little to sweeten, and to wish that his majesty would have reposed himself absolutely upon him, because it would have been much the better for both. I then went to Mr. Ashburnham, and told him, that this governor was not a man for our purpose, and that for my part I would never give my consent that his majesty should trust him. Mr. Ashburnham acknowledged that he did not like him; yet on the other side, he much feared what would become of his majesty if he should be discovered before he had made his point, and made appear what his intention was; for then he would be accused of what his enemies pleased to lay upon him. I replied, that if we returned not that night, his majesty would be gone to sea. I perceived Mr. Ashburnham liked not that so well, and therefore took the governor to task apart, and after some conference they came both to me; and the governor said, that since we desired it, he would say, that because he believed his majesty had made choice of him as a person of honour and honesty, to lay this great trust upon, therefore he would not deceive his majesty's expectation. I replied, that expression was too general, and did not come home to our instructions. He then made many discourses not much to the purpose, during which time he kept himself between Mr. Ashburnham and me; and when he found me still unsatisfied, he added, that I was harder to content than Mr. Ashburnham, and he did believe that his majesty would be much easier pleased

than either, and thereupon concluded that I should go into the castle, and that Mr. Ashburnham should take his horse and go to the king, and tell his majesty what he said. I embraced the motion most readily, and immediately went over the bridge into the castle, though I had the image of the gallows very perfectly before me. Mr. Ashburnham went, I believe, with a better heart to horse; but before he was gone half a flight shot, the governor (being before the castle gate) called to him, and had a conference of at least a quarter of an hour with him, to what purpose I never knew until I came into Holland, where a gentleman of good worth and quality told me, that the governor affirmed afterwards in London and in many places, that he then offered to Mr. Ashburnham, that I should go and he should stay, as believing his majesty to be less willing to expose him than me, but that Mr. Ashburnham absolutely refused. Whatever passed between them, I am sure they came both back to me; and the governor putting himself between us said, that he would say that which he was sure ought to content any reasonable man, which was, that he did believe his majesty relied on him as on a person of honour and honesty, and therefore he did engage himself to us to perform whatever could be expected from a person of honour and honesty. Before I could make any, Mr. Ashburnham made this reply, "I will ask no more." The governor then added, "Let us then all go to the king, and acquaint him with it." Mr. Ashburnham answered, "With all my heart." I then broke from the governor who held me in his hand, and went to Mr. Ashburnham and said, "What do you mean, to carry this man to the king before you know whether he will approve of this undertaking or no? undoubtedly you will surprise him." Mr. Ashburnham said nothing but, "I'll warrant you:" "and so you shall, said I; for you know the king much better than I do, and therefore when we shall come where the king is, I assure you I will not see him before you have satisfied his majesty concerning your proceeding." Well; he would take that upon him. I then desired he would not let the governor carry any with him, that in all events we might the more easily secure him, which he consented to. Nevertheless when we came to Cowes Castle, where we were to take boat, Hammond took Basket the governor of that castle along with him; and when I complained of it to Mr. Ashburnham, he answered, it was no matter, we should be able to do well enough with them two. When we came to Titchfield, my Lord of Southampton's house, Mr. Ashburnham according to his promise went up to the king, and left me below with Hammond and Basket. I afterwards understood, that when Mr. Ashburnham had given an account of our message and the governor's answer, and came to say that he was come along with us to make good what he had promised, his majesty struck himself upon the breast, and said, "What! have you brought Hammond with you? O, you have undone me; for I am by this means made fast from stirring." Mr. Ashburnham replied, that if he mistrusted Hammond, he would undertake to secure him. His majesty said, "I understand you well enough, but the world would not him; if he should follow that counsel, it would be said and believed that he ventured his life for him, and that he had unworthily taken it from him. No, it was too late now of thinking any thing, but going through the way he had forced him upon, and leave the issue to God." But when his majesty began anew to wonder that he could make so great an oversight, Mr. Ashburnham having no more to reply, wept bitterly. In the mean time Hammond and Basket were so impatient at this long stay below in the court, that I was forced to send a gentleman of my Lord Southampton, to desire that his majesty and Mr. Ashburnham would remember that we were below. About half an hour after, we were sent for up; but before Hammond and Basket kissed his hand, his majesty took me aside and said, "Sir John Berkley, I hope you are not so passionate as Jack Ashburnham: do you think you have followed my directions?" I answered, "no, indeed, Sir, but it is none of my fault, as Mr. Ashburnham can tell you if he please; I have exposed my life to prevent it;" and then told his majesty the sum of what had passed, and particularly of my being a prisoner in the castle, and of Mr. Ashburnham's coming away without me, which Mr. Ashburnham had omitted. His majesty judged that it was now too late to boggle, and therefore received Hammond cheerfully, who promised more

to his majesty than he had done to us, and we all went over that night to the Cowes. In the morning his majesty went with the governor to Carisbrook, and was met by the way with divers gentlemen of the island, by whom we learned that we were more fortunate than we were aware of, for the whole island was unanimously for the king, except the governors of the castles and Hammond's captains; that there were but twelve old men in the castle, who had served under the Earl of Portland, and were all well affected; that Hammond might be easily gained if not more easily forced, the castle being day and night full of loyal subjects and servants of his majesty; and his majesty having daily liberty to ride abroad, might choose his own time of quitting the island. Indeed, not only his majesty and all that were about him, but those that were at a further distance, approved by their letters this resolution of his majesty. Both his majesty and Mr. Ashburnham attacked the governor, and I think very prosperously, for both he and his captains seemed to desire nothing of his majesty, but that he would send a civil message to the houses, signifying his propension to peace, which was done to their satisfaction. Three days after our coming to the island, a messenger was sent by the parliament for Mr. Ashburnham, Sir John Berkley, and Mr. Leg, but the governor refused to let us go. The fifth day after our arrival we heard that in the rendezvous of the army, the superior officers had carried it, and that one or two were shot, and eleven more of the mutinying levellers made prisoners. This made us bless God for the resolution of coming into the island: and now Mr. Ashburnham and the governor were frequent and fervent in private conferences, and as I have heard came to particulars of accommodation for him, in case of the king's recovery: insomuch that now the governor seemed solicitous of nothing so much, as that the army should resume its wonted discipline, and clear themselves of their importunate and impertinent adjutators, of whose authority in the army he never approved, and therefore sent his chaplain immediately to the army, to conjure them to make use of their success upon the adjutators. Two or three days after, he moved earnestly, that his majesty would send one of us three to the army with colourable letters to the general; but that he should write with confidence to Cromwell and Ireton, to whom he would also write, and did, conjuring them by their engagement, by their interest, by their honour and their consciences, to come to a speedy close with the king, and not to expose themselves still to the fantastic giddiness of the adjutators. My two comrades were very well contented that I should go this voyage, which I did not without some apprehension of the event as to my own particular. His majesty charged me to require Will. Ashburnham to provide a ship for him upon the coast of Sussex: but Mr. Ashburnham thought not fit I should be furnished with money for that, or for my journey. I desired that in case the army should not intend well, I might have commission to the Scots, but Mr. Ashburnham did not think it fit. I then took a cousin german of mine with me, one Mr. Henry Berkley, son to Sir Henry Berkley, and procured a pass from the governor of the Cowes, for his return within four or five days, which had been otherwise forgotten. Between Bagshot and Windsor (then the head-quarters) I met Traughton, the governor's chaplain, who told me he could carry no good news back, the army being as yet come to no resolution as to the king. As I was half-way between Bagshot and Windsor, Cornet Joyce, a great adjutator, and he that had taken the king from Holmby, overtook me. He seemed much to wonder that I durst adventure to come to the army. Upon my discourses with him I found, that it had been discoursed among the adjutators, whether for their justification the king ought not to be brought to a trial, which he held in the affirmative, not that he would have one hair of his head suffer, but that they might not bear the blame of the war. I was quickly weary of his discourse; but I perceived he would not leave me until he saw me in Windsor, and knew where I lodged. About an hour after I went to the general's quarters, and found a general meeting of the officers there. After an hour's waiting I was admitted, and after I had delivered my compliment and letters to the general, I was desired to withdraw; and having attended half an hour, I was called in. The general looked very severely upon me, and after his manner said, "That they were the parliament's army, and therefore could not

say any thing to his majesty's motion of peace, but must refer those matters to them, to whom they would send his majesty's letters." I then looked about upon Cromwell and Ireton, and the rest of my acquaintance, who saluted me very coldly, and had their countenance quite changed towards me, and shewed me Hammond's letter, which I had delivered to them, and smiled with much disdain upon it. I saw that was no place for me, and therefore went to my lodging, where I staid from four until six, and none of my acquaintance came at me, which appeared sad enough. At last I sent my servant out, and wished him to see if he could light upon any of my acquaintance. At last he met with one that was a general officer, who whispered in his ear, and bad him tell me, that he would meet me at twelve at night, in a close behind the Garter inn. I came at the hour, and he not long after. I asked him "what news?" and he replied, "None good;" and then continued this discourse. "You know that I and my friend engaged ourselves to you; that we were zealous for an agreement, and if the rest were not so we were abused; that if there was as an intention to cozen us, it would not be long hid from us; that whatever we should discover, should not be secret to you; that we, since the tumults of the army, did mistrust Cromwell, and not long after Ireton, whereof I informed you. I come now to tell you, that we mistrust neither, but know them and all of us to be the archest villains in the world; for we are resolved, notwithstanding our engagements, to destroy the king and his posterity; to which end Ireton made two propositions this afternoon, one that you should be sent prisoner to London; the other, that none should speak with you upon pain of death; and I do hazard my life now by doing of it. The way that is intended to ruin the king, is to send eight hundred of the most disaffected of the army to secure his person, as believing him not so now, and then bring him to a trial, and I dare think no farther. This will be done in ten days; and, therefore, if the king can escape, let him do it as he loves his life." I then inquired what was the reason of this horrid change; what had the king done to deserve it? He said, "Nothing, and that to our grief, for we would leap at any advantage against him; I have pleaded hard against this resolution this day, but have been laughed at for my pains."—"Well, but still, why is this horrid perfidiousness resolved on, since there appears no occasion for it, the officers being superiors at the rendezvous?" He could not tell certainly, but he conceived this to be the ground of it, "That though one of the mutineers was shot at the late rendezvous, and eleven made prisoners, and the rest in appearance over-quelled, yet they were so far from being so indeed, that there hath been with Cromwell and Ireton, one after another, two third parts of the army to tell them, that though they were certainly to perish in the attempt, they would leave nothing unassayed to bring the whole army to their sense; and if all failed they would make a division in the army, and join with any that would assist in the destruction of their opposers: Cromwell and Ireton therefore argued thus; if the army divide, the greatest part will join with the Presbyterians, and will, in all likelihood, prevail to our ruin, and we shall be forced to make applications to the king, wherein we shall rather crave than offer any assistance; and when his majesty shall give it us, and afterwards have the good fortune to prevail, if he shall then pardon us, it is all we can pretend to, and more than we can promise ourselves, and thereupon concluded, that if we cannot bring the army to our sense, we must go to theirs, a schism being evidently destructive: and therefore Cromwell bent all his thoughts to make his peace with the party that was most opposite to the king, in which Peters was instrumental. He acknowledged (as he had formerly done upon the like occasion) that the glories of the world had so dazzled his eyes, that he could not discern clearly the great works the Lord was doing; that he was resolved to humble himself, and desire the prayers of the saints, that God would be pleased to forgive him his self-seeking. These arts, together with comfortable messages to the prisoners, that they should be of good cheer, for no harm should befal them, since it had pleased God to open his eyes, perfected his reconciliation, and he was reinstated in the fellowship of the faithful." I then asked this gentleman whether I should not endeavour to deliver my letters from the king to Cromwell and Ireton: he replied, by all means, lest they should mistrust I had discovered them.

As soon as I came to my lodging I dispatched my cousin Harry Berkley to the Isle of Wight with two letters; the one containing a general relation and doubtful judgment of things in the army, which I intended should be shewn to the governor; the other was in cypher, wherein I gave a particular account of this conference, naming the person, and concluding with a most passionate supplication to his majesty to meditate nothing but his immediate escape. The next morning I sent Colonel Cook to Cromwell, to let him know that I had letters and instructions to him from the king. He sent me word by the same messenger, that he durst not see me, it being very dangerous to us both, and bid me be assured, that he would serve his majesty as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but desired that I would not expect that he should perish for his sake. As soon as I had this answer, I took horse for London, with this resolution, not to acquaint any man with the intentions of the army, nor of his majesty's intended escape, which I presumed would be within few days, the wind serving, and the queen having sent a ship to that purpose, and pressed it earnestly by her letters. The next day after my arrival at London I had a letter from my Lord Lanerick and Lord Lauderdale, desiring a meeting with me, as presuming I had a commission to treat with them from his majesty. At our meeting they wondered to find the contrary. In my discourse with them I happened to say, the last words his majesty said to me at parting were, that whatever I should undertake to any person in his name, his majesty would make it good in the word of a king. My Lord Lanerick thereupon replied, that he would ask no more commission for me, believing it to be true, both because I affirmed it, and because he had received the like from his majesty upon the like occasion. Our first conference was interrupted through my Lord Lauderdale's vehement indignation against the letter of Mr. Ashburnham to the speaker, wherein he had this passage, "That he would not expose his honour to the discretion of either Scot or adjutator." This letter was written by Mr. Ashburnham before I left the island, upon the occasion of Whalley's complaint to the house of commons, that Mr. Ashburnham had broken his engagement with him at his first coming to Woburn, wherein he undertook that the king should not leave the army without his knowledge and consent. Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, Mr. Leg, and I, objected hard against this expression; but Mr. Ashburnham liked it so well, that we could not make him depart from it. On the Friday after, we had another meeting, wherein we discoursed ourselves well towards an agreement, and resolved on Monday following to conclude one way or other. The next day, being Saturday, I had a letter from Mr. Ashburnham, requiring me in his majesty's name, to lay by all other business whatsoever, and return instantly to his majesty. I sent therefore my excuse to my Lords Lanerick and Lauderdale, and went that night out of town, which they took very ill, though they had no reason for it; for I would as willingly have excused my journey as they, as believing it was only to assist in his majesty's escape: for I had more than once observed, that though Mr. Ashburnham were willing enough to appropriate employments of honour and profit, yet he was contented to communicate those of danger with his friends. The next morning I was with his majesty, who received me more graciously than ordinary, and told me that he had always a good opinion of my honesty and discretion, but was never so much confirmed in it, as by my dispatch from Windsor, for which his majesty thanked me. After I had returned my acknowledgments for his majesty's favour, I asked if his majesty approved the advice so well, why did he not follow it? Why was he still in the island? where he could not long promise himself the liberty he now had, since there were forces designed, both by sea and land, to secure his person. His majesty replied, that he would have a care of that time enough, and that he was to conclude with the Scots before he left the kingdom, because from their desire to have him out of the army's hands, they would take reason; whereas if he went before, they would never treat with him but upon their own terms: and in this opinion Mr. Ashburnham fully concurred with his majesty. Against this I argued the best I could, and when I saw it was in vain, I desired his majesty would dispatch this treaty, for his condition would admit no delays. His majesty then ordered me to withdraw with Mr. Ashburnham, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and Mr. Leg, to see how far his majesty had gone in a treaty

with the Scots. This treaty had been managed in London by Dr. Gough, who in the queen's name conjured his majesty to make his speedy escape, in all his letters, and in his own name beseeched his majesty not to insist upon nice terms in this present exigence of his affairs. But Mr. Ashburnham refined much upon several expressions of the articles that concerned the covenant and church of England, of which he was a great professor, and made many replies and alterations, and moved messenger to be sent after messenger about it, and at last insisted that the king would send for the Scots commissioners to come to him. The next day I fell sick, what with my late journeying, and what with my vexation at this slow way of proceeding. The day following I went to his majesty, and as soon as I could be admitted, spoke to him in these words: "Sir, if you make no more haste than you do, I doubt you will not be able to secure your escape; and therefore I humbly beseech your majesty to make two papers or draughts, the one containing the utmost extent of what your majesty will give the Scots, and sign it; and at the same time send another containing the least you will receive of them, and let the Scots sign and deliver that to Dr. Gough, at the same time that he shall deliver your majesty's concessions to them, and provide instantly for your safety." About the middle of this discourse with the king, Mr. Ashburnham came in, and when I had ended, very graciously smiling, said, That this proposition was good if it were practicable, which it was not; for though the Scots should agree to the substance of all the articles, yet they and all men else would have their several senses concerning the expressions, which must be satisfied, or no agreement made, and therefore concluded that the Scots were to be sent for. To this I replied, that Mr. Ashburnham had much reason, ordinarily speaking, for what he objected; but his majesty's danger made this a very extraordinary case. His reasons carried it clear, and Sir William Fleming, or Mr. Mungo Murray (for they both went and came by turns) was sent to invite the Scots commissioners to come to his majesty. The next day after his departure in the evening, the king called me to him and told me, "I think you are a prophet; for the Scots commissioners at London have sent an express, desiring me to do the same thing in effect you had moved, but that it was now too late, for they would be come away before another express could be gone out of the island towards them." I replied, that "our concurrence was accidental, for I had not the least intelligence with the Scots commissioners; but when I saw there was no remedy, I applied myself to what was next the best I could." And God knows there was work enough for abler men than any of us were: for at the same time the Scots were coming to the king, there were also commissioners sent by the parliament to his majesty with offers of a treaty, upon condition that his majesty, as a pledge of his future sincerity, would grant four preliminary bills, which they had brought ready drawn to his majesty's hands. The first contained the revocation of all proclamations and declarations against the parliament, wherein his majesty made himself expressly the author of the war. The second was against the lords that had been lately made by his majesty, that they should have no seat or vote in parliament, and that his majesty nor his successors should make none for the future without consent of parliament; which was to take away the most unquestioned flower of his crown, his being the sole fountain of honour. The third was a bill of exceptions from pardon, that included almost all of his majesty's subjects that had any considerable estates. The fourth was an act for the militia, which embraced ten times more power than the crown ever executed, for the two houses raising men and money arbitrarily; which was no more nor less than dethroning of the king, and enslaving the people by a law, and in effect to give the king only the leave to discourse whose the glass windows should be. Nevertheless the title and frontispiece of this vast design was so modest, that many well-wishing persons were induced to believe, that by all means his majesty ought to pass those bills for many reasons; but especially because his enemies would deliver his majesty to the world as obstinate to his own and the kingdom's ruin, if he should not accept this offer. To avoid both the inconveniencies of granting or refusing, I drew an answer of the treaty before it began; that if they would needs think it expedient to require so great hostages from his majesty, they would not be backward to give some token to his majesty of their reality, and then de-

sired that at the same time his majesty should pass these four bills, the houses would pass four of his majesty's drawing, which were all most popular, and such as they durst not pass nor well deny: at least, if they did, they could with no colour of justice accuse his majesty for not granting what was most unjust and most unpopular. The first was a bill for payment of the army, which contained their disbanding as soon as they were paid. The second, a period to the present parliament. The third, for restoring the king, queen, and royal family to their revenues. The fourth, the settling of the church-government without any coercive power; and in the mean time, till such a government were agreed on, the old to stand without coercive authority. I shewed this answer first to Mr. Leg, then to Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sheldon, who seemed to approve of the expedient, and desired Mr. Ashburnham would acquaint the king with it. But I never heard any thing from his majesty; and I was resolved never to have it obtruded, lest I should appear fond of my own conceptions. By his majesty's directions an answer was drawn, that gave a full denial, which was, in my judgment, very well penned. But I thought good penning did not signify much at that time, and therefore made this objection: it is very possible, that upon his majesty's giving an absolute negative, the commissioners may have orders to enjoin the governor to look more strictly to his person, and so his intended escape would be prevented. His majesty replied immediately, that he had thought of a remedy, which was, to deliver his answer sealed, to the commissioners; and so left us. I could not hold from letting Mr. Ashburnham find my sense of this sorry expedient, by saying, that the commissioners would either open the answer, or conclude that in effect it was a denial, and proceed accordingly, but all was in vain. Some few days after, the English commissioners arrived, and delivered their message, and desired an answer within three or four days. The next day the Lords Lowdon, Lanerick, Lauderdale, Chiesly, and others, commissioners for the kingdom of Scotland, delivered a protestation to the King, subscribed by them, against the message, as not according with their covenant. From that time they began to treat seriously with his majesty, but would not permit that either Mr. Ashburnham or I should assist at the treaty, for which I forgive them with all my heart; for it would have been very insecure for us to have had any communication with them at that time. At last they came to such a conclusion as they could get, not such a one as they desired from the king, but much short of it, which gave an advantage to the Lord Argyle, and the clergy-party in Scotland to oppose it as not satisfactory, and by that means retarded the proceeding of Duke Hamilton and that army four months, which was consequently the ruin of Laughern, in Wales, and of the forces in Kent and Essex, and of the Scots army also, which consisted of twenty-four thousand men, all which forces were the result of the treaty; which appears to me, if it had been sooner dispatched, to have been one of the most prudent acts of his majesty's reign, however unprosperous. When the time was come that the king was to deliver his answer, his majesty sent for the English commissioners, and before he delivered his answer, asked my Lord Denbigh (who was the chief commissioner) whether they had power to alter any substantial or circumstantial part of their message, and when they replied they had not, his majesty delivered his answer to the Lord Denbigh sealed. After they had withdrawn a while, my Lord Denbigh returned with the rest, and seemed offended with his majesty for delivering the message sealed, and expressed his indignation in harsher terms than one gentleman ought to use to another. After long expostulations, his majesty was persuaded to open his answer, which was so far from allaying the storm, as it increased it both in the commissioners and the governor, who altogether retired from the castle of Carisbrook to Newport, an English mile from the castle. As soon as they were gone, I went to Mr. Ashburnham, who told me he had newly dispatched away a footman over the water, to order four or five horses to be removed from the place where they then stood, lest they should be found and seized by the soldiers that were coming into the island. I conjured him by no means to do it, lest the winds or the parliament's frigates might force us in our escape to put ashore, and we should want horses. He thereupon sent a groom after him, and brought him back, but within few hours after sent him again with the first order, but upon what ground I know not, unless that of good hus-

bandry. That night or the next morning his majesty resolved to endeavour his escape, but he met with two great obstacles: the wind in the very instant became cross, and the governor returned from Newport full of fury, and locked up the gates, and doubled his guards, and went not to bed that night. In the morning he commanded all his majesty's servants from him. Before we took our leaves, we acquainted his majesty, that we had left the captain of the frigate, and two honest and trusty gentlemen of the island, to assist his escape, and that we would have all things in readiness on the other side of the water. His majesty commanded us to to draw a declaration in his name that night, and send it to his majesty in the morning. When we came to Newport, Will. Leg and I left Mr. Ashburnham and the rest in the inn, and went to an acquaintance's house of ours in the town, where, after we had staid an hour, we heard a drum beat confusedly, and not long after that one Captain Burley, with divers others, were risen to rescue the king. Upon this Mr. Leg and I went to the inn, where we found Mr. Ashburnham making speeches to those poor well-affected people, advising them to desist from their vain enterprise. I must confess I thought any communication of ours with them dangerous, and therefore I advised Mr. Ashburnham not to say any thing to them; for when his words were out of his mouth, others would interpret them, and say he said what they pleased; and it was well for him and us that we did so; for the prisoners were not only examined concerning us, but promised liberty and pardon in case they would peach us; and the governor of the Cowes had order from Hammond to put us a ship-board, and to carry us to London, upon suspicion that we were accessory to this rising; which was a design so impossible for those that undertook it to effect, consisting of women and children, without any arms saving one musket, that no sober man could possibly have been engaged in it. I was desired that night to draw the declaration for his majesty, which I did, and it was approved of by all but Mr. Ashburnham, and at last published in his majesty's name. After we had staid on the other side of the water about three weeks, expecting the king's coming over to us, and began at last to despair of it, I moved to Mr. Ashburnham, Mr. Leg, and Mr. Denham (who was then come to us from London) that some one might be sent to the queen from us all, which was consented to, and I made choice of by the rest.

Sonnets; written by Henry Constable; *circa* 1590. MS.

By the liberal kindness of my reverend friend Mr. Todd, I am enabled to add the Sonnets of Henry Constable to this Miscellany, from a very curious manuscript in his possession, of which a general description was imparted to the public in his valuable edition of Milton's poetical works, vol. 5. The MS. had been presented to him by Alderman Bristow, formerly a bookseller at Canterbury, who purchased it along with the library of a family in Kent. Beside some satires and various other pieces by different writers, it comprises sixty-three sonnets, by Constable, closing with two addressed to him anonymously. The "Diana, or excellent conceitful sonnets of H. C. augmented with divers quatorzains of "honorable and learned personages," &c. 1594, includes seventy-seven sonnets, twenty-seven of which are common to both; but the MS. has thirty-eight that did not appear in the printed copy. Four of these, however, were prefixed to the first edition of Sir Philip Sidney's "Apologie for Poetrie," in 1595.

It was my first design to reprint the whole of the "Diana," as well as the MS. sonnets of Constable; but as it may reasonably be doubted whether such as are found in the printed copy only,[1] were not the augmentations *of those honorable and learned personages mentioned in the title;[2] and as it was likely that most readers would be better pleased with half than the whole collection, amounting to* 142; *those alone have been given which occur in Mr. Todd's MS. with such verbal variations subjoined in the margin, as the printed copy exhibits.*

Of the author, 'a well-learned gentleman, and noted sonnet-writer,' (as he is termed by Sir John Harington and Mr. Warton) not many particulars have been transmitted. Wood says, he was descended from a family of the name of Constable in Yorkshire, and spent some time among the Oxonian muses.[3] Mr. Malone describes him as A. B. of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1579:[4] *and Dr. Birch, with every probability of being right, supposes him to have been a zealous Roman Catholic, whose religion occasioned him to live some time in a state of banishment from England,[5] while Elizabeth was on the throne. The concluding sonnet in this collection seems to establish Dr. Birch's conjecture, and to convey an intimation that he was exiled on account of disloyalty[6] as well as religion. Yet a letter from him to Anthony Bacon, dated Paris, Oct.* 6, 1595, *says, 'It was my fortune 'once to be beloved of the most part of the virtuous gentlemen of my country, neither think 'I that I have deserved their evil liking since. I trust I have given my Lord of Essex 'sufficiently to understand the dutiful affection I bear to my country; and all my Catho-'lic countrymen, that know me, are witnesses how far I am against violent proceedings.' From Paris, Dec.* 7, 1595, *he wrote to the Earl of Essex, expressing his devotion to his Lordship's service, and entreating to be held by him as 'his creature.' He added, 'I 'beseech your Lordship to let me know, by some means which in your wisdom you shall 'think good, how I stand in your gracious opinion, and what I may do (my duty to God 'and my religion reserved) to wish or increase it.'[7] In Jan.* 1596 *he was at Rouen, as*

[1] [Those Sonnets marked H. C. with a pen in Mr. Warton's printed copy, now Mr. Malone's, are the same that occur in Mr. Todd's Manuscript: which seems to identify them as the genuine productions of Constable.]

[2] [Some of them are to be traced in the Astrophel and Stella, or amatory and pastoral poems of Sir P. Sidney.]

[3] [Athen. Oxon. i. 14.] [4] [Shakspeare, edit. 1790, x. 74.] [5] [Memoirs of Q. Eliz. i. 302-303.]

[6] [Yet from his third sonnet to the Queen, it would seem as if he had written an *answer* to certain *objections* against her Majesty's proceedings in the Low Countries.]

[7] [Extracts by Dr. Birch from the papers of Anthony Bacon, esq. in the Lambeth library, now in Brit. Mus. 4114. Plut. 1 D.]

appears from another letter to Anthony Bacon, transcribed by Dr. Birch:[8] *In October of the same year the Earl of Shrewsbury mentions him as at the same place,*[9] *and takes care to acquaint Secretary Cecil that he was desirous to avoid every kind of communication with the exile: though two letters from Constable himself to the Countess of Shrewsbury bespeak an intimate if not confidential intercourse between the poet and the Earl. In the first of these letters he thus prefers two requests: 'the one that I be not absolutely banished, but so 'as upon my good deserts I may return; the other, that I may (with the King's good 'liking, and some of my friends' recommendation) go with the Constable of Castill into 'Spayn: for that the King of France (which sent my letters into England, for which I 'am troubled) will be my enemy.' In his second letter he tells the Countess, 'If by your 'favour I return, I will goe about to ingraft an Inglish humor into me; and if I do not, 'then may I frely follow my own naturall disposition, and live contented with how little so-'ever I shall have, serving no other mistres but God Allmighty, who I know will love me, 'if I love him, and in whose company I can be when I will.' From Winwood's memorials, as cited by Dr. Birch,*[10] *and from the new edition of Theatrum Poetarum,*[11] *we learn that Constable afterwards came privately to England; but was soon discovered, and imprisoned*[12] *in the Tower of London, where he obtained his release in the latter end of the year 1604;*[13] *after which period no more of him has hitherto been made known.*

[8] [As this letter has not been printed by the Doctor, I insert it here:—'Sir, being assured by Mr. Yates, that 'you will be willing to read whatsoever I shall send unto you, I determined to present you with a copy of a little 'encounter between the ministers of the French gospel, and the which for sundry causes, rather than fear of an-'swer, (which I am sure they cannot give to purpose) I have not published as yet. I have a marvellous opinion 'of your virtues and judgment, and therefore, though in particularities of religion we may be differing, yet I 'hope, that in the general belief of Christ (which is a great matter in this incredulous age) and desire of the union 'of his church, you agree with me; as in the love of my country, I protest I consent with you; and therefore re-'ferring the decision of other matters till time shall give me occasion to proceed further, I beseech you (for God's 'love) to nourish in your own mind, and in those with whom you have credit, this general desire of the church's 'good: and if either here or at Rome, whither (if possible I can recover means to make the journey) I mind to 'go, I may do you or my country any service, which a catholic and an honest man may do, I will not fail to em-'ploy myself therein. If it please you to vouchsafe me any answer, I beseech you to deliver it to Mr. Edmonds, 'who can inform you of my honest purpose. And therefore, if you think me worthy of your favour, you may 'bind me by your good report to those who may pleasure me to be, as I am and will be ever,

'Roan, this 8th of Your most affectionate and humble servant,
'January, 1596.' HEN. CONSTABLE.'

[9] [See Lodge's Illustrations of Eng. Hist. iii. 79, et seq.]

[10] [Mem. of Q. Eliz. ut sup.]

[11] [By Sir Egerton Brydges, p. 232.]

[12] [During this imprisonment, he addressed to Lord Shrewsbury the following letter, which has been obligingly pointed out by Mr. Todd, and is preserved among the MSS. in Lamb. Lib. No. 708, fol. 125.]

'My honorable L. 1 May, 1604.

'If I had not thought it importunity to write twise to the Lords of the Counsell, I should not have presumed 'to have troubled your L. in particular; whose good opinion, I did so much mor despair of, in a tyme that my 'loyalty towards his Majesty was called in question; as your favours unto me hertofor, did mor engage me to 'deserve it. But seing my actions (as I hope) are not reputed criminall in that quality, and that I desire to ad 'som things which I omitted in my generall letters to the former Lords, I must beseach your L. to favour me so 'much, as to signify two things mor unto them. The one, that in respect I was somwhat long in declaring my 'meaning in those things which concerned my duety to his Majesty and them, I am affrayd they will not tak it 'for so full a submission as I did mean it; for so I be cleared in their opinion that I writt nothing to the preju-'dice of his Majesty or any of them, I willingly and with all humility aknowledg all other faults in the circum-'stances of my letters which they shall dislike. The other, that if they think it not convenient to graunt me 'a generall leave for my frends to visit me, I shall think my self exceedingly bound unto them, if they will per-'mit only my cousin, Sir William Constable, and my uncle, to com unto me; because the especiall end of this 'my request is, to take order with them for my privat affaires, that I may make a full conclusion with the 'world; for whether I remayne in prison, or go out, I have lerned to live alone with God; and so I may make 'up my accompts with the world, in such sort, as nether his Majesty take me for an unduetifull subject, nor your 'L. and my other honorable frends, that hertofor have favoured me, remayn discontented with me, nor any man 'els have dammage by me, I shall repute my self happy in all other miserys. And thus, in all duetifull maner, I 'tak my leave. From the Tower, this 1st of May, 1604. Your L.

'To the right honorable and most humble and most
'his especiall good L. the obedient servant,
'Earle of Shrewsbury.' HEN. CONSTABLE.

[13] [So says Dr. Birch: but Winwood's correspondent, who wrote in Dec. 1604, says he had 'been freed some

Sir John Harington, in his notes to Orlando Furioso, lib. 34. *spoke of Constable as* ‘ *his* ‘ *very good friend,*’ *and inserted his sonnet to King James, which afterward obtained inconsiderate commendation from Bolton in his Hypercritica, and Wood in his Athenæ; though the latter indeed did but put in print the praises of the former. Ben Jonson paid an incidental compliment to the* “ *Diana,*” *in the following couplet, from one of his odes—*

“ *Constable's ambrosiack muse*
Made Dian *not his notes refuse.*”[14]

And Tofte, in his version of Varchi's Blazon of Jealousie, 1615, *cited several lines from the same production of his* “ *old acquaintance Mr. Henry Constable.*”[15] *In that singularly curious drama,* “ *The Return from Parnassus,*” 1606, *it is rapturously said*

“ *Sweet Constable doth take the wond'ring ear*
And lays it up in willing prisonment.”

And Mr. Hawkins, in his reprint of the same, reports Constable to have been esteemed “ *the first sonnetteer of his time.*”[16] *Whence he gathered such information I know not, unless from Wood's assurance that* ‘ *there was no gentleman of our nation had a more* ‘ *pure, quick, and higher delivery of conceit than he.*’ *Meres makes no mention of him, throughout his comparative discourse of English poets in* 1598: *and Phillips only notices him in a general way with the minor poets of Queen Elizabeth's reign, who* ‘ *have been* ‘ *thought by some, not unworthy to be remembered and quoted.*’ *This judgment, moderate as it is, Mr. Ellis in his Specimens seems hardly disposed to sanction. Many of Constable's sonnets, in truth, are full of concetti; though some are ingenious, and a few may be deemed successful efforts. One of his very best is prefixed to the Basilicon Doron of King James. The Harleian MS.* 7553, *contains seventeen* “ *Spirituall Sonnettes, to the honour of God and his Seyntes, by H. C.*” *which, from their regular Italian structure, and the sainted names of those addressed, I am inclined to consider as Constable's: but their complexion would not well assimilate with his lighter amatory strains. In* ‘ *England's* ‘ *Helicon,*’ 1600, *there is a pastoral poem by Constable, entitled,* ‘ *The Shepheard's Song* ‘ *of Venus and Adonis,*’ *which has for its merit been reprinted by Mr. Malone in his Shakspeare, vol. x. p.* 74. *Three other of his pieces occur in the same poetical miscellany.*

H. C. Sonets.

To his Mistrisse.

GRACE full of grace, though in these verses heere
My love complaynes of others then of thee,
Yet thee alone I lov'd, and they by mee
(Thow yet unknowne) only mistaken were.
Like him which feeles a heate now heere now there,
Blames now this cause now that, untill he see
The fire indeed from whence they caused bee;
Which fire I now doe knowe, is you, my deare!
Thus diverse loves, dispersed in my verse,
In thee alone for ever I unite:
But follie unto thee more to rehearse:
To him I flye for grace that rules above—
That by my grace, I may live in delight,
Or by his grace, I never more may love.

‘ time past.’ And it appears from an original letter of Constable written at Kingston, Jan. 1604, (Cotton MS. Calig. E. xi.) that he had been previously liberated: he moreover informs his friend Dr. Bagshaw at Paris, that ‘ all the Catholick prisoners of Ingland are released, save those in the Clinck.’ This was a place of confinement, if not of penal labour, like Bridewell.]

[14] [See Underwood, edit. 1640, ii. 196.]

[15] [Vid. Censura Literaria, i. 235.]

[16] [Origin of the Eng. Drama, iii. 212.]

The Order of the Booke.

THE Sonets following are divided into 3 parts, each parte contayning 3 severall arguments, and every argument 7 sonets.

The first parte is of variable affections of love; wherein the first 7 be of the beginning and byrth of his love; the second 7, of the prayse of his mistrisse; the thyrd 7, of severall accidents hapning in the tyme of his love.

The second is the prayse of perticulars: wherein the first 7 be of the generall honoure of this ile, through the prayses of the heads thereof, the Q. of England and K. of Scotts; the second 7 celebrate the memory of perticular ladies whoe the author most honoureth; the thyrd 7 be to the honoure of perticulars, presented upon severall occasions.

The thyrd parte is tragicall, conteyning only lamentations: wherein the first 7 be complaynts onlye of misfortunes in love, the second 7, funerall sonets of the death of perticulars; the last 7, of the end and death of his love.

Sonet 1.

The first 7. Only of the byrth and beginning of Love.

RESOLVD to love, unworthie to obtayne,
I doe no favoure crave; but humble wise
To thee my sighes in verse I sacrifice,
Only some pittie, and no helpe to gayne.

Heare then: and as my heart shall ay remayne
A patient object to thy lightning-eyes;
A patient eare bring thou to thundring cryes;
Feare not the cracke, when I the blow sustayne.

So as thyne eye bred my[17] ambitiouse thought,
So shall thyne eare make proude my voyce for joy;
Loe, deare! what wonders great by thee are wrought,
When I but litle favoure doe enjoy:
The voyce is made the eare for to rejoyce,
And thyne[18] eare giveth pleasure to the[19] voyce.

2.

Of the byrth of his love.

Fly love,[20] deare love, thy sun dost thow not see?
Take heed; doe not so neare his rayes aspire,
Least for thy pride, inflam'd with kindled[21] ire,
It burne thy wings, as it hath burned me.

Thou, happely, sayst—thy wings immortall bee,
And [so][22] cannot consumed be with fire;
The one is hope, the other is desire,
And that the heavens bestowed them both on thee.

A muse's words caus'd[23] thee with hope to flye,
An angell's face desire hath begotte,
Thy selfe engendred of a goddesse' eye:

[17] Mine, (printed copy.) [18] Your. [19] My. [20] Low. [21] Wreakful. [22] So. Omitted in the MS. [23] Made.

Yet, for all this, immortall thou art not.
Of heavenlye eye though thou begotten art,
Yet thou art borne but of a mortall hearte.

3.

Of the conspiracie of his Ladie's eyes, and his owne, to ingender Love.

Thyne eye, the glasse where I behold my hearte,
Myne eye, the windowe through the which thyne eye
May see thyne[24] hearte, and there thy selfe espie
In bloudie coloures how thou paynted art.

Thy[25] eye the pike[26] is of a murdering darte,
Myne eye the sight thou takst thy levell by
To hitt my hearte, and never shut'st[27] awrye:
Myne eye thus helpes thyne eye to worke my smarte.

Thyne eye a fire is both in heate and light,
Myne eye of teares a river doth become;
O that the matter[28] of myne eye had might
To quench the flames that from thyne eye doe[29] come:
Or that the fire that's kindled by thine eye
The flowing streames of myne eye would[30] make drye.

4.

Of the suddeyne surprizing of his hearte, and how unawares he was caught

Delight in youre bright eyes my death did breede,
As light and glittering weapons babes allure
To play with fire and sworde, and so procure
Them to be burnt and hurt, ere they take heed.

Thy beautie so hath made me burne and bleed:
Yet shall my ashes and my bloud assure
Thy beauties fame for ever to endure,
For thy fame's life from my death doth proceed.

Because my hearte, to ashes burned, giveth
Life to thy fame,—thou right a phœnix art;
And like a pellican thy beautie liveth
By sucking bloud oute of my breast and hearte:
Loe, why with wonder we may thee compare
Unto the pelican and phœnix rare.

5.

Of the discouragement he had to proceed in love, through the multitude of his Ladie's perfections, and his owne lownesse.

When youre perfections to my thought appeare,
They say amonge themselves—O happie he,[31]
Which ever shall so rare an object see!
But happie hearte, if thoughts lesse happie were:

For theyre delights have cost my heart full deare,
In whome of hope a thowsand causes be,

[24] My. [25] Thine. [26] Pyle. [27] Shootes. [28] Water. [29] Doth. [30] Could. [31] We.

And each cause breeds a thowsand loves in me,
And each love more then thowsand hearts can beare.

How can my hearte so many loves then hold?
Which yet, by heape, encrease from day to day.
But like a ship, that's overcharg'd with gold,
Must eyther sinke, or hurle the gold away.
But hurle oute[32] love:—thou canst not, feeble hearte!
In thyne owne bloud thou therfore damned[33] arte.

6.

How he encouraged himselfe to proceede in love, and to hope for favoure in the ende at Love's hands.

It may be, love doth not my death pretend,
Although he shutes at me; but thinkes it fitte
Thus to bewitch thee for my benefitte:
Causing thy will to my wish condescend.

For witches, which some murder doe intend,
Doe make a picture, and doe shute at it:
And in that place[34] that they the picture hitt,
The partye's self doth languish to the[35] end.
So love, to weake by force thy hearte to taynt,
Within my hearte thy heavenly shape doth paynte:

Suffering therein his arrowes to abyde,
Only to th'end he might by witches arte
Within my hearte pierce through thy picture's side,
And through thy picture's side might wound thy[36] hearte.

7.

An excuse to his mistrisse, for resolving to love so worthye a creature.

Blame not my hearte, for flying up so[37] high,
Sith thow art cause that it this flight begun:
For earthly vapours, drawne up by the sun,
Comets become,[38] and night-suns in the skie.

My[39] humble hearte so with thy heavenly eye
Drawen up alofte, all low desires doth shun:
Rayse thow me up, as thow my heart hast done,
So, during night, in heaven remayne may I.

Blame not, I say againe, my high desire;
Sith of us both the cause thereof depends:
In thee doth shine, in me doth burne a fire;
Fire doth draw[40] up others, and it selfe ascends.
Thyne eye a fire, and so drawes up my love;
My love a fire, and so ascends above.

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[32] Not. [33] Drowned. [34] Part. [35] His. [36] My. [37] Too. [38] Begun. [39] Mine.
[40] The printed copy has 'drawes' instead of 'doth draw.'

The second 7. Of his Ladie's prayse.

An exhortation to the reader, to come and see his mistresse' beautie.

Sonet 1.

Eyes curiouse to behold what nature can create,
Come see, come see, and write what wonder yow doe see:
Causing, by true reporte, oure next posteritye
Curse Fortune, for that they were borne so late.

Come then, and come ye all, come soone, least that
The tyme should be to shorte, and men to few should be:
For all be few to write her least parts historie,
Though they should ever write, and never write but that.

Millions looke on her eyes, millions thinke on her witte,
Millions speake of her, millions write of her hand:
The whole eye or the lip I doe not understand,
Millions to few to prayse but some one parte of it.
As eyther of her eye, or lip, or hand to write,
The light or blacke, the tast or red, the soft or white.

2.

Ladye, in beautye and in favoure rare,
Of favoure, not of due, I favoure crave:
Nature to thee beautye and favoure gave;
Fayre then thow arte, and favoure thow mayst spare.

And[41] when on me bestowed youre favoures are,
Lesse favoure in youre face you shall not have.
If favoure then a wounded soule may save,
Of murder's guilte, deare ladie, then beware.

My losse of life a million folde were lesse
Then the least losse should unto you befall:
Yet grant this guift; which guift when I possesse,
Both I have life, and you no losse at all.
For by youre favoure only I may[42] live;
And favoure you may well both keepe and give.

3.

Of the excellencye of his Ladie's voyce.

Ladie of ladies! the delight alone
For which to heaven earth doth no envie beare:
Seeing and hearing thee, we see and heare
Such voice, such light, as never sunge nor shone.

The want of heaven, I grant, yet we may moane:
Not for the pleasure of the angells there,
As though in face or voyce they like thee were;
But that they many bee, and thow but one.

[41] Nor. [42] Doe.

The basest notes which from thy voyce proceed,
The treble of the angells doe exceed:

So that I feare theyre quire to beautifie,
Least thow to some in heaven shall singe and shine:
Loe, when I heare thee singe, the reason why
Sighes of my breast keepe tyme with notes of thine.

4.

Of her excellencye both in singing and instruments.

Not that thy hand is soft, is sweete, is white,
Thy lippes sweete roses, breast sweet lylye is;
That love esteemes these three the chiefest blisse
Which nature ever made for lipps delight.

But when these three, to shew theyre heavenlye might,
(Such wonders doe devotion) then for this
Commandeth us, with humble zeale, to kisse
Such thinges as worke miracles in oure sight.

A lute of senselesse wood, by nature dumbe,
Toucht by thy hand doth speak devinelye well;
And from thy lips and breast sweet tunes doe come
To my dead hearte, the which new life doe give.
Of greater wonders heard we never tell
Then for the dumbe to speake, the dead to live.

5.

Of the prowesse of his Ladie.

Sweete soveraigne! sith so many mynds remayne
Obedient subjects, at thy beautyes call,
So many thoughts[43] bound in thy hayre as thrall,
So many hearts[44] dye with one looke's disdayne.

Goe seeke that glorie[45] which doth thee pertayne,
That the first[46] monarchie may thee befall.
Thou hast such meanes to conquer men withall,
As all the world must yeeld, or else be slayne.

To fight, thou needst no weapons but thyne eyes;
Thy[47] hayre hath gold enough to pay thy men,
And for theyre foode thy beautie will suffice:
For men and armoure, ladie, care have none;
For one will soonest[48] yeeld unto thee then,
When he shall meet thee naked and[49] alone.

6.

Of the envie others beare to his Ladie for the former perfections.

When beautie to the world vouchsafes this blisse,
To shew the one whose other there is not:

[43] Hearts. [44] Eyes. [45] Honour. [46] Fift. [47] Thine. [48] Sooner. [49] All.

The whitest skinnes red blushing shame doth blot,
And in the reddest cheekes pale envie is.

The fayre and fowle come thus alike by this:
For when the sun hath oure horizon gott,
Venus her selfe doth shine no more (God wot)
Then the least starre that take the light from his.

The poore in beautie thus content remayne,
To see theyre jealouse cause reveng'd in thee;
And theyre fayre foes afflicted with the payne;
Loe! the cleare proofe of thy devinitye:
For unto God is only dew this prayse—
The highest to pluck downe, the low to rayse.

7.

Of the slander Envye gives him, for so highlye praysing his Mistrisse.

Falselye doth envye of your prayses blame
My tongue, my pen, my heart, of flatterye;
Because I sayd—there was no sunne but thee,
It calld my tongue the partiall trumpe of fame,

And said[50] my pen had[51] flattered thy name,
Because my pen did to my tongue agree;
And needs[52] my heart a flatterer must be,
Which taught both tongue and pen to say the same.

No, no, I flatter not, when I thee call
The sun;—sith sun in world was never such:
But when the sun I thee compar'd with all,
Doubtlesse the sun I flattered to much.
Witnesse myne eyes, I say the truth is this—
They have thee seene, and know that so it is.

The thyrd 7.

Of severall occasions and accidents happening in the life tyme of his Mistrisse.

Sonet 1.

Upon occasion of her walking in a garden.

My ladie's presence makes the roses red,
Because to see her lips they blush for shame:
The lilies leaves for envy pale became,
And her white hands in them this envy bred.

The marygold abroad the leaves did[53] spread,
Because the sun's and her power is the same;
The violet of purple coloure came,
Dy'd with[54] the bloud she made my heart to shed.

In briefe—all flowers from her theyre vertue take;
From her sweet breath theyre sweet smells doe proceed;

[50] Saith. [51] Hath. [52] That. [53] Doth. [54] In.

The living heate which her eybeames doe[55] make
Warmeth the ground, and quickeneth the seede:
The rayne wherewith she watereth these[56] flowers
Falls from myne eyes, which she dissolves in showres.

2.

To his Ladie's hand. Upon occasion of her glove, which in her absence he kissed.

Sweet hand! the sweet yet[57] cruell bowe thou art
From whence at me five ivorye arrowes flye;
So with five wounds at once I wounded lye,
Bearing in[58] breast the print of every dart.

Saynt Francis had the like, yet felt no smart,
Where I in living torments never dye;
His wounds were in his hands and feete, where I
All these same[59] helplesse wounds feele in my hearte.

Now as Saint Francis (if a saint) am I:
The bow which[60] shotte these shafts a relique is,
I meane the hand, which is the reason why
So many for devotion thee would kisse:
And I[61] thy glove kisse, as a thinge devine,
Thy[62] arrowes quiver, and thy[62] reliques shine.[63]

3.

Of his Ladie's vayle, wherewith she covered her.

The fouler hydes, as closely as he may,
The net where caught the sillie byrd should be;
Least that[64] the threatning prison it should[65] see,
And so, for feare, be forst to flye away.

My ladie so, the while she doth assay
In curled knotts fast to entangle me,
Puts on her vayle, to th'end I should not see[66]
The golden net wherein I am a pray.

Alas, most sweete! what need is of a nette
To catch a byrd which[67] is allreadie tame[68]?
Sith with youre hand alone you may it gette,
For it desires to fly into the same;
What needs[69] such arte my thoughts then to intrap,
When of them selves they flye into youre lap.

4.

To his Mistrisse, upon occasion of a Petrarch he gave her; shewing her the reason why the Italian commenters dissent so much in the exposition thereof.

Miracle of the world! I never will denye
That former poets prayse the beautie of theyre dayes;

[55] Doth. [56] The. [57] But. [58] My. [59] Five. [60] That. [61] Some. [62] This.
[63] Shrine. [64] He. [65] But. [66] Flee. [67] That. [68] Tane. [69] Neede.

But all those beauties were but figures of thy prayse,
And all those poets did of thee but prophecye.

Thy coming to the world hath taught us to descrie
What Petrarch's Laura meant: for truth the lips bewrayes.
Loe, why th' Italians, yet which never saw thy rayes,
To find oute Petrarch's sence such forged glosses trye.

The beauties which he in a vayle enclos'd beheld,
But revelations were within his secreat heart,
By which in parables thy coming he foretold:
His songes were hymnes of thee which, only now before
Thy image should be sunge: for thou that goddesse art
Which onlye we withoute idolatrye adore.

5.

Of his Mistresse, upon occasion of a friend of his which disswaded him from loving.

A friend of myne, moaning[70] my helplesse[71] love,
Hoping, by killing hope, my love to slay;
'Let not (quoth he) thy hope thy heart betray,
'Impossible it is her heart to move.'

But, sith resolved love cannot remove
As longe as thy devine perfections stay,
Thy godhead then he sought to take away:
Deare! seeke revenge, and him a lyer prove.

Gods only doe impossibilityes:
'Impossible (sayth he) thy grace to gayne.'
Shew then the powers[72] of devinityes,
By graunting me thy favoure to obtayne:
So shall thy foe give to himselfe the lye;
A goddesse thow shalt prove, and happie I.

6.

Of his Ladie's goeing over earlye to bed, so depriving him to soone of her sight.

Fayre sun! if you would have me prayse youre light,
When night approacheth, wherfore doe yow flye?
Tyme is so shorte, beautyes so many be,
That I had[73] need to see them day and night:

That, by continuall vew, my verses might
Tell all the beames of youre divinitye;
Which prayse to yow and joy should be to me,
You living by my verse, I by youre sight.
I by youre sight, but[74] not yow by my verse:
Need mortal skill immortall prayse rehearse?

No, no: if[75] eyes were blind and verse were dumbe,
Youre beautye should be seene, and youre fame knowne:
For by the wind, which from my sighes doe come,
Youre prayses rounde about the world be[76] blowne.

[70] Pittying. [71] Hopelesse. [72] Power. [73] As I have. [74] And. [75] Though. [76] Is.

7.

Of the thoughts he nourished by night, when she was retired to bed.

The sun, his journey ending in the west,
Taking his lodging up in Thetis' bed,
Though from oure sightes[77] his beames be banished,
Yet with his light the Antipodes he[78] blest.

Now when the same[79] tyme brings my sun to rest,
Which me so[80] oft of rest hath hindered;
And whiter skin with white sheetes covered,
And softer cheeke doth on softe pillow rest:

Then I (oh sun of suns, and light of lights!)
Wish me with those Antipodes to be,
Which see and feele thy beames and heate by night;
Well: though the night both cold and darksome is,
Yet halfe the dayes delight the night grants me,
I feele the[81] sun's heate, though the heate[82] I misse.

The Second Parte.

The first 7. To oure Q. [Elizabeth] and the K. of Scots.

Sonet 1.

To the Q. after his returne oute of Italye.

Not longe agoe in Poland traveiling,
Changing my tongue, my nation, and my weede,[83]
Mayne[84] wordes I heard from forreyne mouth proceed,
Theyre wonder and thy glorie witnessing.

How from thy wisdome did those conquests spring,
Which ruin'd them, thy ruine which decreed.
But such as envyed thee in this agreed—
Thy iland's seate did thee most succoure bring.

So if the sea by miracle were drye,
Easie thy foes thy kingdome might invade:
Fooles, which knowe not the power of thyne eye!

Thine eye hath made a thousand eyes to weepe,
And every eye a thousand seas hath made,
And each sea shall thyne ile in safetie keepe.

2.

To the Queene; touching the cruell effects of her perfections.

MOST sacred Prince! why should I thee thus prayse,
Which both of sin and sorrow cawse hast beene?
Proude hast thow made thy land of such a Queene,
Thy neighboures enviouse of thy happie dayes.

[77] Eyes. [78] Be. [79] Sun. [80] Too. [81] My. [82] Light. [83] [Fashion of dress.]
[84] For manye.

Whoe never saw the sunshine of thy rayes,
An everlasting night his life doth ween;
And he whose eyes thy eyes but once have seene,
A thousand signes of burning thoughts bewrayes.

Thus sin thow caus'd (envye I meane, and pride,)
Thus fire and darknesse doe proceed from thee;
The very paynes which men in hell abide:—

Oh no; not hell, but purgatorie this,
Whose sowles some say by angells punish'd be;
For thou art shee from whome this torment is.

3.

To the Q. upon occasion of a Booke he wrote, in an answer to certayne Objections against her proceedings in the Low-countryes.

THE love wherewith youre vertues chayne my sprite,
Envyes the hate I beare unto youre foe;
Since hatefull pen had meanes his hate to showe,
And love like meanes had not of love to wryte:

I meane, write that youre vertues doe endite;
From which spring all my [love[85]] conceyts doe flow,
And of my pen my sword doth enviouse growe,
That pen before my sword youre foes should smite.

And to my inke my bloud doth envie beare,
That in youre cause more inke then bloud I shed:
Which envie, though it be a vice, yet heare
Tis vertue; sith youre vertues have it bred.
Thus powerfull youre sacred vertues be,
Which vice it selfe a vertue makes in me.

4.

To the K. of Scots, whome as yet he had not seene.

BLOOME of the rose! I hope those hands to kisse,
Which yonge, a scepter; which olde, wisdome bore;
And offer up joy-sacrifice before
Thy altar-throne, for that receaved blisse.

Yet, prince of hope! suppose not, for all this,
That I thy place and not thy guifts adore:
Thy scepter, no thy pen, I honoure more,
More deare to me then crowne thy garland is.

That laurell garland which, if hope say true,
To thee for deeds of prowesse shall belong,
And now allreadie unto thee is due,
As to a David, for a kinglie throne.
The pen, wherewith thow dost so heavenly singe,
Made of a quill pluckt from an angell's winge.

[85] [Some such word seems wanting here.]

5.[86]

To the K. of Scots, touching the subject of his Poems dedicated wholie to heavenly matters.

WHEN others hooded with blind love doe flye,
Lowe on the grownd with buzzard Cupid's wings
A heavenlye love from love of[87] love thee brings,
And makes thy Muse to mount above the skie:

Yonge Muses be not wonte to flye so[88] hye,
Age, school'd[89] by Tyme, such sober dittie sings;
But thy love[90] flyes from love of youthfull things,
And so[91] the winge of Time doth overflye.

Thus thow disdainest all worldlye things[92] as slow,
Because thy Muse with angells wings doth leave
Tyme's wings behinde, and Cupid's wings below;
But take thou[93] heed, least Fame's wings thee deceave:
With all thy speed, from Fame thou canst not flye,[94]
But more thow flyest,[95] the more it followes thee.

6.

To the K. of Scots, upon occasion of a sonnet the K. wrote in complaint of a contrarie winde, which hindred the arrivall of the Queene oute of Denmark. [1589.]

IF I durst sigh still as I had begun,
Or durst shed teares in such abundant store;
Yow should have need to blame the sea no more,
Nor call upon the wind as yow have done;

For from myne eyes an ocean-sea should run,
Which the desired ships should carrie o're;
And my sighes blowe such winde from northern shore,
As soone yow should behold yowre wished sun.

But with those sighes, my deare displeased is,
Which should both hast youre joy, and slake my payne:
Yet for my goodwill, O kinge! grant me this—
When to the winds yow sacrifice agayne,
Sith I desir'd my sighes should blow for thee,
Desire thow the winds to sigh for me.

7.

To the K. of Scots, upon occasion of his longe stay in Denmarke, by reason of the coldnesse of the winter and freezing of the sea.[96]

IF I durst love as heertofore I have,
Or that my heart durst flame as it doth burne,

[86] [Printed before K. James's 'Poeticall Exercises at vacant houres,' 1591, with the following variations, according to Hawkins, in his Origin of the English Drama, vol. iii. p. 212.]
[87] To. [88] Too. [89] Taught. [90] Youth. [91] To [92] Wings.
[93] Thee. [94] Flee. [95] Flees.
[96] [King James became so impatient to see his queen elect, when she was driven upon the coast of Norway by

The ice should not so longe stay youre returne,
My heart should easely thaw the frozen wave:

But when my payne makes me for pittie crave,
The blindest see with what just cause I mourne;
So least my torment to his blame should turne,
My hearte is forc'd to hide the fire she gave.

But what doth need the sea my heart at all?
Thow and the spouse be suns; in beautye shee,
In wisdome thow: the sun we Phœbus call,
And Phœbus for thy wisdome we call thee.
Now if the sun can thaw the sea alone,
Cannot two suns supplie the want of one?

The second 7. To particular Ladies whome he most honoured.

Sonet 1.

To the Princes of Orange.[97]

If Nature for[98] her workes proud ever were,
It was for this—that she created yow:
Youre sacred head, which wisdome doth indue,
Is only fitte a diademe to weare.

Youre lilie hand, which fayrer doth appeare
Then ever eye beheld in shape and hue,
Unto no other use by right is due
Except it be a scepter for to beare.

Youre cherrie lips by Nature framed be
Hearts to commaund; youre eye is only fitte,
With his wise lookes, kingdomes to oversee:

O happie land, whose soveraigne thow hadst beene!
But God on earth full blisse will not permitte,
And this is only cause—yow are no Queene.

2.

To the Countesse of Shrewsburye.[99]

Playnlie I write, because I will write true:
If ever Marie but the Virgin were
Meete in the realme of heaven a crowne to beare,
I, as my creed, believe that it is you.

And for the world, this Ile, and age shall rue
The bloud and fire was shed and kindled heere,

adverse winds, that he embarked in a small vessel for the Baltic, was married on the 24th of November, and passed the winter months in Norway and Denmark, from whence he did not return to Scotland till the following May.]

[97] [Louisa de Coligni: according to Lord Lyttelton.] [98] [Qu. of?]

[99] [Daughter and co-heir to John Hardwick, Esq. of Hardwick in the county of Derby, and widow of Sir Wm. Cavendish of Chatsworth. She was continually flattered, says Mr. Lodge, but seldom deceived; and died immensely rich, but without a friend, in 1607. See his Introduction to Illustrations of British History. The adulation here paid her, especially from a Romanist, is fulsome in the extreme.]

When woemen of youre name the crowne did beare,
And youre high worth not crownd with honoure due.

But God, which meant for rebell fayth and sin
His foes to punish, and his owne to trye,
Would not youre sacred name imploy therein.

For good and bad he would should yow adore,
Which never any burnt but with youre eye,
And maketh them you punish, love you more.

3.

To the Countesses of Cumberland and Warwicke, sisters.[100]

YOU sister Muses! doe not ye repine,
That I two sisters doe with nyne compare:
For eyther of these sacred two more rare
In vertue is, then all the heavenly nyne.

But if ye aske, which one is more devine?
I say—like to theyre owne twin-eyes they are;
Where eyther is as cleere as clearest star,
Yet neyther doth more cleare then others shine.

Sisters of spotlesse fame! of whome alone
Malitiouse tongues take pleasure to speake well;
How should I yow commend, when eyther one
All things in heaven and earth so far excell?
The highest prayse that I can give is this—
That one of you like to the other is.

4.

To my Ladie Arbella.[101]

THAT worthie Marquesse, pride of Italie,
Whoe for all worth, and for her wit and phrase,

[100] [Margaret and Anne Russell, the daughters of Francis, Earl of Bedford. The latter died in 1604, the former in 1616; and had her pious memory gratefully recorded on a pillar in Westmorland, by her daughter Anne, Countess of Pembroke, &c. This sonnet appeared in Davison's Poetical Rapsodie, but not in Constable's Diana.]

[101] [Arabella Stuart: of whom see some account in a former note, vol. vii. p. 424. Elizabeth and James, both secretly dreaded the supposed danger of this lady's leaving a legitimate offspring: the former therefore prevented her from marrying her kinsman, Esme Stuart, and imprisoned her for listening to some overtures from the son of the Earl of Northumberland: the latter, by obliging her to reject many splendid offers of marriage, unwarily encouraged the hopes of inferior pretenders. At length a private alliance with Mr. Wm. Seymour, grandson to the Earl of Hertford, was discovered, when she was committed to the Tower.

'There doom'd her future life to wear,
'No more the balm of hope to know;
'She yields her to the fiend Despair
'That points the barbed dart of woe.'

Evans's Old Ballads, iv. 104.

These undeserved oppressions, operating on a high spirit, disordered her intellect, and at length ended her life, at the age of 37, in the year 1615. See Lodge's Illustrations of Brit. Hist. iii. 178. Dr. Corbet penned the following Epitaph for 'the Lady Arabella.'

How do I thank thee, Death, and bless thy power,
That I have pass'd the guard, and 'scap'd the Tower!
And now my pardon is my epitaph,
And a small coffin my poor carcass hath.

Both best deserv'd, and best desert could prayse,
Immortall Ladie! is reviv'd in thee.

But thinke not strange, that thy divinitie
I by some goddesse' title doe not blaze,
But through a woeman's name thy glorie rayse;
For things unlike of unlike prayses be.

When we prayse men, we call them gods; but when
We speake of gods, we liken them to men:
Not them to prayse, but only them to knowe.

Not able thee to prayse, my drift was this—
Some earthlye shadowe of thy worth to shame,
Whose heavenly selfe above world's reason is.

5.

To the Ladye Arbella.

ONLY hope of oure age! that vertues dead
By youre sweet breath should be reviv'd againe;
Learning, discourag'd longe by rude disdaine,
By youre white hands is only cherished.

Thus others worth by yow is honoured:
But whoe shall honoure youres? poore wits! in vayne
We seeke to pay the debts which you pertayne,
Till from youre selfe some wealth be borrowed.

Lend some youre tongues, that every nation may
In his owne heare youre vertuouse prayses blaz'd;
Lend them youre wit, your judgment, memorye,
Least they themselves should not knowe what to say:
And, that thow mayst be lov'd as much as prays'd,
My hearte thow mayst lend them, which I gave thee.

6.

To my Ladie Rich.[102]

O that my songe like to a ship might be,
To beare aboute the world my Ladie's fame;
That, charged with the riches of her name,
The Indians might oure countryes treasure see.

No treasure, they would say, is rich but she;
Of all theyre golden parts they would have shame,
And hap'lye, that they might but see the same,
To give theyre gold for nought they would agree.

> For at thy charge both soul and body were
> Enlarg'd at last, secur'd from hope and fear:
> *That* among saints, *this* amongst kings is laid,
> And what my birth did claim, my death hath paid.
>
> See Gilchrist's edit. of Corbet's poems, p. 46.]

[102] [Penelope, the wife of Robert, third Lord Rich, who succeeded to the title in 1581, and was created Earl of Warwick in 1618. This lady was sister to the celebrated Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; and, deserting her husband for an old lover, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy (afterward Earl of Devonshire), a divorce was procured, and she became the degraded wife of her paramour in 1605. See Brydges' Memoirs of the Peers of England, p. 329.]

This wished voyage, though it I begin,
Withoute youre beauties helpe cannot prevayle:
For as a ship doth beare the men therein,
And yet the men doe make the ship to sayle,
Youre beauties so, which in my verse apeare,
Doe move my verse, and it youre beauties beare.

7.

To the Ladie Rich.

HERALDS in[103] armes doe three perfections coate;[104]
To wit—most fayre, most rich, most glittering:
Now[105] when these[106] three concurre within one thing,
Needs must that thing of honoure be of[107] note.

Lately I did behold a rich fayre coate,
Which wished fortune to myne eyes did bring,
A lordlye coate, but[108] worthye of a king:
Wherein[109] all these perfections one might note—

A field of lilies, roses proper bare,
Two stars in chiefe, the crest was waves of gold:
How glittering was the coate the starrs declare,[110]
The lilies made it fayre for to behold;
And rich it was, as by the gold apeares,[111]
So[112] happie he which[113] in his armes it beares.[114]

The thyrd 7. To severall Persons upon sundrye occasions.

Sonet 1.

To the Princesse of Orange, upon occasion of the murther of her Father and Husband.[115]

WHEN murdring hands, to quench the thirst of tyrannie,
The worlds most worthye, thy spouse and father slew;
Wounding thy heart through theyres, a double well they drew,
A well of bloud from them, a well of teares from thee.

So in thyne eyes at once we fire and water see:
Fire doth of beautie spring, water of griefe ensue.
Whoe fire and water yet together ever knew,
And neyther water dry'd, nor fire quencht to be?

But wonder it is not, thy water and thy fyre
Unlike to others be;—thy water fire hath bred,
And thy fire water makes, for thyne eyes' fire hath shed
Teares from a thousand hearts melted with love's desire;

[103] At. [104] Quote. [105] So. [106] Those. [107] A. [108] Yet.
[109] In which. [110] 'How glittering twas, might by the starres appeare.' [111] Appeareth.
[112] But. [113] That. [114] Weareth.

[115] [Camden and Rapin describe the Prince of Orange to have been assassinated by the hand of Balthazar Serack, a Burgundian, in 1584, but say nothing of his father-in-law. A report of the Prince's death, and of the cruelties inflicted on his murderer at the time of execution, may be seen in the Somers' Tracts edited by Mr. Walter Scott, vol. i. p. 407, et seq.]

And griefe to see such eyes bathed in teares of woes,
A fire of revenge inflames against thy foes.

2.

To the Countesse of Shrewsburye, upon occasion of his deare Mistrisse, whoe liv'd under her goverment.[116]

TRUE worthie Dame, if I thee chieftayne call
Of Venus' host, let others think no ill:
I graunt that they be fayre,—but what prince will
Chuse onlie by the force[117] a generall?

Beauties be but the forces, wherewithall
Ladies the hearts of private persons kill:
But these fayre forces to conduct with skill,
Venus chose yow the chiefest of them all.

To yow then, yow, the fayrest of the wise
And wisest of the fayre, I doe appeale.
A warrioure of youre campe by force of eyes
Mee pris'ner tooke, and will with rigor deale,
Except yow pity in youre heart will place;
At whose white hands I only seeke for grace.

3.

To the Countesse of Pembroke.[118]

LADIE! whome by reporte I only knowe;
Yet knowe so well, as I must thee adore:
To honoure thee what need I seeke for more?
Thou art his Sister whome I honoured so.

Yet million tongues' reporte doth further showe
Of thy perfections, both such worth and store,
As waute of seeing thee[119] paynes me sore,
As sight of others hath procur'd my woe.

All parts of beautie, meeting in one place,
Doe dazle eye, feed love, and ravish witte;
Thy perfect shape envies thy princely grace,
Thy minde all say like to thy Brother is.
What need I then say more to honoure it?
For I have praysed thyne by praysing his.

[116] [Mary Queen of Scots, in 1568-9, was consigned to the custody of the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, with whom she continued a state-prisoner till the irksome charge was resigned in 1584. She suffered death in 1587.]

[117] [*i. e.* Power, strength. So Shakspeare in the Merchant of Venice, Act ii. Sc. 9.]

[118] [It will be a sufficient eulogium on this lady to say—that she was the beloved, and worthily beloved, sister of that paragon of heroes and of men, Sir Philip Sidney. Memoirs of her life may be found in most of our biographies. She lived till 1621.]

[119] [Qu. *now* omitted?]

4.

To the Countesse of Essex,[120] upon occasion of the death of her first husband Sr. Philip Sydney.

SWEETEST of ladies! if thy pleasure be
To murther hearts, stay not in England still;
Revenge on Spaine thy husband's death, and kill
His foes; not them that love both him and thee.

O sound revenge, that I desire to see:
If they be fooles which wish with theyre owne will
Hurt to theyre foes;—then what be they that will,
With theyre owne hurte, wish good to enemye?

And thus doe I:—and thus ambitiouse Spaine;
Unsatisfied the new-found world to gayne,
Two better worlds should have;—I meane thyne eyes.

And we oure worlde, oure world his sun should misse,
Oure sun his heaven, thyne eye oure want supplies,
Oure world, oure sun, oure heaven, oure all it is.

5.

To the Ladie Clinton.[121]

SINCE onlye I, sweet Ladie! ye beheld,
Yet then such love I in your looke did finde,
And such sweet gesses of your gratiouse mynd,
As never a shorte tyme more happie held.

Forewarning vision, which even then foretold
Th'eternall cheynes which since my heart did binde,
Even there where first youre beames into me shin'd,
The fatall prison where my heart I held.

And how came this?—It was thy lovely looke
Which doth perfume each place it sees with love;
As though from yow, my Deare, this sweetnesse tooke,

Because where I saw her, I yow had seen;
Yet every where, if any sight me move,
I knowe it is some place where yow have been.

[120] [This lady was Frances, the eldest and only surviving daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and was celebrated not only for personal beauty, but for loveliness of character. She married in 1590 Robert Earl of Essex, the much esteemed friend of her first illustrious husband; and like him, as Dr. Zouch records, the patron of letters, elegant in his manners, gentle and humane. See Memoirs of Sir Philip Sidney, p. 355-7. Her third mate was Edward, Earl of Clanrickard, and afterward, of St. Albans, equally elegant in his person, and graceful in his demeanour with Sidney and Essex. Lord Lyttleton has introduced an interesting conversation between the Princess of Orange and the Countess of Clanrickard in his 'Dialogues of the Dead.']

[121] [Lord Clinton was created Earl of Lincoln in 1572, and this lady may have been the wife of his eldest son.]

6.

A calculation of the nativitye of the Ladie Riche's daughter, borne upon Friday in the yeare 1588, comonly call'd the yeare of wonder.[122]

FAYRE by inheritance, whome borne we see
Both in the wondrouse yeare, and in[123] the day
Wherin the fayrest planet beareth sway;
The wonders, loe! of beautyes destinye.[124]

Thow of a world of hearts in tyme shalt be
A monarch great, and with one beautye's ray
So many hosts of hearts thy face shall slay,
As all the rest for love shall yeeld to thee.

But even as Alexander, when he knew
His father's conquests, wept,—least he should leave
No kingdome unto him for to subdue;
Thy mother so shall thee of prayse bereave.
So many hearts she hath alreadie slayne,
As few behinde to conquer doth[125] remayne.

7.

To Mr. Hilliard,[126] upon occasion of a picture he made of my Ladie Rich.

IF Michaell the arch-painter now did live,
Because that Michaell, he an angell hight,
As partiall for his fellow-angells, might
To Raphaell's skill much prayse and honoure give:

But if in secreat I his judgment shrive,[127]
It would confesse that no man knew aright
To give to stones and pearles true die and light,
Till first youre art with orient nature strive.

But thinke not yet yow did that art devise:
Nay, thanke my Ladie that such skill you have;
For often sprinckling her black sparckling eyes,
Her lips and breast, taught you the [art you gave][128]
To diamonds, rubies, pearles; the worth of which
Doth make the jewell which you paynt seeme Rich.

[122] [The year in which the Spanish Armada experienced a defeat.]

[123] On, printed copy.

[124] 'The heavens to thee this fortune doe decree.'

[125] Shall.

[126] [A miniature-painter of high repute in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, and in some degree the master of Isaac Oliver, who much surpassed him. Lord Orford informs us, that great numbers of portraits by his hand, especially of ladies, are still extant; but he does not mention one of Lady Rich. Dr. Donne paid him the compliment to say—

. . . . . 'a hand or eye
'By Hilliard drawn, is worth a history
'By a worse painter made.'

See his poem of the Storm.

He appears to have enamelled upon precious stones, and in this way perhaps he portrayed the poet's object of reiterated admiration.]

[127] [*i. e.* Hear him acknowledge or declare his opinion.]

[128] [Supplied words for a *hiatus* in the MS.]

The Thyrd Parte.

Sonet 1.

The first 7. Of severall complaynts of misfortune in Love onlye.

NOW, now I love indeed, and suffer more
In one day now, then I did in a yeare:
Great flames they be which but small sparkles were,
And wounded now, I was but prickt before.

No mervayle then, though more then heretofore
I weepe and sigh:—how can great wounds be there,
Where moysture runs not oute? and ever, where
The fire is great, of smoke there must be store.

My heart was hetherto but like green wood,
Which must be dry'd before it will burne bright;
My former love serv'd but my heart drye,

Now Cupid for his fire doth find it good:
For now it burneth cleare, and shall give light
For all the world youre beautie to espie.

2.

WONDER it is, and pitie tis,[128] that she
In whome all beauties treasure we may find,
That may enrich the bodye or[129] the mynd,
Towards the poore shoulde use no charitie.

My love is gone a begging unto thee:
And if that beautie had not been more kind
Then pitye, longe ere this I had been pin'd;
But beautie is content his food to be.

O pitye have, when such yonge[130] orphans beg;
Love, naked boy, hath nothing on his backe,
And though he wanteth neyther arme nor leg,
Yet maym'd he is—for[131] he his sight doth lacke:
And yet, though blind, he beautie can behold,
And yet, though nak'd, he feeles more heate then cold.

3.

PITTYE refusing my poore love to feed,
A beggar starv'd for want of helpe he lyes,
And at youre mouth, the doore of beautie, cryes—
That [thence[132]] some almes of sweet grants may[133] proceed.

But as he wayteth for some almes-deed,
A cherrie-tree before the doore he spies—
O deare (quoth he) two cherries may suffice,
Two, only, life may save in this my need.

[128] Ist. [129] And. [130] Poore. [131] Sith.
[132] [Inserted from the printed copy.] [133] Might.

But beggars can they nought but cherries eate?
Pardon, my Love, he is a goddesse' son,
And never feedeth but of [134] daintie meate,
Else need he not to pine as he hath done.
For only the sweet fruite of this sweet tree
Can give food to my love, and life to me.

4.

Complaint of his Ladie's melancholynes.

IF that one care had oure two hearts possest,
Or you once [felt[135]] what I long suffered;
Then should thy heart accuse, in my heart's stead,
The rigor of it selfe for myne unrest.

Then should thyne arme upon my shoulder rest,
And weight of griefe sway downe thy troubled head;
Then should thy teares upon my sheet be shed,
And then thy heart should pant upon my breast:

But when that other cares thy heart doe seaze,
Alas! what succoure gayne I then by this,
But double griefe for thine and myne unease?

Yet when thow seest thy hurts to[136] wound my heart,
And so art taught by me what pitye is,
Perhaps thy heart will learne to feele my smart.

5.

Complaynt of his Ladie's sicknesse.

UNCIVILL sicknesse, hast thou no regard,
But dost presume my dearest to molest?
And, withoute leave, dar'st enter in that breast,
Whereto sweet Love aproach yet never dar'd?

Spare thow her health, which my life never[137] spar'd:
To bitter, such revenge of myne[138] unrest;
Although with wrongs my thoughts she hath opprest
My thoughts[139] seeke not revenge, but[140] crave rewarde.

Cease sicknesse,—cease in her for[141] to remayne,
And come, and welcome harboure thow in me,
Whome love long since hath taught to suffer payne:

So she which hath so oft my paynes increast,
(O God, if [142] I might so rewarded [143] be!)
By my more[144] payne should[145] have my[146] payne releast.

6.

Deare! though from me youre gratiouse lookes depart,
And of that comfort doe my selfe bereave,

[134] On. [135] [A conjectural insertion.] [136] Qu. Do? [137] Hath not.
[138] My. [139] Wrongs. [140] They [141] Then. [142] That.
[143] Revenged. [144] Poore. [145] Might. [146] Her.

Which both I did deserve and did receave;
Triumph not overmuch in this my smarte.

Nay, rather they which now enjoy thy heart,
For feare just cause of mourning should conceave,
Least thow, inconstant, shouldst theyre trust deceave,
Which like unto the weather changing art.

For in foule weather byrds sing often will,
In hope of fayre, and in fayre tyme will cease,
For feare fayre time should not continue still:

So they may mourne, which have thy heart possest,
For feare of change; and hope of change may ease
Theyre hearts, whome griefe of change doth now molest.

7.

If ever any justlye might complayne
Of unrequited service—it is I:—
Change is the thanks I have for loyaltye,
And onlye her rewarde is her disdayne.

So as just spight did almost me constrayne,
Through torment, her due prayses to denye:
For he which vexed is with injurye,
By speaking ill doth ease his heart of payne.

But what, shall tortor make me wrong her name?
No, no; a pris'ner constant thinkes it shame,
Though he [were[146]] rackt, his first truth to gaynsay.

Her true given prayse my first confession is:
Though her disdayne doe rack me night and day;
This I confest, and will denye in this.

[The second 7. Funerall Sonets of the death of Perticulers.[147]]

Sonet 3.[148]

To the Marquesse of Piscat's soule, endued in her life-tyme with infinite perfections, as her divine poems doe testifie.

Sweet soule! which now with heavenly songs dost tell
Thy deare Redeemer's glorie and his prayse;
No mervayle, though thy skilfull muse assayes
The songs of other soules there to excell.

For thou didst learne to sing devinely well,
Long tyme before thy [fayre and[149]] glittering rayes
Increast the light of heaven:—for even thy layes
Most heavenly were, when thou on earth didst dwell.

[146] [Not in the MS.] [147] [This title is supplied from 'the Order of the Booke.' See p. 492.]
[148] [One leaf wanting in Mr. Todd's MS. takes away two sonnets. This, and three following, were printed before the first edition of Sir Philip Sidney's 'Apologie for Poetrie,' 1595, 4to.]
[149] [From the printed copy.]

When thow didst on the earth sing poet-wise,
Angells in heaven pray'd for thy companie ;
And now thow singst with angells in the skies,
Shall not all poets prayse thy memorie ?
And to thy name shall not theyre workes give fame ?
Whereas,[150] theyre workes be sweetned by thy name.

4.

To Sr. Philip Sydneye's soule.

Give pardon, blessed soule ! to my bold cryes,
If they, importune, interrupt thy songe,
Which now with joyfull notes thou singst among
The angells, queristers[151] of th' heavenly skyes.

Give pardon eke, deare[152] soule ! to my bold[153] cryes,
That since I saw thee it is now so long,
And yet the teares which[154] unto thee belong,
To thee, as yet, they did not sacrifice.

I did not know that thow wert dead before ;
I did not feele the griefe I did sustayne :
The greater stroke astonisheth the more,
Astonishment takes from us sence of payne:
I stood amaz'd when others' teares begun,
And now begin to weepe, when they have don.

5.

To Sr. Philip Sidneye's soule.

Great Alexander then did well declare
How great was his united kingdome's might,
When every captayne of his armye might,
After his death, with mightie kings compare.

So now we see, after thy death, how far
Thow dost in worth surpasse each other knight.
When we admire him as no mortall wight,
In whome the least of all thy vertues are.

One did of Macedon the king become,
An other sate in the Ægiptian throne,
But onlye Alexander' selfe had all :

So courteouse some, and some be liberall,
Some wittie, wise, valliant and learned some,
But king of all the vertues thow alone !

6.

To Sr. Philip Sidneye's soule.

Even as when great mens heyres cannot agree,
So every vertue now for thee doth sue :

[150] Whenas. [151] 'Angel-quiristers,' in printed copy. [152] Sweet.
[153] Slow. [154] That.

Courage proves, by thy death, thy heart to be his due;
Eloquence claymes thy tongue, and so doth courtesie.

Invention knowledge sues, judgment sues memorye,
Each sayth—thy head is his; and what end shall ensue?
Of this strife knowe not I,—but this I knowe for true,
That whosoever gaynes the suite, the losse have we.

Wee—I meane all the world—the losse to all pertayneth;
Yea, they which gayne doe loose, and only thy soule gaineth;
For loosing of one life, two lives are gained then.

Honoure thy courage moov'd, courage thy death did give,
Death, courage, honoure, make thy soule to live,
Thy soule to live in heaven, thy name in tongues of men.

7.

Of the death of my Ladie Riche's daughter. Shewing the reason of her untimelye death hindred her effecting those things, which by the former calculation of her nativitye he foretold.

He that by skill of stars doth fates foretell,
If reason give the verdit of his side,
Though by mischance things otherwise betyde
Then he foretold, yet doth he calcule well.

A Phœnix, if she live, must needs excell;
And this, by reason's lawes, should not have dy'd:
But thus it chanc't—nature cannot abyde
More then one Phœnix in the world to dwell.

Now as the mother Phœnix death should slay,
Her beauties light did dazle so his eye,
As while he blindfold let his arrowe flye,
He slew the yonge one which stood in the way:
Thus did the mother scape, and thus did I
By good ill hap fayle of my prophecie.

The last 7. Of the end and death of his Love.

Sonet 1.

MUCH sorrowe in it selfe my love doth move,
More my dispayre,—to love a hopelesse blisse;
My follie most,—to love where[155] sure to misse:
O helpe me but this last griefe to remove!

All payne, if yow command it, joy doth[156] prove;
And wisdome to seeke joy:—then say but this,
Because my pleasure in thy torment is,
I doe command thee withoute hope to love.

So when this thought my sorrowes[157] shall augment—
That myne[158] owne follie did procure my payne;

[155] Whom. [156] Shall. [157] Sorrow. [158] My.

Then shall I say—to give my selfe content—
Obedience only made me love in vayne:
It was my[159] will, and not youre[160] want of wit;
I have the payne—beare you the blame of it.

2.

Needs I must leave, and yet needs must I love,
In vayne my witte doth paynt[161] in verse my woe;
Disdaine in thee dispaire in me doth showe—
How by my witte I doe my follie prove.

All this my heart from love can never move;
[Love is not in my hearte—no, Ladie, no:[162]]
My hearte is love it selfe; till I forgoe
My hearte, I never can my love remove.

How shall[163] I then leave love? I doe extend[164]
Not to crave grace, but yet to wish it still;
Not to prayse beautie,[165] beautie to commend,
And so by beauties prayse, prayse thee I will.
For as my heart is love, love not in me,
So beautie thow,—beautie is not in thee.

3.

My reason absent, did myne eyes require
To watch and ward, and such foes to descrie
As neare my heart they should approaching spy;
But traytoure-eyes my heart's death did conspire:

Corrupted with hope's guifts, let in desire
To burne my heart, and sought no remedie:
Though store of water were in eyther eye,
Which well employ'd, might well have quencht the fire.

Reason returned, love and fortune made
Judges, to judge myne eyes to punishment:
Fortune, sith they by sight my heart betrayd,
From wished sight adjudg'd them banishment:
Love, sith by fire murdred my hearte was founde,
Adjudged them in teares for to be drown'd.

4.

Each day new proofes of new dispaire I find,
That is, new death:—no mervayle then, if[166] I
Make exile my last helpe,—to th'end myne eye
Should not behold the death to me assign'd.

Not that from death absence could[167] save my mynde,
But that I[168] might take death more patientlye,
Like him, which by the judge condemn'd to dye;
To suffer with lesse feare[169] his eyes doth blinde.

[159] Your. [160] My. [161] Tell.
[162] [This line, omitted in the MS. is adopted from the printed copy.] [163] Can.
[164] Intend. [165] Thee, but. [166] Though. [167] Might.
[168] It. [169] More ease.

Youre lips, in skarlet clad, my judges be,
Pronouncing sentence of eternall *no:*
Dispaire, the hangman which[170] tormenteth me.

The death I suffer is the life I have:
For onlye life doth make me die in woe,
And onlye death I for my pardon crave.

5.

Myne eye with all the deadlie sinnes is fraught:
First proud—sith it presum'd to looke so hye,
A watchman being made, stood gazing by;
And idle—tooke no heed till I was caught:

And enviouse—beares envie that my[171] thought
Should in his absence be to her so nye:
To kill my heart, myne eye let in her eye,
And so was accessarie[172] to a murther wrought:

And covetouse—it never would remove
From her fayre hayre, gold so doth please his sight:
A glutton eye—with teares drunke every night:
Unchast—a baude between my hearte and love.
These sins procured have a goddesse' ire—
Wherefore, my heart is damn'd in love's sweet fire.

6.

If true love might true love's reward obtayne,
Dumbe wonder onlye could[173] speake of my joy:
But to[o] much worth hath made thee to much coy,
And told me long agoe—I lov'd[174] in vayne.

Not then, vayne hope of undeserved gaine
Hath made me paint in verses myne annoye,
But for thy pleasure, that thou mightst enjoy
Thy beauties sight[175] in glasses of my payne.

See then thy selfe, though me thow wilt not heare,
By looking on my verse, for payne in verse,
Love doth in payne, beautie in love appeare.

So if thow wilt[176] my verse's meaning see
Expound them thus,—when I my love rehearse,
None loves like him;—that is, none fayre like mee.

7.

Conclusion of the whole.

Sometymes in verse I prays'd, sometimes[177] I sigh'd,
No more shall pen with love nor beautie mell,
But to my heart alone my heart shall tell
How unseene flames doe burne it day and night.

[170] That. [171] By.
[172] ['Consent gave,' instead of 'was accessarie.' This sonnet was reprinted in Davison's P. Rapsodie.]
[173] Might. [174] Sigh'd. [175] Praise. [176] Wouldst.
[177] ['In verse,' is here inserted in the printed copy.]

Least flames give light, light bring my love to sight,
Love prove my follies to much to excell.[178]
Wherefore, my love burne like the flame[179] of hell,
Wherein is fire, and yet there is no light:
So[180] shall henceforth more follie[181] lesse[182] follie have,
And follie past shall justly pardon crave.[183]

For if none[184] ever lov'd like mee—then why
Still blameth[185] he the things he doth not knowe?
And he that so hath lov'd shall favoure showe,
For he hath been a foole as well as I.

When I had ended this last sonet, and found that such vayne poems as I had by idle houres writ, did amounte just to the climatericall number 63; me thought it was high tyme for my follie to die, and to employe the remnant of wit to other calmer thoughts, lesse sweete and lesse bitter.

To the divine protection of the Ladie Arbella, the author commendeth both his Graces honoure, and his Muses æternitye.

My Mistrisse' worth gave wings unto my Muse,
And my Muse wings did give unto her name:
So, like twin byrds, my Muse bred with her fame,
Together now doe learne theyre wings to use.

And in this booke, which heere yow may peruse,
Abroad they flye, resolv'd to try the same
Adventure in theyre flight;—and thee, sweet dame!
Both she and I for oure protectoure chuse.

I by my vow, and she by farther right,
Under youre Phœnix [wing][186] presume to flye;
That from all carrion beakes in safetie might
By one same wing be shrouded, she and I.
O happie! if I might but flitter there,
Where yow and shee and I should be so neare.

To H. C. upon occasion of his two former Sonets to the K. of Scots

Sweet Muses' son! Apollo's chief delight!
Whilst that thy pen the angells quill doth prayse,
Thou mak'st thy Muse keeping with angells flight,
And angells wing the wing of Tyme doth rayse.

That he which chang'd blind Love for love of light,
And left Tyme's wings behind, and Love's below,
Amazed stands to see so strange a sight,
That angells wings nor tyme nor love outgoe.

The danger is least when the heate of sun
The angells and the other wings shall trye:

[178] ['And my love prove my follie to excell.' Printed copy.] [179] Fire. [180] Thus.
[181] Paine. [182] More. [183] [This couplet concludes the sonnet in printed copy.]
[184] One. [185] Skillesse blames. [186] [A conjectural insertion.]

A highest pitch both Tyme and Love be done,
And only she find passage through the skie.
Then rest thy Muse upon the angells winge,
Which both thy Muse and thee to heaven may bring.

To H. C. upon occasion of leaving his countrye, and sweetnesse of his verse.

ENGLAND'S sweete nightingale! what frights thee so,
As over sea to make thee take thy flight?
And there to live with native countryes foe,
And there him with thy heavenly songs delight?

What did thy sister swallowe thee encite
With her, for winter's dread, to flye awaye?
Whoe is it then hath wrought this other spite,
That when as she returneth, thow shouldst stay?

As soone as spring begins, she cometh ay:
Returne with her, and thow like tidings bring:—
When once men see thee come, what will they say?
Loe, now of English poesie comes the spring!
Come, feare thow not the cage, but loyall be,
And ten to one thy Soveraigne pardons thee.

All the several Ordinances and Orders, made by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, concerning Sequestring the Estates of Delinquents, Papists, Spyes and Intelligencers. Together with Instructions for such Persons as are imployed in Sequestring of such Delinquents Estates. Very useful for those whom it doth or may concern.

'Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that these Ordinances 'and Orders be printed and published. H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.'

London, printed for Edward Husband, Printer to the Honourable House of Commons, 1648.

[Quarto, containing Eighty-Four Pages.]

The following is an useful collection of documents relative to that bold act of the commonwealth, which occasioned a transfer of property in this country, almost as extensive and complicated as that which followed the dissolution of religious houses.

How much trouble was eventually produced to the parliamentary agents, by this measure, and how much the multifarious concerns which it brought into the public hands engrossed the attention of the national council, and intruded upon the discussion of national affairs, may be sufficiently seen by turning over the Journals of the Commons during this period.

That some of the measures were eventually productive of public good, will scarcely be denied, particularly by those, among the members of the re-established church, who are still enjoying the provision originally made out of the sequestrated estates, for the benefit of their puritanical predecessors.

But to trace all the successive and ultimate effects which this great transfer of landed interest produced, would be the labour of years, even to the most experienced statist, and would fill a volume of no small dimensions.

April 1, 1643.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.

THE lords and commons assembled in parliament taking into their serious considerations, the heavy pressures and calamities which now lie upon this kingdom by this unnatural war raised against the parliament; and that notwithstanding all their faithful and incessant endeavours for the preserving of his majesty and the whole kingdom from the mischievous and restless designs of papists and ill-affected persons (whose aim is the extirpation of our religion, laws and liberties:) yet their counsels and practices are still so prevalent with his majesty, and the hearts of many people so misled and beguiled by their false pretences and insinuations, that nothing can be expected but ruin and desolation, unless God in mercy prevent it, and incline his majesty's heart to the faithful advice of his great council of parliament; which hath ever been, and is (under God) the chief support of his royal dignity, and the security of all that we have or can enjoy. And for that it is most agreeable to common justice, that the estates of such notorious delin-

quents as have been the causes or instruments of the public calamities, which have been hitherto employed to the fomenting and nourishing of these miserable distractions, should be converted and applied towards the supportation of the great charges of the commonwealth, and for the easing of the good subjects therein, who have hitherto borne the greatest share in these burthens,

Be it therefore ordained by the said lords and commons, that the estates, as well real as personal, of the several bishops hereafter mentioned; that is to say, of William Archbishop of Canterbury, John Archbishop of York, Thomas Bishop of Durham, Robert Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Joseph Bishop of Norwich, John Bishop of St. Asaph, Robert Bishop of Oxford, William Bishop of Bath and Wells, George Bishop of Hereford, Matthew Bishop of Ely, Godfrey Bishop of Glocester, John Bishop of Peterborough, Morgan Bishop of Landaff, John Bishop of Worcester, and of all such bishops, deans, deans and chapters, prebends, archdeacons, and of all other person and persons, ecclesiastical or temporal, as have raised or shall raise arms against the parliament, or have been, are or shall be in actual war against the same; or have voluntarily contributed, or shall voluntarily contribute (not being under the power of any part of the king's army at the time of such contributing) any money, horse, plate, arms, munition, or other aid or assistance, for or towards the maintenance of any forces raised against the parliament, or for the opposing of any force or power raised by authority of both houses of parliament; or for the robbing, spoiling, plundering, or destroying of any of the king's subjects, who have willingly contributed, or yielded obedience to the commands of both houses of parliament; and of all such as have joined or shall join in any oath, or act of association against the parliament; or have imposed or shall impose any tax or assessment upon his majesty's subjects, for or towards the maintenance of any forces against the parliament, or have or shall use any force or power to levy the same, shall be forthwith seized and sequestered into the hands of the sequestrators and committees hereafter in this ordinance named; and of such other persons as shall at any other time hereafter be appointed and nominated by both houses of parliament, for any county, city, or place within the realm of England, or dominion of Wales: which said sequestrators and committees, or any two or more of them in each several county, city, or place respectively, are hereby authorised and required, by themselves, their agents and deputies, to take and seize into their hands and custodies, as well all the money, goods, chattels, debts, and personal estate; as also all and every the manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, rents, arrearages of rents, revenues and profits of all and every the said delinquents or persons before specified, or which they, or any of them, or any other in trust for them, or any of them, or to their or any of their use or uses, have, hath or shall have; and also two parts of all the money, goods, chattels, debts, and personal estate; and two parts of all and every the manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments, rents, arrearages of rents, revenues and profits of all and every papist, or which any other person hath in trust for any papists, or to the use or uses of any papists, and to let, set, and demise the same, or any part thereof, as the respective landlord, or owner thereof, may or might have done from year to year; and shall have power to call before them, or any two of them, all stewards, bailiffs, rent-gatherers, auditors or other officers or servants, as well of the said archbishops, bishops, deans, deans and chapters, prebends, archdeacons, as of all and every other of the said delinquents or persons before specified; and to send for, or to take any books of accompts, rentals, copies of court-roll or other evidences, writings or memorials, touching the premises or any of them, and thereby, and by all other ways and means, which to the said sequestrators, or any two or more of them, shall seem meet and necessary to inform themselves, as well of the said several delinquents, and every of them, as of their several estates and possessions, rents, arrearages of rents, revenues and profits, goods and chattels, estates real and personal, and the true value thereof, and of all things concerning the same, or any part thereof; and to appoint any officer or officers, or other person or persons under them, for the better expediting of this service: which said persons are hereby authorised and enjoined to perform and execute all and every the commands of the said sequestrators or committees, or any two or more

of them respectively, in and concerning the premises; and shall have such allowances for their pains and charges in that behalf, as the said sequestrators or committees, or any two or more of them shall think fit. And the said sequestrators or committees, or any two or more of them respectively, their agents and deputies, within their several limits, shall have power, and are hereby authorised and required to enter into all and every such manors, messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments, of all and every the said delinquents or persons before specified, and to receive such rents, arrearages of rents, herriots, issues, profits, sums of money, debts, and other duties as aforesaid, to them or any of them, due or payable by their, or any of their several and respective tenants, or other person or persons; which said tenants and other persons are hereby required to pay the same to the said sequestrators or committees, or any two or more of them accordingly, and not to, or to the use of the said delinquents, or any of them; yet so nevertheless, that in respect of the hardness of the times, and the great charges which otherwise lie upon the said tenants and others, by occasion of this present war, every such tenant which shall pay to the said sequestrators or committees, or any two of them as aforesaid, shall upon their obedience and conformity to this order, be considered out of the said rents, revenues and profits, and shall be discharged of the whole rent against his landlord, or any other to whom the same is due, being such delinquents as aforesaid; and as well they the said tenants, as every other person or persons which shall pay any rent, sum of money, or other thing according to this ordinance, shall be protected and saved harmless from any forfeiture, penalty, or damage, which he or they may incur by not-payment of his or their said rent, sum of money, or other thing according to his or their lease, copy or other agreement, by the power and authority of both houses of parliament.

And if any such tenant or tenants shall refuse to pay his or their rent or rents, the said sequestrators or committees, their agents or deputies, according to this ordinance, at such time and places as the same shall become due and payable, the said sequestrators, or any two or more of them, by themselves, their agents, or deputies, shall have power to distrain for the same, and to take all other advantages for non-payment thereof, as the landlord might have done.

And the said sequestrators, or any two or more of them, shall have power to sue for, and recover any debt, sum of money, or other duty owing to the said delinquents or persons before specified, or any of them; as also to give discharges and acquittances for any rent, sum of money, debts, duty, or other thing which they shall receive out of the estates of the said delinquents, or any of them; and shall be accountable from time to time for the same, and for all such other things as shall be had or taken by them, their agents, or deputies; and for all their receipts and payments, and other acts, for, or in respect of the premises, to both houses of parliament, or such as they shall appoint; and shall pay in all such sums of money as they or any of them shall receive out of the said estates, unto the treasurers at Guildhall, London, and shall keep books of accounts, and shall be from time to time subject to the further orders and directions of both houses of parliament, for allowance to the said delinquents, or otherwise as cause shall require of all their receipts and payments. And the said sequestrators or committees, or any two or more of them, their agents and deputies, shall have power to call to their aid and assistance the trained-bands, volunteers, or other forces, of or within their several counties, cities or places respectively, or any other person or persons dwelling in or next the place, to compel obedience to this ordinance, where any resistance shall be made, or as oft as need shall require: and shall have power to punish such person or persons as they shall find refractory, negligent, or faulty in the said service, by fine and imprisonment, such fine not exceeding the sum of twenty pounds, or to certify their names to the committees of lords and commons appointed for this service, who shall have power to send for them, or any of them, and to commit them to such prisons and places, and for so long time as they shall think fit: and the said trained-bands, volunteers, and other forces, their commanders and officers, and also the several constables, headboroughs, and other officers and persons within

their limits, are hereby required and enjoined to be aiding and assisting to the said sequestrators, or any two or more of them, as oft as they shall be thereunto required.

And it is further declared and ordained by the lords and commons, That all and every of the said sums, rents, revenues, and profits, estate real and personal of all and every the said delinquents, or person before specified, shall be employed to the use, and for the maintaining of the army and forces raised by the parliament, and such other uses as shall be directed by both houses of parliament, for the benefit of the commonwealth.

Lastly, It is ordained, That all and every the said sequestrators and committees, shall have allowances for their necessary charges and pains in and about the premises, as they shall be allowed by both houses of parliament; and that as well they, as all others who shall be employed in the said service, or shall do any thing in execution or performance of this ordinance, shall be therein protected and saved harmless by the power and authority of both the said houses: and if any person or persons shall find him or themselves aggrieved with any act done by the said sequestrators, their agents or deputies, or any of them, concerning the premises, and shall not therein be relieved by the said sequestrators, upon complaint made unto them or any two or more of them; then, upon information thereof given to both houses of parliament, or to the said committee of lords and commons before mentioned, such further order shall be taken therein, as shall be agreeable to justice. Provided, That where any former ordinance hath been made by both houses of parliament, for the seizing or sequestering of the estates of any of the delinquents before specified, within any county, city, or place, and accordingly executed there, this present ordinance shall not be put in execution, till further order be taken by both houses of parliament: Provided also, That all and every the said estates of the said delinquents shall be chargeable and liable for their proportionable part of such other public charges or duties, to be set or allowed of by both houses of parliament, as they ought to pay, if this ordinance had not been made; and to all such other charges, duties, payments, or other rights which are or shall be due or payable, or of right belonging to any other person or persons out of the premises, other than to such delinquents as aforesaid, the same to be paid and disbursed by these sequestrators, or any two of them respectively.

Provided also, That where no committees are named by this ordinance, in any city or town, which is a county of itself, there the committees for the county at large next adjoining, may execute this ordinance within every such city or town, till other committees shall be named and appointed for the same, by both houses of parliament; and that where no committees are herein named for any county, city, or place, such other persons as shall be hereafter nominated by both houses, shall have the like power to execute this ordinance in every such county, city, or place, as the committees in this present ordinance named have.

Provided also, and be it further ordained, That all and singular such revenues, rents, issues, fees, profits, sums of money, and all allowances whatsoever, as have heretofore been, and now ought to be paid, disposed unto, or for the maintenance of any college or hospital, whose revenues, or any part thereof, have not been employed for maintenance of the war against the parliament, grammar-school, or scholars, or for or towards the reparation of any church, chapel, highway, causey, bridge, school-house, or other charitable use, payable by any the corporations or persons whose estates are to be sequestered by this ordinance, which are chargeable upon, or ought to issue out of, or be paid for, or in respect of their estates, lands or possessions, or any of them, other than such delinquents as aforesaid, shall be, and continue to be paid, disposed, and allowed, by the said sequestrators, or any two or more of them, as they were and have been heretofore, any thing in this present ordinance to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

For the county of Bedford,

Sir Beauchamp St. John, Sir John Burgoyn baronet, Sir Thomas Alston knight and baronet, Sir Roger Burgoyn, Sir Oliver Luke, Sir Samuel Luke, knights; Thomas Rolt,

Thomas Sadler, James Beverley, Humphrey Monox, Edward Osborn, Robert Stanton, and Samuel Brown, esqrs.

For the town of Bedford,

The mayor for the time being.

For the county of Berks,

Sir Francis Pile baronet, Sir Francis Knollis, junior, knight; Peregrine Hobby, Henry Martin, Roger Knight, Henry Powl, Thomas Fettiplace, and Tanfield Vachel, esqrs.

For the town of Reading,

The mayor for the time being, Henry Martin, Tanfield Vachel, esqrs.

For the county of Buckingham,

Sir Richard Ingoldsby, knight; Henry Bulstrode, Thomas Terral, Richard Greenville, esqrs.; Sir Peter Temple, baronet; Sir Thomas Sanders, knight; Anthony Ratcliff, Thomas Westal, esqrs.; Sir William Andrews, knight; Bulstrode Whitlock, John Hampden, Arthur Goodwyn, Richard Winwood, esqrs.

For the county of Cambridge,

Sir Dudley North, Sir John Cuts, Sir Thomas Martin, knights; Captain Symonds, Dudley Pope, esqrs.; Sir Miles Sands, knight; Francis Russel, Oliver Cromwel, William Fisher, Thomas Tompson, Thomas Becket, Walter Clopton, Robert Castle, Thomas Bendish, John Welbore, Robert Clark, Michael Dalton, junior, Thomas Parker, Thomas Ducket, John Hobard, Thomas Castle, George Clapthorn, John Towers, Edward Leeds, and William Marsh, esqrs.

For the county of Chester,

Sir George Booth knight and baronet, Sir William Brereton baronet, Thomas Stanley, Henry Manwaring, Henry Brook, John Bradshaw, Robert Duckenfield, Henry Vernon, John Crew, William Marbury, esqrs.

For the town and university of Cambridge,

The mayor for the time being, Oliver Cromwel, Mr. John Lowry, Mr. William Welpore, Talbot Pepys recorder, John Sherwood, Samuel Spaulden, Thomas French, Robert Robson.

For the city of Chester,

William Launce mayor, John Aldersey, Peter Leigh, William Edwards, merchants.

For the county of Cornwal,

Sir Richard Carew, baronet; Francis Buller, Alexander Carew, John Trefusis, John Saint Aubin, Richard Erisey, John Moyl, Francis Godolphin of Tremonogue, Thomas Gewen, John Garter, Thomas Arundel, esqrs.

For the county of Devon,

Sir George Chudleigh, Sir John Pool, Sir John Northcot, baronets; Sir Edmund Fowel, knight, Sir Samuel Roll, Sir Shilston Calmady, Sir Nicholas Martin, knights, Sir Francis Drake, baronet, Robert Savery, Henry Walrond, Francis Rous, Edmund Prideaux, Henry Worth, Hugh Fortescue, Arthur Upton, John Yeo, William Fry, George Trobridge, esqrs.; the mayor of Plymouth for the time being, Mr. John Walden.

For the city of Exon,

Christopher Clark, mayor, Richard Sanders, Thomas Crossing, Walter White, and John Hakewil, aldermen; James Gould, sheriff.

For the county of Cumberland,

William Lawson, William Briscoe, Thomas Lamplough, Richard Barwis, John Barwis, senior, esqrs.

For the county of Derby,

Sir John Curson baronet, Sir John Gell baronet, Sir John Cook knight, Francis Revel, Nathaniel Hallows, and James Abney, esqrs.

For the county of Dorset,

Denzil Hollis, Sir Thomas Trenchard, Sir Walter Erle, knights; John Brown, Thomas Tergonal, John Bingham, John Hanham, John Trenchard, Dennis Bond, Richard Brode-

rope, William Savadge, Robert Butler, William Sidenham, junior, esqrs.; Richard Rose, John Henley, Thomas Ceely, Thomas Erle, esqrs.

For the town and county of Pool,

Henry Martin, mayor, George Skut, William Skut, Anthony Wait, William Williams, Aaron Durel, Richard Mayer, and Haviland Heely, aldermen.

For the town of Dorchester,

The mayor for the time being, Master John Hill, Master Richard Bury.

For the county of Durham,

Henry Warmouth, George Lilborn, Thomas Mitford, Robert Hutton, Thomas Shadforth, Clement Ealthorp, Richard Lilborn, Francis Wren, John Blackston, Henry Draper, John Brakenbury, esqrs.

For the county of Essex,

Sir Thomas Barrington, knight and baronet, Sir Henry Mildmay of Wanstead, Sir Martin Lumley, knight and baronet, Sir Harbottle Grimston, knight and baronet, Sir Richard Everard, baronet, Sir William Hicks, baronet, Sir Thomas Cheek, Sir Henry Halcroft, Sir William Row, Sir Thomas Honywood, Sir Will. Martin, Sir John Barrington, knights; Sir William Massam, bart. Will. Massam, John Wright, Oliver Raymond, Harbottle Grimston, John Sayer, John Burket, Anthony Luther, Timothy Middleton, Thomas Coke, Dean Tyndal, James Hern, William Goldingham, John Atwood, John Sorrel, Richard Harbackenden, Henry Wiseman, Robert Smith, Robert Brown, William Atwood, Nathaniel Bacon, John Mead, Robert Wiseman, of Mayland, Isaac Allen, —— Hasely, Samuel Friborn, Peter Whitcomb, Robert Yong, Jeremy Aylet, William Collard, Robert Crane, Robert Calthrop, Arthur Barnardiston, esqrs.

For Colchester,

The mayor for the time being, Harbottle Grimston, Henry Barrington, gent.

For the East-riding of the county of York,

Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, Sir John Hotham, knight and bart. Sir William Strickland, bart. Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir Thomas Rymington, knights; Richard Rymington, John Hotham, John Analeab, Richard Darley, Henry Darley, John Allured, esqrs.

For the North-riding,

Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, Sir Hugh Cholmley, Sir Henry Fouls, Sir Thomas Norcliff, Sir Matthew Boynton, baronets; Sir William Sheffield, knight, John Hotham, Bryan Stapleton, Henry Darley, Henry Anderson, John Wastolf, Christopher Perchy, George Trotter, Matthew Smelt, John Legard de Malton, Francis Lassels, Geoffry Gate, John Dent, Thomas Robinson, Francis Boynton, Christopher Waters, esqrs.

For the West-riding,

Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Maleverer, baronet, Sir William Lister, Sir Edward Rhodes, Sir William Fairfax, Sir John Savil, Sir Thomas Fairfax, knights; John Hotham, Charles Fairfax, Henry Ardington, John Farrar, William White, Thomas Maleverer, George Warwood, John Robinson, Thomas Stockdale, Thomas Westby, John Bright, Thomas Bosevile, Godfrey Bosevile, Captain Edward Brigs, and John Ellis, esqrs.

For the city of York,

Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Sir Thomas Widrington, knights; Thomas Hodgson, James Hutchinson, and John Vaux, aldermen; Sir William Allanson, Thomas Hoyls.

For the town and county of Kingston upon Hull,

Sir John Hotham, knight and baronet, Thomas Kaiks, mayor, John Hotham, and Peregrine Pelham, esqrs.; Lancelot Roper, John Bernard, Joshua Hall, Nicholas Denman, and William Fapple, gentlemen.

For the county of Gloucester, and the county of the city of Gloucester,

Sir Robert Cook knight, Nathaniel Stephens, John George, Edw. Stephens, Joh. Stephens, esqrs.; and Thomas Pury, alderman, Sir John Seymor, knight, Thomas Hodges, John Caddrington, esqrs.

For the city of Bristol,

Richard Alworth mayor, Joseph Jackson and Hugh Brown, sheriffs; Richard Halworthy alderman, Luke Hodges, and Henry Gibs.

For the county of Southampton, and the town and county of Southampton, and the isle of Wight,

Sir Henry Worsly, Sir William Lewis, baronets; Sir Thomas Jervois, Sir William Lisle, Sir John Leigh, Sir Henry Clerk, Sir John Compton, Sir Richard Kingsmil, knights; Robert Dillington, Robert Wallop, Richard Whitehead, Richard Norton, John Doddington, Richard Jervois, John Lisle, John Button, Edward Hopper, John Bulkley, Thomas Clerk, John Kemp, Richard Major, Francis Saint-Barb, Nicholas Love, John Fielder, William Wither, Thomas Chaundler, James Tut, John Pitman, and John Hook, esqrs.; George Gallop, and Edward Exon, aldermen of Southampton, and the mayor of Winchester for the time being.

For the county of Hertford,

Charles Lord Viscount Cranborn, Robert Cecil, esq.; Sir John Garrat, Sir John Read, baronets; Sir Thomas Dacres, Sir William Litton, Sir John Whitterong, knights; Richard Jennings, Ralph Freeman, William Lemon, William Priestly, John Herdon, Alexander Wilde, Richard Porter, Adam Washington, esqrs.

For Saint Alban's,

The mayor for the time being, John Robtham, Ralph Pemberton, Graveley Norton, esqrs.

For the county of Hereford,

Sir Robert Harley, knight of the bath, Sir Richard Hobton, knight, Walter Kirle, Edward Broughton, Henry Vaughan, esqrs.

For the city of Hereford,

Sir Robert Harley, knight of the bath, Walter Kirle, Richard Hobson, John Flacker, Henry Vaughan.

For the county of Huntington,

Sir Thomas Cotton baronet, Sir John Hewit knight, Onslow Winch, Terril Joceline, Thomas Templer, Abraham Burrel, Edward Montague of Hinchingbrook, John Castle, Oliver Cromwel, Apollo Bepis, Thomas Cater, esqrs.

For the county of Kent,

Sir Thomas Walsingham, Sir Anthony Weldon, knights; Sir John Sidley, Sir Edward Hales, Sir Humphrey Tufton, Sir Henry Heyman, knights and baronets; Sir Michael Lewsey, baronet, Sir Henry Vane, junior, Sir Edward Scot, Sir Edward Bois, Sir William Brook, Sir Peter Wroth, Sir George Sands, Sir John Honywood, Sir James Oxenden, Sir Richard Hadress, knights; Augustine Skinner, Richard Lee, Thomas Silliard, John Bois junior, Thomas Blunt and Samuel Blunt, esqrs.

For the city of Rochester,

The mayor for the time being, Sir Anthony Weldon, Sir William Brook, Sir Thomas Walsingham, Richard Lee, esq.; the mayor of Tenterden for the time being, William Bois, William James, Mark Dixwel, Henry Stamford, esqrs.

For the city and town of Canterbury,

The mayor for the time being, Sir William Man knight, Sir Edward Master knight, John Nut, Thomas Courthop, esqrs.; Avery Saviue alderman.

For the county of Lancaster,

Sir Ralph Ashton, and Sir Thomas Stanely, baronets; Sir Ralph Ashton, of Downham, Ralph Ashton of Middleton, Richard Shuttleworth, Alexander Rigby, John Moor, Richard Holland, Edward Butterworth, John Bradshaw, William Ashusts, Peter Edgerton, George Dodding, Nicholas Cunliff, John Starkey, Thomas Birch, and Thomas Fell, esqrs.; Robert Cunliff, Robert Curwen, and John Nowel, gentlemen.

For the county of Leicester,

Henry Lord Gray of Ruthen, Thomas Lord Gray of Groby, Sir Arthur Haslerige, baronet, Sir Edward Hartop, and Sir Thomas Hartop, knights; William Hewet, John Bem-

bridge, Peter Temple, George Ashby, William Roberts, Richard Bent, Arthur Stanley, William Danvers, John Goodman, esqrs.

For the town of Leicester,

Richard Ludham, now mayor, William Stanley, alderman.

For the county of Lincoln,

Sir John Wray knight and baronet, Sir Edward Ascough knight, Sir Samuel Ofield knight, John Wray, Willoughby Hickman, Edward Witchort, Edmund Anderson, Edward Rossiter, and John Broxholm, esqrs.; Sir William Armyn baronet, Sir Hamond Whicot knight, Sir John Brownlow, Sir Thomas Trollop, baronets, Thomas Hatcher, Sir Christopher Wray, Thomas Grantham, Thomas Lister, John Archer, esqrs. Sir William Brownlow.

For the parts of Holland,

Sir Anthony Irby, William Ellis, John Harrington, esqrs.; the mayor of Boston for the time being, Thomas Hall, Thomas Welby, ——— Willesby.

For the city of Lincoln, and the close of Lincoln,

The mayor for the time being, Thomas Grantham, John Broxholm, esqrs.; Robert Morecroft, William Watson, and Steven Dawson, aldermen.

For the city of London, and all within the jurisdiction of the lord-mayor,

The lord-mayor and the aldermen, aldermen's deputies, and common-council-men of the said city.

For the county of Middlesex,

Sir Gilbert Gerrard baronet, Sir Edward Barkham knight and baronet, Sir Richard Springal baronet, Sir John Franklin, Sir John Hippesley, Sir William Roberts, Sir James Harrington, Sir Robert Wood, knights; Laurence Whitaker, Justinian Paget, William Swallow, John Hucksley, Thomas Wilcox, John Moris, Richard Downto, and John Smith, esqrs.

For the liberties of Westminster,

Sir Robert Pye, Sir William Ashton, Sir John Corbet, knights; John Glyn, John Trenchard, and William Wheeler, esqrs; John Brigham, George Beverhasset, Anthony Withers, and William Barns, gentlemen; Josias Fendal, William Bell, esqrs.; ——— ——— Tuckey, ——— Colchester, Steven Higgons.

For the county of Norfolk, and the city and county of the city of Norwich,

Sir Thomas Woodhouse, Sir John Holland baronet, Sir John Pots, Sir John Hubbert, baronets; Sir Miles Hubbert, Sir Thomas Huggen, knights; John Cook, John Spelman, Philip Beddingfield, Samuel Smith, the sheriffs of Norwich, the bailiffs of Yarmouth, Thomas Toll, and John Percival of Lynn, Thomas Windham, Francis Jermy, Robert Wood, Gregory Caufel, John Haughton, Thomas Weld, Martin Sedley, Thomas Sotherton, esqrs. Sir Edmond Mountford, knight; William Hevingham, William Cook, Robert Rich, esqrs. Sir Richard Bern, Sir Isaac Asley, Sir John Palgrave, knights, and Brig Fountain, John Tooley, esqrs.

For the county of Northampton,

Sir Rowland Saint-John, knight of the bath, Sir John Norwich knight, and Gilbert Pickering baronet, Sir Richard Samuel knight, John Crew, John Barnard, Edward Harvey, Edward Farmer, John Norton, John Chappool, esqrs.; Sir John Drayden baronet, and Richard Knightly esq.; Sir Christopher Yelverton knight and baronet, Zouch Tate, esq. Philip Holeman, esq. Thomas Pentlow, esq.

For the town of Northampton,

The mayor for the time being, Thomas Martin and John Fisher, aldermen.

For the town of Newcastle,

John Blackeston, esq.

For the county of Northumberland,

Sir John Fenwick baronet, Sir John Dalevel knight, Thomas Middleton, William Shaftoe, Michael Welden, and Henry Oge, esqrs.

For the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed,

John Sleigh mayor, Sir Robert Jackson knight, Ralph Salkeld, esq.

For the county of Nottingham,

Francis Peirpoint esq.; Sir Francis Thornhaugh, Sir Thomas Hutchinson knight, Francis Thornhaugh, Joseph Widmerpool, Robert Reyns, Gilbert Millington, and John Hutchinson, esqrs.; Francis Molinox knight, Charles White and Henry Ireton, esqrs.

For the county of the town of Nottingham,

The mayor for the time being, James Chadwick, esq.; Hantington Plumtry, doctor in physic, John James alderman, and John Gregory gentleman.

For the county of Oxon,

For the county of Rutland,

Sir Edward Harrington knight, Evers Armyn, Robert Horsman, John Osborn, Christopher Brown, Robert Horsman, junior, and Thomas Wait, esq.

For the county of Suffolk,

Sir William Pleyters knight and baronet, Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston knight, Sir William Spring baronet, Sir Roger North, Sir Thomas Barnardiston, Sir William Soam, Sir John Wentworth, Sir Philip Parker, knights; William Heveningham, Nathaniel Bacon of Freston, Nicholas Bacon, Maurice Barrow, William Blois, Henry North, Robert Brewster, Brampton Gourdon, Francis Bacon, Theophilus Vaughan of Beccles, William Cage, William Rivit of Bilson, Edmund Hervey, John Gourdon, Thomas Cole, esqrs.; John Basse, Francis Brewster, gentlemen; the bailiffs of the town of Ipswich that now are, John Sickclemer, Richard Puplet, John Aldus, gentlemen; Nathaniel Bacon of Ipswich.

For St. Edmonds-bury,

Samuel Moody, Thomas Cole, ——— Chaplin; the bailiffs of the town of Aldborough for the time being, Thomas Gibs, alderman, Thomas Johnson.

For the county of Surrey,

Sir Richard Onslow, Sir William Elliot, Sir Robert Parkhurst, knights; Nicholas Stoughton, George Evelin of Wotton, Henry Weston, Arthur Onslow, esq.; Sir Ambrose Brown baronet, Sir Anthony Vincent knight and baronet, Sir John Dingley, Sir Matthew Brand, knights; Edward Sanders, Robert Holman, Robert Houghton, George Evelin, Francis Drake, Thomas Sands, George Myn, William Muschamp, esqrs.; Sir John Holland, and Sir John Evelyn, knights; Robert Goodwyn, George Fairwel, and John Goodwyn, esqrs.; Richard Wright, and Cornelius Cook, gentlemen.

For the county of Sussex,

Sir Thomas Pelham baronet, Anthony Stapley, Herbert Morley, Thomas Whitfield, John Baker, Herbert Hay, esqrs.; Herbert Springate of the Broyl, Ralph Cooper, Hall Ravescroft, Edward Apsley, John Downs, William Cowly, Edward Higgons, Thomas Chate, George Oglander, George Simson, John Busbridge, Thomas Middleton, James Temple, esqrs.; Captain Thomas Collin, Captain Carlton, Captain Everton.

For the county of Somerset,

Sir John Horner, Sir Thomas Worth, Sir George Farwel, knights; Clement Walker, Alexander Popham, Edward Popham, William Strode, Richard Cole, John Harrington, John Hippesly, William Long, John Preston, Henry Henly, Henry Stamford, John Pyn, James Ash, and John Ash, esqrs.; Roger Hill, George Serl, and Jesper Chaplyn, gentlemen; Richard Capel, William Bull, Robert Harbyn, John Hunt, Robert Black, esqrs.; the mayor of Bridgewater that now is.

For the county of Salop,

Sir John Corbet knight, William Pierpoint, Richard Moor, Thomas Witton, Thomas Nichols, Humphrey Mackworth, Andrew Floyd of Aston, Lancelot Lee, Thomas Hunt, and John Corbet, esqrs.

For the city of Litchfield,

The bailiffs of the said city for the time being, the sheriff of the said city for the time being; Michael Noble esq.; Richard Draffgate, Richard Baxter, and Thomas Burns, gentlemen.

For the county of Stafford,

Sir Richard Sheffington knight, Richard Poyt, Michael Rydolph, Edward Manwaring, Matthew Morton, John Birch, Ralph Rudyard, Michael Low, Michael Noble, and Edward Leigh, esqrs.; Sir Walter Wortesley, Sir Edward Littleton, Sir William Brereton, baronets.

For the county of Warwick,

The new mayor of the city of Coventry, Sir Peter Wentworth, knight of the bath, Sir Edward Peyto knight, John Hales, Godfrey Boswel, John Barker, William Purefoy, Anthony Staughton, George Abbot, Thomas Boughton, William Colemore, Thomas Basnet, William Jessen, Gamaliel Purefoy and Thomas Willoughby, esqrs.

For the county and city of Coventry,

John Barker, Isaac Bromick, and Robert Philips, esqrs.

For the county of Wilts,

Denzil Hollis esq.; Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir Edward Baynton, Sir Nevil Pool, and Sir John Evelyn, knights; Edward Baynton, Edward Tucker, William Wheeler, Edward Goddard, Alexander Tistlethwait junior, John White, Edward Pool, Thomas Moor, John Ash, and Robert Jennor, esqrs.

For the county of Westmoreland,

Sir Henry Bellingham knight and baronet, George Gilpin, Edward Wilson, Nicholas Fisher, Thomas Steddal, Rowland Dawson, and Allan Bellingham, esqrs.; Roger Bateman, Richard Branthwait, Robert Philipson, and Gervase Benson, gentlemen.

For the county of Worcester,

John Wilde, Richard Creswel, serjeants at law, Humphrey Salway, Edward Dingley, Edward Pit, Thomas Greves, and William Jeffryes, esqrs.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Veneris, 14 *April*, 1643.

IT is this day ordered by the commons house of parliament, That such particular persons of the committees or commissioners named and appointed in the several and respective ordinances of both houses of parliament, for the raising of moneys for the service of the parliament, in any cities, towns or counties of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, as shall refuse to join or sign any warrants, or to meet the rest of the committees or commissioners, or to act upon the said ordinances for the service of the parliament, expressed in the said ordinances, and shall not be detained by sickness, or other inevitable impediments, shall be reputed and taken as persons ill-affected to the service of the parliament: and it is further ordered, that the names of all such persons for refusing or neglecting this service, shall be returned to the house of commons, by the residue of the said committees or commissioners, that thereupon the said house may take order that the said persons estates shall be seized, according to the ordinance for sequestering and seizing the estates of papists and notorious delinquents.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Veneris, 14 *April*, 1643.

IT is this day ordered by the commons assembled in parliament, That Sir William Gooring, baronet, Sir Thomas Parker, Sir Thomas Henby, Sir Thomas Eversfield, knights; John Alford, Henry Gooring, Thomas Sherley, Edward Gooring, Thomas Challoner, Henry Shelley, Henry Peck, Francis Selwyn, Herbert Board, Nicholas Gildredge, John Board, George Churcher, William Hay, Henry Bridger, Thomas Anscomb, William Marlot, Thomas Jeffry, William Thomas, esqrs. be added to the committees named in the ordinances for the weekly assessments, and for seizing and sequestering the estates of papists,

notorious delinquents, &c. in the county of Sussex; and that they shall have as full and ample power to all intents, as the other committees named in the said ordinances have, might, or ought to have.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

April 21. *Anno Dom.* 1643.

IT is this day ordered by the commons in parliament assembled, That if any person, tenant or other, after notice hereof given by the publication in print, shall pay unto William Archbishop of Canterbury, John Archbishop of York, Thomas Bishop of Durham, Robert Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, Joseph Bishop of Norwich, John Bishop of Asaph, Robert Bishop of Oxon, William Bishop of Bath and Wells, George Bishop of Hereford, Matthew Bishop of Ely, Godfrey Bishop of Gloucester, John Bishop of Peterborough, Morgan Bishop of Landaff, John Bishop of Worcester, or to any such bishops, deans, deans and chapters, prebends, archdeacons, or any other person or persons ecclesiastical or temporal, as have raised, or shall raise arms against the parliament, or have been, are or shall be in actual war against the same, or have voluntarily contributed, or shall voluntarily contribute (not being under the power of any part of the king's army at the times of such contributing) any money, horse, plate, arms, ammunition, or other aid and assistance, for or towards the maintenance of any forces raised against the parliament, or for the opposing of any force or power raised by the authority of both houses of parliament, or for the robbing, spoiling, plundering, and destroying of any of the king's subjects, who have willingly contributed, or yielded obedience to the commands of both houses of parliament, or to such as have joined or shall join in any oath or act of association against the parliament, or have imposed or shall impose, any tax or assessment upon his majesty's subjects, for or towards the maintenance of any forces against the parliament, or have or shall use any force or power to levy the same, any rents, profits, fees, or other advantage or emolument due to them, or any of them, payable or chargeable upon any of their lands or offices: That such payment shall be counted as non-payment, and that they shall be liable, and shall pay the same to such, as by authority of both houses of parliament, shall be authorized to receive the same.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Sabbathi, 19 *August*, 1643.

IT is this day ordered by the house of commons, That such members of the said house as shall wilfully neglect their service in the house, by departing the cities of London and Westminster, or otherwise, without particular leave first obtained from the house, shall be reputed and taken in the same condition as those that ought to have their estates sequestered, and shall have their estates sequestered accordingly, for deserting the service of the commonwealth in the time of imminent danger.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for Explanation and further Enlargement of an Ordinance for Sequestration of Delinquents Estates.

FOR explanation and enlargement of an ordinance lately made by the lords and commons in parliament, for seizing and sequestering the estates both real and personal of certain kinds of notorious delinquents;

Be it now declared and ordained by the said lords and commons assembled, That in the number of such delinquents and papists, who shall come within the compass of the said former ordinance, and to all intents and purposes to be proceeded against as notorious delinquents or papists, expressly described in the said ordinances, shall be reckoned and accounted, all such as voluntarily absenting themselves from the usual places of their abodes or dwellings, trade, offices or employments, and have gone, or shall go to any of the king's armies, or other forces raised without consent of both houses of parliament, and have there continued, or shall there continue, and shall not within ten days after seizure or sequestration of their several goods or estates, or stay made of their rents by force of the said ordinance, (which said sequestrators are hereby required to do) shew sufficient cause to be allowed by the committee of the county, city or place in which the said seizure or sequestration, or stay of rents, is or shall be made, of such their absence, going and continuing in any of the said armies or forces: And all such as shall fraudulently embezzle, conceal, or convey away all, or any part of their goods, money or estate without valuable consideration; or not bonâ fide, thereby preventing or avoiding the payment of any taxes or assessments laid upon them by any ordinance of both houses of parliament, or any distress or seizure in case of non-payment thereof; or that after any such tax or assessments laid on them, convey themselves away, or refuse to be spoken with, whereby any tax or assessment laid upon them by ordinance of both houses of parliament, cannot be executed upon them or their estates, according to the true meaning or purport thereof; or that have had any hand in the late horrid and desperate conspiracy and treason of Waller, Tompkins, Challinor, and their confederates, whether they be already or hereafter shall be convicted to be privy or consenting thereunto (except such as being not yet convicted, shall discover and confess all that they know thereof, within the time limited by both houses of parliament, to such person or persons as are or shall be appointed to take such discoveries and confessions) or that shall sue or molest any person or persons who shall have yielded obedience or conformity unto the orders, ordinances or commands of both houses of parliament, or have been or shall be employed by authority of both the said houses, for or by reason of any thing done, or to be done, in execution or performance thereof, or that have willingly harboured any popish priests or jesuits in their houses or dwellings since the 29th of November, 1642, or that shall hereafter so harbour any: and all and every person or persons which at any time heretofore have been convicted of popish recusancy, and so continue, or that have been or shall be thereof indicted, and such their indictments removed by certiorari, or being not removed, shall not by appearance and traverse be legally discharged, before seizure or sequestration made of their goods or estates, or stay of their rents, by force of this or the said former ordinance; or that have been at mass at any time within one whole year before the 26th day of March, 1643, or shall hereafter be at mass; or whose children or grand-children, or any of them living in house with them, or under their or any of their tuition and government, shall be brought up in the popish religion.

And all such persons as being of the age of twenty-one years, or above, shall refuse to take the oath hereafter expressed; which oath any two or more of the said committees for sequestration, in every county, city or place respectively, or any two justices of the peace, or the mayor, bailiffs, or other head-officer of any city or town-corporate, shall have power to administer to any such person or persons; the tenor of which oath followeth *in hæc verba*, viz.

The oath.

I A. B. do abjure and renounce the pope's supremacy and authority over the catholic church in general, and over myself in particular; and I do believe, that there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the elements of bread and wine after consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever; and I do also believe, that there is not any purgatory; and that the consecrated host, crucifixes, or images, ought not to be worshipped, neither that any worship is due unto any of them; and I also believe, that salvation cannot be merited by works. And all doctrines in affirmation of the

said points, I do abjure and renounce, without any equivocation, mental reservation, or secret evasion whatsoever, taking the words by me spoken, according to the common and usual meaning of them. So help me God.

Shall forfeit as papists within this and the said former ordinances, and seizure and sequestration of two third parts of all their goods and estates real and personal, and sale of such proportion of their goods so seized and sequestered, shall be made, and their rents and estates disposed of, in such manner and proportion, and by such persons as by the said ordinance of sequestrations is appointed for papists.

And for the better discovery of such delinquents and papists, in this and the said former ordinance described, and of their estates; Be it further ordained by the said lords and commons, that over and besides the former power given by the said ordinance of sequestration to the persons trusted and employed in the said service, the said committees for sequestrations, or any two or more of them respectively, shall have power further hereby to examine by oath or otherwise, all and every person or persons (other than the parties themselves so declared to be delinquents) that probably may be able to discover such delinquents and papists, or that may be trusted with, or privy to the keeping or concealing of the goods or estates of any such delinquents and papists, or that shall owe any thing to any such delinquent or papist; and such as shall refuse so to be examined, or to declare the whole truth therein, so far as he shall be so required, shall be committed to safe custody by the said committee, or any two or more of them, employed for their examinations, till he or they shall conform him, her or themselves.

And that such person or persons as shall first find out, and discover to one or both houses of parliament, or to any committee authorized for this service, or to any of their agents or officers, any such moneys, goods, debts, or estates (if the same be embezzled, elovned, concealed, or conveyed away, as aforesaid) shall do therein an acceptable service to the commonwealth, and shall have and receive for his pains therein, twelve pence in every twenty shillings, so discovered after seizure or sale thereof made, and receipt of the money arising thereupon, or out of the rents or estate so discovered, the same to be paid unto him by the respective committees or treasurers, trusted with the moneys that shall be received upon the sale or proceed thereof, without any further or other warrant, and shall further receive such other reward for his extraordinary service therein, as by the said lords and commons shall be further appointed and ordered. And for the more speedy and effectual seizure, and obtaining possession of all such debts, goods, and estates as aforesaid, discovered or to be discovered,

It is further ordained, That over and besides the power given by the said former ordinance for sequestration, the several and respective committees, appointed for this service, or any two or more of them, shall hereby have power to authorize their several collectors, and agents employed herein, to break open all locks, bolts, bars, doors, or other strength whatsoever, where any such estates, moneys, or goods, are or shall be, upon probable grounds made appear to the said committees, or any two of them, and by them allowed in writing under their hands, to be provided that some or one of the said committee, or the solicitor or constable, or some other known officer of that county or place, and one other person or persons of credit and trust be present at the doing thereof: and be it further ordained, That an exact inventory, subscribed by all their hands, be taken of all particulars whatsoever, which shall be seized by virtue of these ordinances: and one part of the said inventory in writing so subscribed, delivered to the owner or owners of the said money, goods or estates, or other things so inventoried, or to some person trusted with the keeping thereof. And that where any rents, debts, or estate pertaining to any delinquent or papist within this or the said former ordinance for sequestration shall be found due, and the debtor refuseth or neglecteth to pay the same, upon any pretence whatsoever, reasonable time being given to provide it, after it become payable, and demand thereof made, the said committees, their collectors or other agents, whom they shall authorize thereunto under

their hands in writing, shall hereby have power to distrain, seize, carry away, and sell so much of the goods and estate of every such person so refusing or neglecting as aforesaid, as may fully satisfy the said rents or other debts, together with all charges of seizure, removal, and sale of goods for satisfaction of the said rents or debts: and if any person or persons shall stand out or forbear to make payment of any sum or sums of money which he or they ought to pay by virtue of this or any other ordinance of both houses of parliament whatsoever, made for the raising of moneys, until a distress be taken for the same, that then he or they so standing out or forbearing, shall pay such double charges or all such seizures, removal, and sale of their goods, as the committee or any two or more of them respectively shall allow or appoint; the same to be levied and taken out of the goods and estates of such persons so standing out or forbearing, by such as shall be employed to distrain for, and seize the principal sum. And if any person or persons shall undertake for the forthcoming of any goods or estate at any time seized, by force of this or the said former ordinance, all and every the said goods and estate shall be particularly inventoried, and the inventory thereof signed and subscribed by three or more persons of credit, and after given in to the committee under whom the persons making the seizure shall be employed; and after it shall happen, that any of the said goods or estate be embezzled, or wanting, or be denied or refused, or not delivered to the said respective committee, or to their collectors, requiring the same by order of the said committee, or any two or more of them respectively, that then the said committee, or such as they shall authorize thereunto, shall have power to seize, carry away, and sell so much of such undertaker's goods or personal estate, and profits of his lands and tenements, as may fully satisfy for the goods or estate so wanting, embezzled, or not delivered; and also so much double charges for the seizure, carriage, and sale of the said undertaker's goods or estate so to be seized and sold, as the said committees, or any two or more of them shall allow.

And for the better enabling of the said several committees and their agents, to make sale of all such goods and estates as are and shall be by them seized, and are appointed to be sold by this or the said former ordinance,

It is further declared and ordained, That after the apportioning and setting out of some necessary maintenance (if it be denied) for the wives and children of such delinquents, whose goods and estates are and shall be seized (which allowance or maintenance, the said several and respective committees, or any two or more of them respectively, shall hereby have power to make, so as they allow not the wife and children of one delinquent, above one-fifth of his goods and estate so seized) they shall authorize and require their collectors and agents, to make sale of the residue or remainder of the said goods by the candle, for ready moneys to be paid at the delivery of the goods so sold, within ten days after the seizure thereof, giving notice of the said sale in writing, upon some posts or walls in the most open and eminent places near the place of sale, two days before the said sale, due appraisement being first made thereof by two skilful appraisers, being men of some quality, and known integrity, from time to time to be chosen, with the advice of the solicitor for sequestrations, by the committee trusted with the seizure and sale of the said goods; which appraisement shall be made in the presence of some of the said committee, solicitor or treasurer of the same county, city or place respectively, and not otherwise: and for the more speedy dispatch hereof, it is further ordained, That the committee of lords and commons for sequestrations, shall receive no information against the particular committee of any county, city or place for sequestration, in any cause of this kind, till the matter hath first been certified under the hands of two or more of the said respective committees, by whose agents and ministers the goods or estate of the delinquents were seized: or in case the said committees refuse to certify the special matter, or that otherwise certificate cannot be had. And be it ordained, That honest, able, and sufficient collectors be appointed in every county, city and place for this service, and their neglects or defaults be certified to the houses, or to the committee of lords and commons for sequestrations.

And that all and every person or persons, who shall be employed in this service, or shall

do any thing in pursuance of this or the said former ordinance for sequestrations, shall therein have the protection of both houses of parliament for their indemnity, and be held and esteemed as persons doing an acceptable service to the commonwealth.

And it is further ordained, That every collector within every county, city and place respectively, who shall receive any moneys in kind, or make sale of any goods, shall deliver the moneys so received or raised by sales, to the committee for sequestrations within the said county, city or place, where such moneys shall be received, or to such treasurer as they shall appoint, or other person authorized to receive the same, within seven days next after the said collectors receipt thereof, upon pain of forfeiture of twelve-pence for every twenty shillings received or levied by sale as aforesaid, and remaining in his or their hands; which committee or treasurer shall take order for the safe sending of all and every sum so received, to the treasurer at Guildhall in London, appointed for this purpose, monthly, or more often, as they shall be thereunto required by the said treasurer at Guildhall, or by the said committee of lords and commons for sequestrations, or by the committee of lords and commons for advance of moneys; and that the several committees, collectors, and treasurers respectively, shall have power to give acquittances and discharges for the several sums by them received, which shall be sufficient discharges to the parties concerned in that behalf.

And it is further ordained and declared, That Mr. Hobson, Mr. Bernardiston, Mr. Hill, and Mr. Samuel Avery, citizens of London, shall be and are hereby appointed and authorized to be treasurers at Guildhall, London, to receive all moneys raised and to be raised upon, or by virtue of this, or the said former ordinance for sequestrations, and shall make entries thereof in fair books, to be provided for that purpose, as also of the names of the persons from whom, and the time when they receive the same, and of their disbursements and payments out; for which their pains and service, they shall have three pence in every pound, which they shall so receive, to be debated out of the said sums received.

And it is further ordained, That no treasurers trusted with any part of the said moneys, shall issue out any of the said moneys by way of payment, loan, or otherwise (except as in this ordinance is appointed) otherwise than and in such manner as is directed by former ordinance for issuing out of moneys: and for the more exact and perfect keeping of all accounts touching the premises, it is yet further ordained, That every collector shall from time to time, make and keep a sure and perfect inventory of all and every the moneys, goods and estates by him seized, another of the sale or other disposals thereof; both of which shall be subscribed under the hands of two or more persons of credit, that were present at the said seizures or sales, besides his own, and that he make and ingross a duplicate thereof in parchment, fairly written, one part whereof he shall leave with the particular committee under which he is employed; and the other part, after examination thereof, he shall deliver to the solicitor for that place, who shall transmit the same to the committee of lords and commons for advance of money, subscribed by the said solicitor and collector, and two of the said particular committee of the place from whence it is transmitted, all which accounts and duplicates shall be made and sent up to London in such manner, and so often as the said committee of lords and commons for advance of money, shall from time to time order and appoint. Provided always, and be it ordained, That it shall be lawful for the respective committees for sequestrations, or any two or more of them, to accept of ready money for the goods of the said delinquents or papists, or any of them which shall be or are to be seized, according to the value thereof, in lieu and satisfaction of the said goods, and thereupon the seizure and sequestration, as to the same to be discharged.

And be it ordained, That if any person shall wittingly or willingly conceal and harbour any of the goods of any delinquents within this or the said former ordinance (he knowing such person to be a delinquent) that then such persons shall forfeit treble the value thereof, to be levied upon his or their goods and estates, by the said respective committee or sequestrators, or any two or more of them, or their agents, to the uses appointed by the said ordinances for delinquents estates.

19 *August*, 1643.

Ordered by the commons in parliament, That this ordinance be forthwith printed and published.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

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21 *September*, 1643.

An Ordinance for the due and orderly receiving and collecting of the King's, Queen's, and Prince's Revenue, and the Arrearages thereof.

THE lords and commons assembled in parliament, taking into their serious considerations the many heavy pressures and most grievous calamities which now lie upon this kingdom, by this bloody and unnatural war raised against the parliament; and that notwithstanding all their faithful and constant endeavours for the preserving of his majesty and the whole kingdom from the most cruel and endless designs of papists, delinquents, and ill-affected persons, yet their counsels and practices are still so prevalent with his majesty, and the hearts of many people so misled and beguiled by their false pretences and specious insinuations, that nothing can be expected but the extirpation and final subversion of our religion, laws, and liberties, unless God of his infinite mercy prevent, and incline his majesty's heart to the faithful advice of his great council of parliament, which hath ever been, and is (under God) the chief support of his royal crown and dignity, and the security of all that we have or can enjoy; and for that it is found by woful experience, that divers ill-affected persons, by pretence of his majesty's authority, have and do still daily seize upon divers and sundry great sums of money, raised and collected in divers parts of this kingdom by acts and ordinances of parliament, for the relief of the poor distressed protestants in Ireland, the suppressing and subduing of those most barbarous and bloody rebels, and for the defence of this kingdom and parliament, and do divert and employ the same, and likewise his majesty's revenue, and all other moneys of the well-affected persons whatsoever, by rapine or violence, they can lay hands on, to the fomenting, nourishing, and maintaining, of these miserable distractions and unnatural war: and the lords and commons, omitting no opportunity, nor neglecting any fitting means which they conceived might divert the said war here, so violently pressed forwards by papists, delinquents, ill-affected persons, and the rebels in Ireland, did formerly ordain, that the officers of the receipt, court of wards and liveries, receivers, and others, should not repair unto Oxford, but attend the service here in the usual places: yet in contempt of the same and other ordinances, some officers are gone to Oxford, divers convey sundry sums of money thither, and others neglect their service, to the great prejudice and dis-service of the commonwealth: and to the intent that his majesty's revenues might no more be misapplied, and that the same may be employed for the good of his majesty and the commonwealth; the lords and commons therefore do ordain, and be it ordained by the said lords and commons, that all his majesty's, the queen's, and prince's revenue, of what nature or kind soever, certain or casual, within the view or survey of the court of exchequer, courts of wards and liveries, Duchy of Lancaster, Duchy of Cornwall, or in any other court of jurisdiction whatsoever, within the realm of England, dominion of Wales, and port and town of Berwick, together with all the arrears thereof, and all other debts and sums of money whatsoever, any way due to his majesty, the queen, or prince, shall be seized upon and be received by the persons hereafter named, or such others as at any time hereafter shall be appointed and nominated by the committee for the revenue; which said persons or receivers in each several county or counties, cities or places for which they are or shall be appointed respectively, are hereby authorized and required by themselves, their agents, and deputies, to take and seize into their hands and custodies all and every his majesty's, the queen's, and prince's, honours, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, rents, arrearages of rents,

revenues and profits whatsoever, within the said realm of England, dominion of Wales, and port and town of Berwick, and to let, set, and demise the same, or any part thereof from year to year; and shall have power to call before them all stewards, auditors, receivers, bailiffs, collectors, or any other officer or officers whatsoever, and to send for, or take any books of accounts, rentals, or copies of court-roll, or any other writings, touching the premises, and thereby and by all other ways and means which to them shall seem meet and necessary to inform themselves of the said revenues, debts, and arrears thereof, and of all things concerning the same, and to appoint any subordinate officer or officers, and ministers under them for the better expediting of this service; which said subordinate officers and ministers are hereby authorized, and enjoined to perform and execute all and every their commands respectively, in and concerning the premises; and shall have such allowance for their pains and charges in that behalf, as the respective persons or receivers appointed for their several counties, cities, or places, shall think fit, the same being approved of by the committee for the revenue: and that all such stewards, auditors, receivers, bailiffs, collectors, or any other officer or officers whatsoever, which have not submitted themselves to the commands and directions of any former ordinance of parliament, or to the committee for the revenues; and likewise all other such officers which shall not yield obedience to this ordinance of parliament, or to the committee for the revenue, shall stand sequestered from their several offices respectively, and from the receiving and enjoying any profit or benefit of or for the same: and the committee for the revenue, or any five, shall have power, and are hereby authorized to nominate and appoint other meet, fit, and trusty persons to supply and execute those offices and places which are or shall be sequestered as aforesaid: and the said persons or receivers nominated or to be nominated as aforesaid, their agents and deputies within their several limits respectively, shall have power, and are hereby authorized and required to enter into all and every his majesty's, the queen's, and the prince's, honours, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, courts and offices, and to receive such rents, arrearages of rents, herriots, issues, profits, sums of money, debts, and other duties, as are or shall be due and payable for or out of the same: And the fee-farmers, farmers, and the tenants thereof, officers and all others, are required to pay the same accordingly, to the said persons or receivers, or to such other officers or receivers, as shall be thereunto appointed, by virtue, and according to the direction of this ordinance, and to no other person whatsoever. And the said fee-farmers, farmers, tenants, and all others which shall pay any rent, sum of money, or other thing, according to this ordinance, shall be protected and saved harmless from any forfeiture, penalty, or damage, which he or they may incur by not payment of his or their said rent, sum of money, or other thing, according to his or their grant, lease, copy, or other agreement, by the power and authority of both houses of parliament. And if any other sheriff, receiver, collector, any other officer, or any court whatsoever, shall refuse to pay the moneys from time to time, remaining in their hands; any fee-farmer, farmer, or tenant, shall refuse to pay his or their rents, or any other shall refuse to pay their particular debts to the hands of the said persons or receivers in the several and respective counties, cities, and places, at such times as the same shall become due and payable, or to the receiver-general, hereby appointed, then the said persons or receivers for the several counties, cities, and places, shall have power to distrain for the same, and to take all other advantages for non-payment thereof, as his majesty, the queen, and prince, their officers and ministers, might have done; and they shall have power to sue for, and recover any debt, sum of money, or other duty owing to his majesty, the queen, or prince, by any person whatsoever, and also to give discharges and acquittances for any rent, sum of money, debts, duty, or other thing which they shall receive by virtue of this ordinance, and shall be accountable from time to time for the same, and for all such other things as shall be had, received, or taken by them, their agents, or deputies, and for all their receipts and payments, and other acts for or in respect of the premises, to the committee for the revenue, or to such as they shall appoint; and shall pay in from time to time, all such sums of money as they or any of them shall receive by virtue of this ordinance, unto Tho-

mas Faulconbridge, esq. at Westminster (who is hereby constituted and appointed receiver-general of all such sums of money as shall be received or raised by virtue of this ordinance) and shall be from time to time subject to the further orders and directions of the committee for the revenue; and the acquittances of the said receiver-general, and of the said persons or receivers in the several counties, cities, and places, courts and offices respectively, shall be as good and sufficient discharge for the sums of money therein contained, as if the same were paid into the receipt of the exchequer, or into any other usual court or place. And the barons of the exchequer, and all other officers and ministers of the same, and other courts and places respectively, are hereby required and authorized to give full allowances thereof, and thereupon to make forth *quietus est*, and other discharges, according to the course and custom of the several courts and places. And the said persons or receivers, their agents and deputies, shall have power to call to their aid and assistance the trained bands, volunteers, or other forces, and any other officer or minister of justice, of or within their several counties, cities or places respectively, or any other person or persons dwelling in or near the place, to compel obedience to this ordinance, where any resistance shall be made, or as oft as need shall require; and shall have power to punish such person or persons as they shall find refractory, negligent, or faulty, in the said service, by fine and imprisonment, such fine not exceeding above the sum of twenty pounds, or to certify their names to the committee for the revenue, who shall have power to send for them or any of them, and commit them to such prisons and places as they shall think fit, until they shall conform themselves to this present ordinance of parliament. And the said trained-bands, volunteers, and other forces, their commanders and officers, and also the several constables, headboroughs, and other officers and persons within their several and respective limits, are hereby required and enjoined to be aiding and assisting to the said persons or receivers, their agents and deputies, as oft as they shall be hereunto required.

And it is further ordained and declared by the said lords and commons, That all and every the said revenues, rents, profits, debts, and sums of money whatsoever, shall be employed to and for such uses and services as are or shall be directed by the committee for the revenue.

And it is likewise further ordained, That all and every the said persons or receivers, receiver-general, auditors, and other officers and ministers employed in this service by the committee for the revenue, or any five of them, shall have such allowances for their necessary charges and pains in and about the premises, as the said committee shall think fit; and that as well they as all others who shall be employed in the said service, or shall do any thing in execution or performance of this ordinance, shall be therein protected and saved harmless by the power and authority of both the said houses.

And lastly, it is ordained, That the said committee for the revenue, or any five of them, shall have power, and be hereby enabled to do and execute any other act or acts, thing or things they shall think fit, for the better and more speedy collecting, levying, advancing and receiving of all and every the said revenues, debts, and sums of money before-mentioned.

Provided, and be it further ordained, That all and singular such revenues, rents, issues, fees, profits, and sums of money, and allowances whatsoever, as have heretofore been, and now ought to be, paid and disposed unto, or for the maintenance of any college or hospital (whose revenues, or any part thereof, have not been employed for maintenance of the war against the parliament) grammar-school or scholars, or for or towards the reparation of any church, chapel, highway, cawsey, bridge, school-house, or other charitable use, which are chargeable upon, or ought to issue out of, or be paid for or in respect of any the honours, manors, lands, tenements or hereditaments, revenues or profits aforesaid, shall be and continue to be paid, disposed and allowed of, as they were and have been heretofore.

Die Sabbathi, 30 September, 1643.

Whereas the companies of London have been rated by an act of common-council, towards the raising of moneys advanced by the city for the public service; for the re-payment whereof the city is secured by ordinance of parliament. And whereas there are divers companies that are behind in the payment of the rates so assessed upon them; it is this day ordered by the lords and commons, that the said companies so in arrear do forthwith pay their rates assessed upon them; or otherwise, that the lands and revenues of the said companies shall be sequestered in the like manner as the estates and revenues of delinquents by the ordinance of sequestrations, are and ought to be sequestered.

Die Mercurii, 18 *October,* 1643.

An Order of the Lords and Commons, for the restraint of Passage from Oxford, or any other part of the King's Army to London, or to the parts adjacent, or any part of the army under the command of the Earl of Essex, both by Land and Water, upon the penalty expressed.

Ordered by the lords and commons in parliament assembled, That whatsoever person shall come from Oxford, or any part of the king's army, to London, or the parts adjacent, or to any part of the army under the command of the Earl of Essex, or to any fort or guard kept by the authority of both houses of parliament, without the warrant of both houses of parliament, or the lord-general the Earl of Essex, shall be apprehended as spies and intelligencers, and be proceeded against according to the rules and grounds of war. And it is further ordered, that the like care be taken by water, for the apprehending of the persons aforesaid: and all captains of guards, and officers, and all other persons, are required to be very diligent in apprehending the said persons: and it is further ordered, that this order be printed and published, and sent to the several courts of guard, both by water and land.

October 22, Anno Dom. 1643.

A Declaration and Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the better preventing of Spies and Intelligencers, &c.

Whereas by the frequent intercourse of persons and intelligence (contrary to the use and custom of war) between the cities of London and Westminster, and other parts of the kingdom, and the persons of the king and queen, and forces raised by the king against the parliament and kingdom, opportunity hath been given for the plotting and contriving the late treacherous and horrid design, and in case the said intercourse and intelligence should continue, the same will still be open for any other of the like nature in time to come; as also for the frequent conveying of moneys and other provision, for the supporting of this unnatural war: for the preventing whereof, be it declared and ordained by the lords and commons now assembled in parliament, That no person or persons whatsoever, shall from henceforth repair or go from the said cities of London and Westminster, or from any other part of the kingdom, unto the person of the king or queen, or lords of council abiding with him, or other, or to any person or persons within any of the king's quarters, leaguers, or garrisons, or that are within any of the armies raised by the king, nor shall give or hold any intelligence by letters, messengers or otherwise, with the persons of the king and queen, or other persons aforesaid, without consent of both houses of parliament,

or warrant from the lord general of the forces raised by the two houses, or from the respective officers that shall command in chief any of the forces. And the said lords and commons do further declare, That the person or persons who shall do the contrary thereof, shall be proceeded against as those within the ordinance for sequestration, and shall be further accounted as persons that do adhere unto those that have levied war against the parliament and kingdom, and be liable to the same punishment. And be it further declared and ordained, for the better and more effectual execution of the premises, That the person or persons that shall discover any of the offences and persons offending as aforesaid, shall have one fifth part of all such benefits and profits that shall accrue or grow by reason of the seizing and sequestering of their estates, according to the true intent and meaning of this ordinance, and of the said ordinance of sequestration. And in case any person or persons after the last of June, having knowledge of the said offenders and offences, shall not within convenient time reveal the same unto the speakers of both houses of parliament, or to the lord general, or other officers commanding in chief, the said person or persons shall incur the like penalties and forfeitures as are herein provided against the said principal offenders.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Instructions for the Committees for Sequestration of Delinquents Estates.

First, You are to use your best care and diligence for the speedy execution of the ordinance herewith sent you for the sequestration of delinquents estates, as being a matter of great necessity and importance, for the subsistence of the army raised by the parliament, and great affairs of the commonwealth.

2. You are to cause the same ordinance, and the other order for restraining the tenants and others from paying their rents and other dues to the said delinquents, to be forthwith published in all markets, and other convenient places within your several counties and divisions.

3. You are to meet and divide yourselves into several limits, and to appoint some times and places of further meeting as shall be most convenient, and to call before you, or any two or more of you at such meetings, all such officers and other persons as you shall think fit, and give them in charge the effect of the said ordinance; and thereby, and by all good ways and means, to enquire and inform yourselves of all the particulars therein contained; and where you find any doubt concerning any persons, whether he be comprehended within the said ordinance, you are to certify the same to the committee of lords and commons for this service, and in the mean time to secure the estates of such persons, until you shall receive further directions.

4. Where (after these words in the ordinance) 'such as have voluntarily contributed, or 'shall voluntarily contribute' these words following, viz. 'Not being under the power of any 'part of the king's army at the time of such contributing:' You are not to understand those latter words, of such as have willingly drawn, or consented to the drawing in of any such power, or have willingly submitted themselves thereunto.

5. You are to call before you the several tenants and other persons by whom any rents, sums of money, debts, or other duties are owing to the said delinquents or any of them, and set them a day for payment thereof: and to such tenants as shall willingly yield conformity to the said ordinance, you shall abate so much to their rack-rents, where the lands are set at an improved value (and not otherwise) as you shall think fit, according to their several conditions and necessities, not exceeding a fourth part of such improved rents.

6. You are to seize two parts of the estates both real and personal of all papists (as they are papists) and the whole estates of all other sorts of delinquents mentioned in the said ordinance, whether they be papists or others: and you are to understand by two parts of papists estates, two of their whole lands, and two of their goods and personal estate in three to be divided.

7. Upon the seizure of the goods, chattels, or personal estates of any the said delinquents, you are to cause an appraisement thereof to be made by indifferent persons, and a true inventory thereof to be taken; and to convey the same goods into some safe place or places within the county or elsewhere, there to be kept until they may conveniently be sold; and you are to sell the same, and cause them to be sold at as great rates as you can, with all convenient expedition, and in the market where conveniently it may be.

8. You have power to let all or any the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, of any the said delinquents from year to year, to such tenants as you shall think fit, and for such reasonable rents as you can get, unless you can otherwise employ the same to better advantages.

9. You are to appoint collectors for the receiving of all rents, profits, sums of money, debts, and other duties due or owing to the said delinquents or any of them, allotting the estate of any one or more of the said delinquents, to the charge of one or more collector or collectors, as shall be most convenient: and the said collectors are to send up the sums by them collected, together with a schedule of the receipts and payments (keeping a duplicate thereof) to the treasurers which shall be appointed by both houses for that service; wherein the said collectors or such as they shall send up the money by, are first to attend the said committee of lords and commons for their directions therein, and to be very careful in the safe conveying of the said money.

10. Every collector is to have such allowance for his pains and charges as you shall think fit, not exceeding three pence in every pound: and every one that shall be appointed a solicitor by the said lords and commons to see this ordinance put in execution is to have for his charges and pains therein, six pence in every pound; and every other person which shall be necessarily employed in or about the said service, is to have such allowance as you, or any two of you, or more, shall think fit: and yourselves are to be allowed such recompence for your charge and pains in this service as shall be approved of by the committee of lords and commons.

11. You are to keep books and registers of all such moneys, receipts, profits, and other part of the said delinquents estates as shall come to your hands, and of all your receipts and payments, and to be accountable for the same to both houses of parliament, or such as they shall appoint.

12. You are to take care for the safe keeping of the deeds, evidences and writings of the said delinquents, and for preserving of their houses, timber-trees and fruit-trees from waste and destruction.

13. In all other particulars concerning this business, you are to be guided and directed by the said ordinance; wherein you shall conceive any doubt, you are to certify the same to the committee of the lords and commons for this service, whereupon you shall receive such further direction in that behalf as shall be fit.

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18 November, 1643.

An Ordinance for the preservation and keeping together for public use, such books, evidences, records and writings, sequestered, or taken by distress, or otherwise, as are fit to be so preserved.

Whereas by the several ordinances for sequestrations and others, there have been within the cities of London and Westminster, sequestered and taken by distress (among other goods) divers manuscripts or written books, proceedings of courts, evidences of lands, rentals, account books, and other kinds of writings, and written papers and parchments, as also some whole libraries, and choice collections of printed books of several arts and faculties; the dispersing of which by sale or otherwise, may be much more disadvantageous or prejudicial to the public (both for the present and to posterity) and also to divers particu-

lar persons well affected to the parliament, than the benefit of their sale can any ways recompense.

The lords and commons in parliament assembled, taking the premises into consideration, do hereby ordain and command, that no committees or committee for sequestrations or distresses, in or of either of the places aforesaid, or any officers under them employed, shall or may, make sale of, or otherwise disperse or dispose of any such manuscripts, or written books, proceedings of courts, evidences of lands, rentals, account books, or other kind of writings or written papers or parchments, heretofore sequestered or taken by distress, or hereafter to be sequestered or taken by distress, by authority of any of the said ordinances; but that they, and every of them respectively, shall from time to time deliver the same into the hands and care of Algernon Earl of Northumberland, Theophilus Earl of Lincoln, and Will. Lord Viscount Say and Seal, John Selden, Francis Rous, Esqs. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Knight and Baronet, Samuel Brown, Edmond Prideaux, Gilbert Millington, Roger Hill, Walter Young, Esqs. members of the house of commons, or any two or more of them, who are to inventory the same, and leave, or put and dispose them in some such safe place or places as they shall think fit and convenient for their custody, there to remain for such public or other use as to the houses of parliament shall seem most meet and reasonable. And that the said committees and officers respectively, shall deliver all and every such whole libraries and choice collections of printed books (heretofore as aforesaid, sequestered or taken by distress, or hereafter to be sequestered or taken by distress) as the persons aforenamed, or any two of them, shall signify under their hands, and direct to be preserved from sale, and from being otherwise dispersed, and to be kept for public use, into the hands and care of the said persons, or any two of them, who are likewise to inventory the same, and leave, or put and dispose them in such safe place or places as they shall think fit and convenient, there to remain likewise for such public or other use, as to the houses of parliament shall seem most meet and reasonable.

Provided nevertheless, and it is hereby further ordained, that both the printed books and manuscripts, and all other writings or written papers, or parchments, sequestered or taken by distress, or which may hereafter be sequestered or taken by distress, or shall be subject to sequestration or distress, in any of the four inns of court, viz. the Inner and Middle Temple, Gray's-Inn and Lincoln's-Inn, or any other society of law, shall be inventoried and laid up in some convenient place, or such other society as aforesaid respectively, in such sort, and according as by the fellows of the said several inns of court, or places in the said inns of court respectively, being members of the house of commons, or by any two of the aforesaid committee appointed by this ordinance, shall be directed and ordered, there likewise to remain for such public or other use, as to the houses of parliament shall seem most meet and reasonable.

Provided also, that nothing in this ordinance contained shall be any hindrance to the assembly of divines, or any of that assembly, but that they or any of them (during the time that assembly shall usually sit) may use and be permitted to take with them for their present use, any of the said manuscript books, or any books of the said libraries or collections, so that they respectively leave in the place where they take them, a note subscribed by them of what they so take, and of the time of such their taking it, and of their promise safely to return it.

And be it further also ordained by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the committee and committees of sequestrations and distresses, or either of them, in all and every other place whatsover respectively, and all and every the officers under them employed respectively, shall preserve and keep safe from sale, dispersion and destruction, all and every the evidences of lands, rentals, account-books, proceedings of courts, and all and every other kind of written books, papers or parchments by them respectively sequestered or taken by distress, or to be sequestered or taken by distress; and the same shall respectively leave, or put and dispose in some place or places of safe custody, for such public or further use as the houses of parliament shall direct or command. And that all and every the officers of the army, and of all and every the forces raised by the authority of the houses of parlia-

ment, and all and every the soldiers under them, shall respectively upon all occasions, and in all places, take like care for the preservation of all kinds of evidences of lands, rentals, account-books, proceedings of courts, and all and every other written papers or parchments that shall or may fall into their hands or power, that they and every of them may be safely likewise kept as aforesaid, both from sale or other dispersion of them, as also from spoil and destruction.

Die Jovis, 30 Novem. 1643.

Whereas divers persons have been assessed upon the ordinances of parliament for the twentieth part, weekly assessments, subsidies, and other payments: many of which have refractorily and wilfully suffered the days for payment of the sums assessed to be elapsed, and covertly conveyed away their goods from their houses, and absented their persons, to avoid payment for their assessments; or else have suffered imprisonment, and their houses to stand empty, whereby they might be free from bearing part of these common taxes and charges which the necessities for these troublous times require: For remedy whereof, and better satisfaction of the sums assessed on such persons: it is this day ordered by the lords and commons assembled in parliament, that such persons as shall be appointed by the committee of money and other necessaries for the army, shall have power to let, set, or rent forth, to such persons, and for such time, fine and rent as they shall think fit, the houses of any persons who are already imprisoned for their assessments, or absent themselves for non-payment of their assessments; and the moneys raised by the rents of the said houses, to convert and employ towards satisfaction of the same assessments and payments: And that such persons as shall take the same houses, shall discharge the head rents due to be paid for such houses, as also the duties to the parish during their abode in the same; and the persons so taking and leasing the said houses, shall be saved harmless and indemnified against the persons imprisoned, or absenting themselves as aforesaid, by the power and authority of both houses of parliament.

May 27, 1644.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the better execution of the former Ordinances for Sequestration of Delinquents and Papists Estates.

Whereas the former ordinances of the lords and commons assembled in parliament for sequestration of delinquents estates, have not been put into such effectual and speedy execution in divers places as was expected, to the great disservice of the commonwealth.

For remedy thereof, and for the more speedy collecting and bringing in of all such moneys, rents and goods as are or shall be due upon the said ordinances, or any of them, the said lords and commons do further declare and ordain in manner and form following:

1. That the several sequestrators and committees, heretofore or hereafter to be appointed by authority of parliament, and the several solicitors, collectors, treasurers, appraisers, and all other persons by them employed by virtue of the said ordinances, or either of them, shall within ten days after notice of this present ordinance to them given, or before the intermeddling therewith, take this ensuing oath:

'I A. B. do swear, That I shall and will truly, according to the trust reposed in me, exe-
'cute for the best advantage of the commonwealth, all and every of the ordinances made by
'the lords and commons in parliament assembled, for sequestration of delinquents and pa-
'pists estates: and that I shall not for fear, favour, reward or affection, spare, connive at, or
'discharge any of the said delinquents or papists. So help me God.'

Which oath shall be taken by the said committees before any deputy-lieutenant, justice of peace of the county, city, borough or place where such committees shall sit, who are by this ordinance authorized to administer the said oath, and by the said solicitors, col-

lectors, appraisers, and other officers, before the said committees, or any two of them, who are also hereby authorized to administer the same; which said deputy lieut. justices of peace, and committees respectively, are hereby required and enjoined, to certify unto the speaker of the house of commons the names of all such persons as shall take the said oath, and also the names of all such as shall neglect or refuse to take the same.

II. That all officers, and every other person whatsoever, who hath in his custody any goods of any person whose estate is sequestered, shall bring the same into the several and respective committees of sequestration within the said county, within ten days after notice of this ordinance, or otherwise within five days after the expiration of the said ten days, pay ready money to the committees for the same, according to such rates as they shall be appraised upon oath, by two able appraisers appointed by the said committees; and in default of bringing in such goods or payment for the same, shall forfeit for every week he or they shall detain or not pay the same, the sum of two shillings six-pence for every twenty shillings worth of such goods, to the use of the commonwealth.

III. That all suspensions of sequestrations of any delinquents or papists estates, made by the committees in any county or corporation, without express order of both houses of parliament, shall be forthwith taken off and cleared, and no suspension or excuse of persons sequestered allowed, but what is warranted by the ordinances of both houses.

IV. That all debts made for goods sold, shall within ten days after this ordinance, be paid in by the persons owing the same, to the treasurers of the several places where they are due, and in default thereof, the said debts immediately after the said ten days, to be paid by the several parties that sold the same, under pain of forfeiting the sum of two shillings six-pence in every pound, for every week they remain unpaid after the said ten days, in regard the ordinances appoint no sale but for ready moneys.

V. That all the sequestered houses and lands now standing void and unlet, shall forthwith be let, tenanted or improved by the respective committees and their officers, for the best advantage of the commonwealth, upon pain of such punishments, in case of wilful negligence as the houses shall inflict.

VI. That active, able, trusty men, who will diligently attend this service, shall be added to all committees of sequestrations where there is cause, and that the committees of accounts of the kingdom shall from time to time present the names of such persons to both houses of parliament.

VII. That the several committees for sequestration in each county, three or more of them shall constantly meet and sit upon this service two set days at the least every week to be by them appointed, and shall increase or alter the number of their collectors; and if any neglect or misdemeanour shall be found in any solicitor in the execution of his said office, the said committees, or any three or more of them shall certify the same unto the committee of lords and commons for sequestrations.

VIII. That no treasurer appointed by the sequestrators, shall be allowed above two pence in the pound for moneys received by him, and that every committee and treasurer residing in the city of London, or within the line of communication, who shall receive any sum or sums of moneys upon sequestrations, shall pay the same to the treasurers for sequestrations at Guildhall, London, within six or eight days after his or their receipt thereof; and the committees and treasurers that are to pay in their money to the said treasurers at Guildhall aforesaid, residing within forty miles from London, shall pay the moneys they receive within fifteen days after the receipt thereof; and such committees and treasurers who live above forty miles from London, shall within thirty days after the receipt thereof pay the same to the said treasurers, under pain of forfeiting two shillings six-pence in the pound for every week he or they shall detain the same, after the respective times herein limited.

IX. That the several collectors and solicitors for sequestrations, that have not heretofore pursued, or shall not hereafter pursue the several ordinances of sequestrations, and the trust thereby in them reposed, shall be disallowed upon their accounts, all fees, or sums of money appointed unto them by any ordinance whatsoever.

X. That the several solicitors and collectors for sequestrations, shall from henceforth keep several exact accounts of all goods, lands, rents and profits sequestered, and enter the same into several books of accounts to be kept for that purpose, and shall within ten days next after notice of this present ordinance, make several books of accounts of all debts, rents, and profits then in arrear, unreceived and uncollected, and of the particulars and values of all the goods, lands, rents, tenements, and revenues of every person sequestered within their several divisions, and shall likewise quarterly make and deliver the like accounts unto the several committees under whom they are employed, to the end the certain value of the sequestration may be discovered, and a constant revenue raised.

XI. And it is further ordained by the said lords and commons, that all and every of the penalties in and by this present ordinance imposed, or to be inflicted upon any person or persons offending contrary to this ordinance, or any article therein contained, shall be levied by the said respective committees, their collectors and agents, by distress and sale of the parties goods so offending.

XII. And it is further ordained, that no committee or committees whatsoever, shall without valuable consideration dispose of any sequestered goods, or make any loan thereof, without the consent of both houses of parliament.

XIII. That all officers and every other person whatsoever, who hath detained in his hands any sequestration moneys, or hath received any of the said moneys without a sufficient warrant for his so doing, and contrary to former ordinances, shall bring and pay all such moneys so by them detained or received to the treasurers for sequestrations at Guildhall, London, within twenty days after notice of this ordinance, and in default thereof, shall forfeit two shillings six-pence for every twenty shillings for every week he or they shall detain or not pay the same to the uses aforesaid; and the moneys so detained together with the said forfeiture, shall be levied by the said respective committees, their collectors or agents, by distress or sale of the parties goods so offending; and where no sufficient distress can be found, the parties so offending to be committed to prison, till the money be paid as aforesaid.

XIV. And it is further ordained, that for the prevention of all fraudulent and indirect dealing, and for the present and future satisfaction of the kingdom, all treasurers and collectors in the associated counties under the command of the right honourable Edward Earl of Manchester, as also in the county of Kent and Surrey, where by several ordinances of parliament, they have power to detain one third part of all the sequestration money within the said counties, for the better maintaining of the forces by them raised respectively, for the preservation of the parliament and kingdom, shall bring in to the treasurers for sequestrations at Guildhall, London, every three months, or oftener if they shall be thereunto required, an exact account of all the sequestration moneys, by them received and issued out for the third part as aforesaid, or otherwise, and produce receipts for the same, to the end the said treasurers at Guildhall may keep account of all the sequestration moneys, as by former ordinances was ordained, and to take care that the said moneys be equally divided and applied, as by the said ordinance is intended; and that the like course is to be observed by all particular men for all sequestration moneys they shall receive, in any county or place under the power or command of the parliament, by virtue of any particular ordinance obtained by them, that they may receive no more than is intended and appointed by their several ordinances respectively.

XV. And it is further ordained, that John Madden, gentleman, shall be a general solicitor for the better execution of this and the former ordinances of sequestrations, and is hereby authorized to keep due correspondence with all committees, solicitors, treasurers, collectors, and other officers employed about the sequestrations, and shall give his best advice and assistance to the said treasurers at Guildhall, for the better promoting and advancing of the said service: and when he shall discover any obstruction or disorder in any person or persons therein employed, he shall acquaint the committee of the lords and commons for sequestration therewith: and for his pains and attendance on this service, the said treasurers at Guildhall shall pay unto him weekly twenty shillings; and shall also pay

to the said John Madden all his necessary charges and expences which he shall disburse, if he shall find it needful, with advice of the said treasurers at Guildhall, to travel into any of the counties under the power and command of the parliament, for the better and more speedy effecting of the premises, and for the postage of letters.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Sabbathi, 14 *Septemb.* 1644.

Ordered by the lords and commons assembled in parliament, that no trees or underwood be felled, or cut in Birch-wood, Cranborn-chase, or in any other of the parks, forests, chases, or woods of the king's, under the power of the parliament, by virtue or colour of the ordinance of parliament for felling of woods for the city, without the knowledge, consent, and allowance of the committee of the king's revenue: and that whatsoever timber, or other wood is already felled and cut in any of these places, that none of it shall be carried away, without the consent and allowance of the said committee. And that those who have felled any trees, or received or brought in any of the trees in and of the forests, parks, or woods, be brought to an account by the committee of the revenue.

Die Veneris, 18 *Julii*, 1645.

Ordered by the commons assembled in parliament, that all the fee-farm-rents, other rents and revenues whatsoever payable to the crown out of any lands throughout the kingdom, and the arrears thereof, shall be paid in to the respective receivers thereof in the several counties by those in whose hands they are: and are not to be accounted for part of the sequestrations, or to be detained by any sequestrators by colour of any ordinances or orders for sequestrations whatsoever.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

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8 September, 1645.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for taking away the Fifth part of Delinquents Estates, formerly granted by an Ordinance of Parliament for maintaining of the Wives and Children of Delinquents.

Whereas by a late ordinance of sequestration it is among other things declared and ordained, that the committees of the several counties shall have power to assign maintenance out of the lands of delinquents, to their several wives and children, so as the same exceed not the fifth part of the lands or goods so sequestered: and whereas by occasion hereof, divers wives and children of delinquents may resort hither, only to obtain the said fifth part, and may be ready to do ill offices to the parliament; the lords and commons, to prevent the said mischief, and other of like nature, do ordain, that no wife, child or children of any delinquent, who shall come from their own habitation into the parliament's quarters, with or without their fathers and husbands, from the king's quarters, shall have, hold, and enjoy any fifth part by the said ordinance: and therefore they do ordain, that all such allowances hereafter to be made to such wife or children, shall be utterly void. And if any such wife, child or children shall return from the king's quarters, without leave of both houses; the deputy-lieutenants and committees of parliament in the several counties, or any two of them, or any of them, are hereby authorized and required to take care that they be commanded to return back into the king's quarters; and if they shall not return upon command given to them by the deputy-lieutenants or committee, or any two of

them, they shall hereby have power to commit them, until they shall give security for to return. And be it further ordained, that no children of any delinquents shall have any fifth part, but such as shall be educated and brought up in the Protestant religion.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Martis, 18 *Novem.* 1645.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for constituting and appointing a Committee of Lords and Commons, for the better ordering, directing, and disposing of the Rents, Issues and Profits belonging to the College and Collegiate Church of Westminster.

Whereas the college and collegiate church of Westminster have been heretofore governed and regulated by the dean and prebends thereof, who have taken upon them the care and charge of bringing in the rents and profits belonging thereunto, for the maintenance of the scholars of the free-school, almsmen, servants, and officers belonging to the said college and collegiate church: and forasmuch as the present dean and prebends thereof (except only Mr. Lambert Osbolston) have deserted their charge, or are become delinquents to the parliament, whereby the said college and collegiate church is destitute of government; and the said school, almsmen, servants, and officers, deprived of all means of subsistence, by reason no person is appointed to take care for the same; for remedy whereof, Be it ordained by the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, That the Earl of Northumberland, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Nottingham, Earl of Denbigh, Earl of Manchester, Lord Viscount Say and Seal, Lord Willoughby, Lord North, Lord Montague, Lord Roberts, Lord Howard, Mr. Solicitor, Mr. Rous, Sir Walter Erle, Mr. Wheeler, Sir Robert Harley, Mr. Maynard, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir William Strickland, Mr. Ashurst, Sir John Clotworthy, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Gourdon, Mr. Lisle, Mr. Recorder, Sir William Massam, Sir Robert Pye, Sir John Trevor, Mr. Swalloway, Mr. Hoyl, Sir John Dreyden, Sir Henry Vane, junior, and Bulstrode Whitlock, Esq. shall be and are hereby constituted and appointed the committee in this ordinance; and that the said committee or any seven or more of them, shall have the same and the like power and authority to all intents and purposes as any dean and prebends have, or of right ought to have had in the ordering, directing, and disposing the rents, issues, and profits belonging, or in any wise appertaining to the college or collegiate church; and in doing or executing all other act or acts, thing or things that any way concerns the said college or collegiate church: provided the same extend not to the letting leases of any houses or lands belonging to the said college for above the space of three years, reserving at the least such yearly rents, profits and services, as were formerly payable out of any such lands or houses unto the said college or collegiate church: And be it further ordained by the said lords and commons, That the said dean and prebends, and all other officers, members, and servants belonging to the said college or collegiate church, and every of them that have absented themselves from their offices and places, or are delinquents, or have not taken the covenant, shall (until both houses take order to the contrary) stand and be suspended of and from their several places and offices, and of and from all manner of benefit or profit that might accrue unto them or any of them thereby, with the arrears thereof: provided this extend not to the taking away such stipend or other allowance from the said Mr. Osbolston, as of right he hath formerly received, or ought to have received as a prebend of the said collegiate church of Westminster: and the said committee or any seven or more of them, are hereby authorised to constitute and appoint fit and able persons in the room and places of such officers and servants belonging to the said college or collegiate church, as are dead, or have deserted their places, or are delinquents, or not taken the covenant as aforesaid, whose offices and places they shall

find necessary to be continued for the use and service of the said college. And be it further ordained, That the said committee, or any seven or more of them, together with the Master of Trinity College in Cambridge, and the Master of the said school in Westminster, shall hereby have the like power to elect and choose scholars into the said school, and thence to Trinity College in Cambridge aforesaid, and to Christ Church in Oxon, as by the statutes of the said college of Westminster, was invested in the dean of Westminster and Christ Church, the Master of Trinity College and Westminster school aforesaid: Provided nevertheless, when the said dean or master of Christ Church aforesaid, shall not be delinquent to the parliament, his right in the election aforesaid, according to the said statutes, shall not hereby be impeached.

And the said committee, or any seven or more of them, are hereby further authorized to place poor men in such alms-places belonging to the said collegiate church, as shall from time to time become void.

And whereas the upholding of preaching in the Abbey of Westminster aforesaid, upon the Lord's days, and the daily morning lecture there, is a work much tending to the glory of God, and comfort of the inhabitants of Westminster and places adjacent; Be it therefore further ordained, That the said committee, or any seven or more of them, shall have power hereby to make such allowances out of the revenues belonging to the said collegiate church, unto the ministers that have or shall perform the said service upon the Lord's day, and week days aforesaid, as they shall think fit.

And it is lastly ordered and ordained, That all and every person and persons that shall do or perform any thing in conformity to this present ordinance, shall be saved and kept harmless by authority of both houses of parliament.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Jovis, 8 *Julii*, 1646.

Ordered by the commons assembled in parliament, That all such persons as have presented their petitions at Goldsmiths-hall, or agreed to their compositions, and shall not come in before the first of August next, and prosecute their compositions to effect, shall lose the whole benefit of the favour intended by their compositions, and be reputed among those that still stand out, and have not rendered themselves to the parliament.

This to be forthwith printed and published; and that the care hereof be referred to the committee at Goldsmiths-hall.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Martis, 25 *Augusti*, 1646.

An Order of the Commons assembled in Parliament, for limitation of the Committee for Fifth and Twentieth part at Haberdashers-hall.

Ordered by the commons assembled in parliament, That the power of the committee at Haberdashers-hall shall not extend from henceforth to any person or persons whatsoever, for assessing them for any fifth part, or for any fifth or twentieth part, save only unto such person or persons as are or have been delinquents to the parliament, and unto such persons as have not voluntarily contributed in any place whatsoever to the parliament.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Jovis, 3 Septembris, 1646.

Ordered by the commons assembled in parliament, That it be referred to the committee at Goldsmiths-hall, to compound with all such delinquents as have come in upon mercy, sithence the first day of May last, according to the highest rate in the propositions; and that the said committee do upon their report, state the nature of the delinquencies, and the time of the coming in of all such persons with whom they shall make any such compositions: and that the time given to all such delinquents as are comprised within this order, to prosecute their compositions in with effect, shall be until the third day of October next; and in default of such prosecuting of their compositions within that time, that then their whole estates shall be forfeited and sold; and that this order be forthwith printed and published.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Veneris, 23 Octobris, 1646.

Ordered by the commons assembled in parliament, That the judges and serjeants of the several serjeants inns, the benchers of the several inns of court, and the members of this house of the said several inns of court respectively do take care, That no persons who have adhered to the enemy against the parliament, be permitted to come again into any of their chambers, or be admitted into any of the serjeants inns, inns of court, or inns of chancery, or to live in any of the said societies.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Martis, 10 *Novembris,* 1646.

Several Votes of the Commons assembled in Parliament, concerning Delinquents.

Resolved, &c. That the committee of sequestrations in the several counties, do return to the committee at Goldsmiths-hall, all the names of papists and delinquents, which are or have been sequestered by them respectively in their several counties; and a particular list of all the estates of such persons, and to whom they have been let during the sequestration thereof, and what the values thereof were before the war.

Resolved, &c. That the estates real and personal of all papists and delinquents within the ordinances of sequestrations, not yet sequestered, and not compounded for at Goldsmiths-hall, be speedily sequestered, and the names of such delinquents sent up to the committee at Goldsmiths-hall.

Resolved, &c. That the lands and estates of such persons as are excepted in the first three qualifications of the propositions, or any part thereof, shall not be let or demised to the owners thereof, or to their bailiffs or servants, or to any person or persons in trust for them, or to their use or behoof.

Resolved, &c. That the lands and estates of other delinquents capable to be admitted to composition, sequestered, or which shall be sequestered, in the several respective counties, or any part thereof, shall not in any case be let or demised unto the owners thereof, or to their bailiffs or servants, or to any other persons in trust for them, or to their use or behoof, unless such delinquents shall by certificate from the committee at Goldsmiths-hall make it appear, that they are in their actual prosecution of their compositions, and do proceed therein without delay on their parts.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Martis, 8 *Decemb.* 1646.

Resolved, &c. That no committee-man, sequestrator, collector, or other officer employed in the sequestrations in the several respective counties, shall by himself, or any other in trust for him or to his use, take to farm or rent, any lands or estates sequestered, or be sequestered in the said several counties where he is a committee-man, sequestrator, collector, or other officer employed in the sequestrations as aforesaid.

Resolved, &c. That all the lands and estates of papists and delinquents sequestered, and to be sequestered in the several and respective counties, shall be let out at the utmost improved yearly values that any man will give for the same; and that all leases and grants made to any delinquents or papists, the owners of the said lands and estates, or to their servants, or any in trust for them, at a lower rate and value than the same were truly worth, and might have been demised for to others, at the time of the said lease shall be void.

Resolved, &c. That all persons in the several and respective counties who have been in arms, or left their habitations, and resided in the enemies garrisons, and are liable to sequestrations, and have not tendered themselves to a composition for their estates, and prosecuted it with effect at Goldsmiths-hall, and are at liberty, and not comprised within any articles, whereby they are protected, shall be forthwith apprehended and committed to safe custody, by the committee of parliament residing in the several counties, and their names certified to the committee at Goldsmiths-hall. Provided, That such persons whose estates real or personal are not worth two hundred pounds, be hereby pardoned and discharged from sequestration, they coming in according to the time limited in the propositions, and taking the negative oath and covenant.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

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4 January, 1647.

An Order of the Commons assembled in Parliament, for the taking off the Privilege and Protection of any persons belonging to any Member of the said House, or for or concerning the Lands or Estate of any Members of the said House.

The commons in this present parliament assembled, having a tender regard to the general good of this kingdom; and considering the many weighty affairs which hath prolonged this present session of parliament, during which time by reason of the privileges of parliament, the prosecution of just suits may be too much delayed; for the present remedy whereof, the said commons being willing to forbear for some time their own interest and privilege for the public good, Do order, and be it ordered by the commons in this present parliament assembled, That no person or persons under the authority of the said house, except the members thereof, shall from the twentieth day of this instant January, *Anno Dom.* 1647, during this present session of parliament, have any protection or immunity by reason of any privilege of the said house of parliament, or derived from the members thereof, or any of them, in any action or suit for debt, or any action or suit grounded upon any right or title to any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, or upon any contract upon borrowing or lending, or buying, or selling, or grounded upon any security given or to be given by lease, mortgage, or otherwise, for any sum or sums of money.

And it is hereby further ordered, That during this present session of parliament, in the cases aforesaid, the members of the said house of parliament, and every of them, their lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods and chattels, shall be subject to any action, suit,

process, execution, decree, or other demand whatsoever, in law or equity (so that the same extend not to the imprisonment or arrest of the person) or to prosecution upon any penal law.

And be it further ordered, That every member of this house, having a process delivered him for appearance in the cases aforesaid, do accordingly make his appearance, or in default, this house on complaint thereof, will take such course therein as to justice shall appertain.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Sabbathi, 15 Januarii, 1647.

A Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament; with the Resolutions of both Houses concerning the King. Together with an Order, for Imprisoning the persons, and Sequestering the Estates of any that shall act contrary to this Declaration and Resolutions.

The lords and commons assembled in parliament, after many addresses to his majesty for the preventing and ending this unnatural war raised by him against his parliament and kingdom, having lately sent four bills to his majesty, which did contain only matter of safety and security to the parliament and kingdom, referring the composure of all other differences to a personal treaty with his majesty; and having received an absolute negative, Do hold themselves obliged to use their uttermost endeavours speedily to settle the present government in such a way as may bring the greatest security to this kingdom, in the enjoyment of the laws and liberties thereof; and in order thereunto, and that the houses may receive no delays nor interruptions in so great and necessary a work, they have taken these resolutions, and passed these votes following; viz.

Resolved upon the question, That the lords and commons do declare, That they will make no further addresses or applications to the king.

Resolved, &c. By the lords and commons assembled in parliament, That no application or address be made to the king by any person whatsoever, without the leave of both houses.

Resolved, &c. By the lords and commons assembled in parliament, That the person or persons that shall make breach of this order, shall incur the penalties of high treason.

Resolved, &c. That the lords and commons do declare, That they will receive no more any message from the king; and do enjoin, That no person whatsoever do presume to receive or bring any message from the king to both or either of the houses of parliament, or to any other person.

JOHN BROWN, Cler. Parliamentorum. H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Lunæ, 17 Januarii, 1647.

Ordered by the lords and commons assembled in parliament, That this declaration and these resolutions be forthwith printed and published; and that the several knights of the shires, and burgesses that serve for the several towns and places, do send copies of the same to the several counties and places.

It is further ordered, That whatsoever person shall act contrary to this declaration and resolutions of parliament, or shall incite or encourage others so to do, shall upon due proof thereof be imprisoned, and his estate sequestered; and the offenders in the premises, after publication hereof, shall be within the several ordinances of sequestration: and all committees and commissioners of sequestrations are hereby authorized and required to take notice hereof, and to proceed to sequestration accordingly.

JOH. BROWN, Cler. Parliamentorum. H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Jovis, 11 *Novembris,* 1647.

Resolved, &c. That the wives and children of all such persons as are, have been, or shall be sequestered, by order of either house of parliament, shall be comprehended within the ordinance that allows a fifth part for wives and children, and shall have their fifth part allowed unto them; and the committee of lords and commons for sequestrations, and the committee for plundered ministers, and all other committees are required to take notice hereof, and yield obedience thereunto accordingly.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

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20 *Junii,* 1648.

Several Votes of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, concerning such as take up Arms against the Parliament of England, or assist in such War: wherein is declared that all such persons are Traitors by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, and ought to suffer accordingly.

Whereas the lords and commons in Parliament assembled, did upon the twentieth of May, 1642, for the preventing of the late war, pass these three votes:

I. That it appears, that the king (seduced by wicked counsel) intends to make war against the parliament, who in all their consultations and actions, have proposed no other end unto themselves, but the care of the kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his person.

II. That whensoever the king maketh war upon the parliament, it is a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to the dissolution of this government.

III. That whosoever shall serve or assist him in such wars, are traitors by the fundamental laws of this kingdom, and have been so adjudged by two acts of parliament, and ought to suffer as traitors, 11 Richard 2, 1 Hen. 4.

And whereas there are now at this time divers persons in arms, who endeavour to raise war against the parliament; the lords and commons assembled in parliament, for better informing of the subjects of this kingdom in their duty do now at this time declare, That it doth appear, that divers who have assisted the king in the late war against the parliament, as also divers others do endeavour to seduce the people, and do actually levy war against the parliament.

That whosoever shall make war against the parliament of England, or assist in such war, are traitors by the fundamental laws of this kingdom, and have been so adjudged by two acts of parliament, and ought to suffer as traitors, 11 Rich. 2. 1 Hen. 4.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

20 *Junii,* 1648.

Ordered by the commons assembled in parliament, That these votes be forthwith printed, and published by the sheriffs in every market-town in the several counties, at the next market days after the receipt hereof, and that the judges do deliver them in their several circuits.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Dom.

Die Lunæ, 5 Junii, 1648.

Resolved upon the question, by the lords and commons in parliament assembled, That the fifth and twentieth part be levied upon none but such delinquents as are within the ordinances of sequestrations.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Veneris, 7, Julii, 1648.

Resolved, &c. That this house doth declare, That the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Holland, Earl of Peterborough, and all that have or shall adhere to them, have and do levy war against the parliament and kingdom, and are traitors and rebels, and ought to be proceeded against as traitors and rebels.

Ordered, &c. That the several committees in the several counties and places where there lies any of the estates real or personal of the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Holland, Earl of Peterborough, or any other that have or shall adhere to them in this action of levying war against the parliament and kingdom, do forthwith proceed to the sequestration of their estates real and personal.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Sabbathi, 8 *Julii,* 1648.

Resolved upon the question by the commons assembled in parliament, That the estates real and personal of all those persons that have been formerly in arms against the parliament, and have been in the last insurrection in Kent, be forthwith sequestered.

Resolved, &c. That the estates real and personal of all those persons that have been in former insurrections in Kent, and in the last insurrection, be forthwith sequestered.

Resolved, &c. That the estates real and personal of all those persons that have been commissioners, as commanders in the late insurrection in Kent, or have been notoriously active in plunderings or imprisonments in the late insurrection in Kent, be forthwith sequestered.

Two Votes of the Commons assembled in Parliament, declaring the Forces that are now come out of Scotland into England, under the Command of Duke Hamilton, Enemies to this Kingdom; and that all persons of the English or Irish Nation that have invited, or voluntarily aided or assisted them, are Traitors and Rebels.

Die Veneris, 14 *Julii,* 1648.

Resolved upon the question, That this house doth declare, That the forces that are now come out of Scotland into England in a hostile manner under the command of Duke Hamilton, being without the authority of the parliament of England, are enemies to the kingdom of England: and that all persons of the English or Irish nation, that join with, or adhere unto, or voluntarily aid or assist them, are rebels and traitors to the kingdom of England, and shall be proceeded against as traitors and rebels.

Die Jovis, 20 *Julii*, 1648.

Resolved upon the question, That this house doth declare all such persons as are of this kingdom, that have invited the army of the Scots, now come into England under Duke Hamilton, to come into this kingdom, or have assisted that army, are traitors, and shall be proceeded against as traitors.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Lunæ, 17 *Julii*, 1648.

We the commons in parliament assembled, taking into our consideration the late high insurrection in Kent, so suddenly and wonderfully quelled by the blessing of God, upon that small part of the army under the conduct of the Lord Fairfax General, cannot but be deeply sensible of the evil demerits of such persons as have any ways had a hand therein; as also of the mischievous consequences that offenders in so high a nature should go unpunished, yet are we desirous to use all possible lenity towards those who are in any measure capable thereof.

And do therefore hereby declare, That although we see a necessity that some capital examples be made, yet shall our principal aim therein be, that all may be warned by the punishment of few.

And although others who have thus employed their estates against the parliament and kingdom, to the raising and fomenting of new distractions and troubles have justly incurred a total forfeiture of the same, towards the repairing of the public losses and damages by them occasioned, yet shall we thereunto extend only the sequestration of the estates of the principal actors, namely, such as have been formerly in arms against the parliament, or in former insurrections in that county, or who have taken upon them to act in this insurrection, as commissioners or commanders, or who have been therein notoriously active in plunderings or imprisonments, and such ministers as have been active in this insurrection, and as for such other persons who only through ignorance or weakness in themselves, and the subtilties or threats of others have been seduced or terrified into some mistaken or unwilling compliance in that action, we do hereby warn all those not to flatter themselves for the future, in such unworthy principles, so prone and easy to be wrought upon to join with evil-doers.

And do likewise hereby require every such person who expects the favour of this so gentle a warning, that they engage themselves that they will never bear arms against the two houses of parliament, or against any that derive authority from them; nor wittingly do any thing to the prejudice of their affairs, or to the disturbance of the peace of that county, upon which said engagement entered into by such persons as come not under any the aforesaid former qualifications of principal actors, or who having been taken by the lord general as prisoners of war, are not by him already set apart by lot or otherwise, for a judicial trial to be appointed by this house, the said engagers (not as before excepted) and every of them are hereby declared to be freely pardoned, and so long as they shall demean themselves according to their said engagement, are not to be proceeded against by any mulct or penalty whatsoever for the said offence, nor to be any ways liable for the same, otherwise than what they are and shall be liable unto by action or suit at law, for satisfaction unto particular persons by them damnified, wherein each particular person is left unto his legal remedy for reparations or recovery of damages, as if this declaration had not been made.

And the churchwarden or churchwardens of the several parishes within the said county for the time being, are hereby required to provide and keep a register or book, wherein the said engagement is to be written and subscribed as aforesaid, within three days after notice of this declaration unto any of the said persons who expect the benefit thereof.

And the ministers of the said several parishes are hereby required openly to read this declaration in their several parish churches upon the next Lord's day after the receipt

thereof, at some convenient time before the dismissing of the congregation from the morning's exercise; and at the same time to give the people some seasonable instructions and exhortations, touching their duty of thankfulness unto God for so great mercy, as the speedy suppressing of that insurrection; as also touching their duty of quiet and peaceable demeanour towards those who are in public place and authority; and to take heed of the counsels and practices of those, who upon what pretence soever, are the stirrers up of seditions and tumults.

And the committee of the said county are hereby required to take care of the speedy dispersing of this declaration, and to take a strict account of what is due according as is hereby required by the ministers and other persons respectively concerned.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Mercurii, 9 Augusti, 1648.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the better regulating and ordering the Sequestration of the Estates of Papists and Delinquents, and for reforming and preventing of Abuses in the managing of the same.

The lords and commons in parliament assembled, for the better regulating and ordering the sequestration of the estates of papists and delinquents, and for reforming and preventing abuses in the managing of the same, do order and ordain, and be it ordered and ordained, viz.

1. That the solicitors of every county and city where any such are appointed by authority of parliament, and, where there is no such solicitors, the sequestrators or collectors appointed by the respective committees of the several counties shall send up to the treasurers for sequestrations at Guildhall, London, a true and perfect inventory (to the best of his or their knowledge) of all the personal estates by them sequestered from their first undertaking therewith, as the same hath been by them or any other person or persons, by their appointment, sequestered, appraised, or sold: as also an exact and true particular (to the best of his or their knowledge) of all the annual rents, profits, fines, arising or issuing of all houses and lands sequestered within the several counties, cities, corporations, and places wherewith or wherein they have been intrusted: and shall also send up, as aforesaid, a particular (to the best of his or their knowledge) of all estates real and personal, which hath been discharged and freed from sequestration; and to certify upon what grounds and warrants the same hath been done: and likewise they are to send up to the said treasurers an exact and perfect account (to the best of his or their knowledge) of all or any the several payments and disbursements by them respectively made, of all or any the proceed of all the real and personal estates of all delinquents and papists sequestered within the several and respective places where they have been or are severally employed or intrusted; that so the treasurers may pass all to account that they find to have been duly paid, according as is or shall be appointed by both houses of parliament, that hath been issued forth for the service of the parliament; all which particulars shall be sent up and performed as aforesaid, within three months next after notice of this ordinance by the particular persons above-mentioned respectively, upon pain of forfeiting the sum of twenty pounds, and so twenty pounds for every month it shall be delayed after the said three months, without reasonable cause shewed, to be allowed of by the committee for indemnity.

2. That no delinquent's or papist's estate, real or personal, sequestered, nor any part thereof shall be taken from or out of the hands or managing of the committee by whose order, direction, or officers, the same hath been sequestered by any other committee, person or persons whatsoever, upon any pretence whatsoever, but the same estate, (being personal), shall be appraised and sold by the direction of the committee which caused the

same to be sequestered, for the best advantage of the state; and the real estates, houses, and lands, (in like manner as aforesaid), to be let out by the said committee, or by their direction: And the money arising thereout shall be collected and received as aforesaid, and be accordingly paid in unto the said treasurers, at Guildhall, in manner and form following, unless it be heretofore otherwise provided for by order or ordinance of parliament, or hath been issued forth for the service of the parliament, to be made appear by the oath of the accountant; (that is to say,) that all person or persons residing within the city of London, and lines of communication, that have received any sequestration money, (by virtue of any ordinance or order of both or either houses of parliament), shall, upon oath, give a true account thereof, and pay such sums of money as shall be due and remain in their hands, (without sufficient authority), to the treasurers at Guildhall, London, within six days after notice hereof: And all others within forty miles of London, pay the moneys they receive within twenty days after notice hereof: and such person and persons as do or shall reside or dwell within fifty miles of London, shall within forty days next after notice hereof, pay the same into the treasurers aforesaid, upon pain of forfeiting two shillings and sixpence in the pound for every week he or they shall detain the same after the respective times herein limited, (without reasonable cause shewed to be allowed of by the committee of indemnity:) And all other counties and places above fifty miles from London, shall, after notice hereof, bring in their moneys and accounts within three months, upon the penalty. Provided, that all such committees of sequestrations, sub-committee, or any other person or persons, by order or ordinance of parliament, authorized thereunto, their agents, treasurers, or collectors, that have formerly given in their accounts, upon oath, to the committee or sub-committee of accounts, shall not be brought to account for any moneys or goods they have formerly accounted for: And the said treasurers for sequestrations at Guildhall, are hereby authorized, for the space of twelve months next after the date of this ordinance, to employ such person and persons as they shall think fit, for the further and better performing and expediting the affairs of sequestrations, the persons so to be employed not exceeding the number of twenty persons, and to reward all and every such person and persons, (so to be employed as aforesaid), with reasonable salaries, not exceeding two-pence per pound of the money so by them raised.

3. That all person and persons whatsoever that have remaining in their hands, (without sufficient authority), any sequestration money, and shall not pay in the same to the treasurers aforesaid, within one month next after notice of this ordinance, shall forfeit as much more money as the same (so remaining in their hands) doth amount unto as aforesaid, unless he or they can make it appear by the oath of the accountant or otherwise, that the said money was disbursed for the service of the parliament, and the same, together with the sequestration money, to be levied by distress and sale of the parties goods so offending by the collectors or agents of such committee for sequestration, as shall be next the place or places, where such goods shall be found.

4. That the commanders, officers and soldiers, and every of them that have got, (or shall hereafter get), by violence or any other indirect way, into their hands any sequestration money, or any other sums of money, upon any false pretence of pay due to them, or otherwise, shall, within one month after proof thereof, by two sufficient witnesses upon oath, before the respective committees, pay into the said treasurers all such money so by them received, or in default thereof, the party or parties so offending to be cashiered, and also forfeit all the pay due to him for his service, and to be further proceeded against as both houses of parliament shall think fit.

5. And forasmuch as the courts leets, and courts barons, in divers manors belonging to divers delinquents, or papists, (whose estates have been and continue sequestered), hath not been kept in divers of the said manors at any time, (or but seldom), since the same became sequestered—It is therefore ordained, that the committee for sequestrations in such respective counties, shall (and are hereby required to) nominate, appoint, and authorize, such honest, able, and fit person or persons, in such county, as shall be in their judgment most expedient to hold and keep all and every such court and courts, according to the several and respective customs and usages of such several and respective manors, and that

all and every the act and acts done and to be done by every such person and persons, or his or their sufficient deputy or deputies, in pursuance of this present ordinance, (being also done with the direction and consent of the respective committees), shall be valid and effectual to all intents and purposes, as if the same had been done by some lord or lords of such manor or manors, or by his or their steward or stewards, thereunto by such lord or lords authorized.

6. And what services the said treasurers shall perform in pursuance of this ordinance, concerning the premises, shall be understood to be (as it is) very acceptable to the state, and shall not pass without due regard had thereof on them. And it is hereby further ordained, that the said treasurers, their heirs, executors, and administrators, and every of them, and all and every other person and persons, their heirs, executors, and administrators, that have heretofore acted or done any thing in or about any of the affairs of sequestrations, by virtue of any former order or orders, ordinance or ordinances of parliament, or that shall hereafter act or do any thing in or concerning any the premises according to this present ordinance, or any other order or orders, ordinance or ordinances of parliament, they and every of them shall be protected and saved harmless therein, and therefore, and of and from all and all manner of interruption, trouble, molestation, disturbance, loss, and damage whatsoever, which shall or may befal them or any of them, for, by reason of, or concerning any the premises, so acted or done, or to be acted or done as aforesaid. And in case the said treasurers, or the persons employed by them, in and about the affairs of sequestration, or the other persons aforesaid, or any of them, their, or or any of their heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, shall at any time or times hereafter be sued, indicted, prosecuted, or molested for any such act or thing as is aforesaid, It is hereby declared and ordained, that in every action, suit, indictment, information or prosecution whatsoever, wherein or whereby they shall be so sued, indicted, prosecuted, or molested; it shall be lawful to and for them, or any of them, their heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns to plead the general issue, and shall and may give in evidence to the jury that shall try the same, and that the matter in question was an act or thing acted or done, or commanded to be acted or done by authority of this present parliament; which evidence being proved, shall be admitted and allowed by the several and respective judge or judges, justice or justices and jury, before whom it shall be tried, as sufficient to maintain the general issue, and if the verdict shall pass with the defendant or defendants in any action, bill, plaint, suit as is aforesaid, or the plaintiff or plaintiffs shall be non-suited therein, or suffer any discontinuance thereof, the respective judge or justices shall award unto the defendant or defendants treble costs, for which the said defendant or defendants shall have the like remedy, as in the like cases they ought to have, by the laws of the realm; and what any judges, justices, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, jurors, officers and ministers of justice shall do according to this ordinance, or in pursuance thereof, they shall be justified and saved harmless by authority of parliament, for and concerning the same.

Provided that nothing in this ordinance contained shall extend to the nulling or making void of any order or ordinance of one or either houses of parliament, whereby any sequestration or any part thereof, is or hath been disposed of.

And that no clause in this ordinance shall extend to the trouble or molestation of any person or persons for any thing done or to be done for the service of the parliament.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Veneris, 25 Augusti, 1648.

An Additional Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the better regulating, and speedy bringing in the Sequestration Moneys, arising out of the Real and Personal Estates of Papists and Delinquents, already or hereafter to be sequestered, according to former Ordinances of Parliament.

The lords and commons in parliament assembled, for the better regulating and more speedy bringing in the moneys arising out of the real or personal estates of papists and delinquents already sequestered, or which hereafter shall be sequestered, and for reforming and preventing abuses and miscarriages in managing of the same, do order and ordain, and be it ordered and ordained, (viz.)

1. That the treasurers, collectors or solicitors, or any other person or persons who have received any sequestration moneys, shall, within forty days next after notice of this ordinance respectively, produce unto the treasurers at Guildhall, London, (or whom they shall appoint), their several warrants and acquittances to justify their receipts, and all payments by them issued out of the sequestration moneys by them received, to any person or persons, excepting only for such sum or sums of money as they have paid or caused to be paid to the said treasurers at Guildhall; that so the said treasurers may place the same to account as appertaineth, and give them discharges for what they have duly paid.

2. That every person and persons employed or to be employed as solicitors, collectors or treasurers, in or about the sequestrations, that have not taken the oath prescribed by the ordinance of the 27 May, 1643, shall take the said oath accordingly, before they do further intermeddle with the sequestrations, presently after notice of this ordinance.

3. That the said treasurers at Guildhall, have power to dispose of two pence in the pound of all such moneys as they shall receive by virtue of this ordinance, for and towards the salary and expences of such persons as they shall employ about the execution of this ordinance.

4. That whereas divers surcharges remain before the committee of accounts, or their sub-committees in divers counties and places within the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, upon divers persons accountants for several sums of money not by them paid into the said treasurers at Guildhall; that therefore the said committee, and all their respective sub-committees, are hereby required, within fourteen days after notice of this ordinance given them, to send to the said treasurers at Guildhall an exact particular of every such surcharge as remaineth with any of them against any person or persons that have been employed about the affairs of sequestrations; together with such information as they can give concerning any fraudulent or indirect dealing that hath been used in or about the premises: and that all such person or persons as shall be found to have any sequestration moneys in their hands, shall pay, or cause the same to be paid in to the treasurers at Guildhall, within six days after notice of this ordinance, if they reside within the city of London, and the lines of communication, and all others within forty miles of London, shall pay in the moneys as aforesaid within twenty days: and such person or persons as do or shall reside above forty miles from London, shall pay or cause to be paid all sequestration moneys remaining in their hands, unto the said treasurers, within forty days after notice hereof: and also all other sequestration moneys which they or any of them shall hereafter receive in the places and limits before expressed respectively, shall be brought in to the said treasurers at Guildhall, within the respective times before-mentioned, upon pain of forfeiting two shillings and sixpence in the pound for every week he or they shall detain the same, after the respective times herein limited, that the assignment made by the parliament upon the said treasurers, may be the sooner discharged: provided, that this ordinance doth not extend to any order ordinance of both or either houses of

parliament, formerly granted for the disposing of sequestration moneys, nor to such as have formerly disposed such moneys for the service of the parliament, or to such persons as have or shall dispose such moneys by virtue of any order or ordinance of both or either houses of parliament, or for the emergent service of the parliament.

5. If any solicitor, collector or treasurer for sequestrations, perform not his or their duty according to this and other former ordinances for sequestrations, (as may be feared too many will not,) there is no power given either to compel or question any such, whereby the service will be much retarded; it is therefore hereby further ordained, that Captain William Steavenson, as deputy to the serjeant at arms who attends the house of commons, shall be a messenger, and is hereby appointed and authorized to bring up any person or persons to the committee for indemnity, that shall not obey this and other former ordinances of parliament, as he shall be directed by the said treasurers at Guildhall, to answer for their contempt of the authority of parliament, and to receive condign punishment according to their demerits: and the said William Steavenson shall have forty pounds per annum salary, to be paid him quarterly by the said treasurers, besides his riding charges when he shall be employed by the said treasurers abroad in the said service; and in case of sickness or other lawful impediments, the said serjeant at arms shall have power, and is hereby authorized to constitute a deputy messenger, to be employed by the said treasurers in the said service as often as occasion shall require.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Lunæ, 16 *Octobris*, 1648.

The lords and commons in parliament assembled, taking into consideration the necessity of having guards of horse to attend the parliament, and the due and constant pay of them, have thought fit, and do hereby order and ordain, and it is hereby ordered and ordained, that the sequestrations and compositions of the estates real and personal, of George Duke of Buckingham, Sir Edmond Bowyer, knight, William Stafford, Esq. Thomas Harris, baronet, John Bill, Esq. and Sir Humphrey Tracy, together with all sum and sums of money received out of the said estates, or any part of them deposited, and by any way or means remains in the hands of any committee, or other person or persons whatsoever, shall from henceforth be employed and disposed of, for the support and payment of the said guards of horse from time to time, until the sum of five thousand pounds be raised thereout for the payment thereof, as aforesaid.

For the more speedy and effectual raising of which, for the service aforesaid, and such other services as both houses shall think fit, the guards being first paid, the lords and commons in parliament assembled, do order and declare, and it is hereby ordered and declared, that all and every such person or persons, who shall or will, within thirty days after the passing of this ordinance, by way of loan or otherwise, advance the sum of five thousand pounds, or any part thereof, it shall be, and is hereby accounted an acceptable service to the state, and they and every of them shall be, and are hereby secured out of the said sequestrations and compositions of the said estates, for what they shall so lend for the service aforesaid, and of so much more now owing to every such person or persons upon public faith, as they and every of them shall so lend as aforesaid, together with interest at eight pounds *per centum* for the same until the whole be satisfied and paid out of the said estates and compositions, unto every such person and persons, as aforesaid.

And the lords and commons do hereby further order and ordain, and it is hereby further ordered and ordained, that the committee of Haberdashers-hall, or any three of them, be a committee to take such subscriptions, and give allowance of such tickets as are the receipts of any person or persons authorized thereto, for any money, goods, plate, horse or arms, or otherwise lent or owing upon the public faith of the kingdom, by any such person or persons aforesaid: And the said committee, or any three of them, are hereby authorized, and enjoined to enter, to possess, receive and dispose of the said sequestrations

and compositions, of the estates real and personal, and the profits thereof, and of every part thereof of the said person and persons, and to improve the same to the best advantage to the purposes aforesaid, until the sum of ten thousand pounds, and every part thereof, together with the interest growing due for the same, be wholly paid and discharged as aforesaid: And lastly, the lords and commons do hereby order and ordain, and it is further ordered and ordained, that all committees or other persons whatsoever, do take notice hereof, and yield obedience hereunto, any other ordinance of parliament whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided that this ordinance, nor any thing therein contained, do not extend to the taking away of the sequestration and composition of the real and personal estates of the said Duke of Buckingham, Sir Edmond Bowyer, and John Bill, or any of them lying in the counties of York and Surrey, from the committee of those respective counties, to whom they were formerly granted for the raising and maintaining of forces in the said counties respectively; nor to the estate of the said William Stafford, Esq. lying in the county of Northampton, or any part thereof, till the sum of five hundred pounds be thereout paid into Col. Edmond Temple, formerly granted by ordinance of parliament unto him, and in part executed by the said committee of Haberdashers-hall, to whom the houses of parliament referred the care thereof.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

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18 *Octobris*, 1648.

A Declaration and Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the Sequestering the Estates both Real and Personal of Delinquents, to be employed for and towards the Raising and Maintaining of a Troop of Horse for the Service of the Parliament within the County of Surry.

Forasmuch as divers ill-affected persons have endeavoured to raise a new war in this kingdom, tending to the ruin of this present parliament, and the destruction of all the well-affected persons that have adhered thereunto, contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and to the declarations and orders of parliament made therein, whereby all such persons as have or shall raise force against the power and authority of parliament, and against the forces raised by authority of parliament, for the defence of parliament and kingdom, are and have been from time to time declared traitors: Be it therefore ordained and declared by the said lords and commons, that the estates as well real and personal, of all such person or persons as have been in arms in the late rebellion raised by the Earl of Holland, and others in the county of Surry, or any other their adherents, and also all and every other person or persons that have sent in unto their aid and assistance, either money, men, horse, arms or ammunition, or have endeavoured either by providing themselves, or persuading others to send in any aid or assistance to the said forces; and by reason of the said Earl's departure out of the said county, came short of such their intended aid and assistance; as also the estates of all such persons lying and being within the said county of Surrey, as did aid and assist the like late rebellion in the county of Kent, Essex, or Sussex, or that have taken any horse, or plundered any person of his goods, for or towards the maintenance of any forces against the parliament, and shall prove to be comprized within the terms and directions of such ordinances of parliament, as have been formerly made and published concerning sequestration of delinquents estates, shall be forthwith seized and sequestered into the hands of the sequestrators and committees of the said county, formerly named for the sequestration of delinquents estates, who are to pursue all powers and directions in the execution thereof, as in and by the said former ordinances of sequestration is declared: And it is hereby ordained and declared, that all the profits arising out of all or any the said delinquents estates, lying and being in the said county, shall be em-

ployed towards the raising and maintaining of a troop of horse for the service of the parliament within the said county, for the preservation of the peace and safety of the same; and the said committee, or any seven of them, have hereby power and authority given them to set fines, and make compositions with all and every the said delinquents, (as were not at that time actually sequestered for former delinquencies) according to the rules prescribed and set down for Goldsmiths-hall, for such estates only as lie within the said county, certifying the committee sitting for compositions at Goldsmiths-hall, the names of the persons and the sums so set, and to employ the moneys so raised for the uses aforesaid: And it is further ordered, that Sir William Brereton, bart. John Lloyd, Esq. Charles Lord Car, John Thyn, Arthur Squib, George Duncomb of Shalford, William Ellyot, Esq. Sir Robert Needham, knight, Thomas Scot, Richard Salway, and William Owfield, Esqs. be added unto the committee of sequestrations in the said county of Surry; and the committee formerly made for the raising of moneys for the army under the command of the now Lord Fairfax, with the committee for sequestrations, or any three or more of them, have hereby authority to raise upon the county such further sum or sums of money by way of assessment, for and towards the raising and maintaining of the said troop of horse for the said county, so as the sum exceed not four hundred pounds *per mensem*; which said moneys are to be levied according to the rules and directions appointed by the ordinance, for the raising and levying the moneys for the army under the command of Thomas Lord Fairfax, with the several and respective powers therein given and granted; and that such moneys already laid towards the raising and paying of the said troop, are hereby allowed of and to be levied accordingly, provided, that hereafter neither the foresaid past nor future assessments, are to be extended or continued further than the aforementioned provision by the profits of sequestrations and compositions, shall fall short of those ends for which they are given by this ordinance; and if it shall be thought fit by the said committee to raise a foot company for the safety of the county, they are authorized hereby to pay the said company out of the sequestration and assessment aforesaid.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Sabbati, 10 *Novembris*, 1648.

Ordered by the lords and commons in parliament assembled, that the Earl of Rutland, Earl of Lincoln, Earl of Suffold, Earl of Mulgrave, Lord Hunsdon, Mr. Annesley, Col. Copley, Mr. Swynfen, Mr. Wheeler, Sir John Curson, Col. Harvey, Mr. Dodderidge, Mr. Nicol, Sir James Harrington, Mr. Erle, be added to the committee at Haberdashers-hall, as to the ordinance referred to that committee for raising moneys for payment of the horse guards that attend the houses.

Ordered upon the question by the lords and commons in parliament assembled, that the party or parties to whom any tickets shall be assigned, for raising the five thousand pounds upon the late ordinance for payment of guards appointed to attend the houses, shall be admitted to double the sum, in like manner as was observed in the sale of the bishops lands.

Ordered by the lords and commons in parliament assembled, that thirty days longer be added for the continuance of the ordinance passed for the payment of the horse guards that attend the parliament, to commence from the expiration of the time now limited to the said ordinance.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Die Martis, 14 *Novembris*, 1648.

Whereas the lords and commons assembled in parliament did take into consideration the great necessity of having the guards of horse provided for and paid, did order and ordain

by an ordinance bearing date the sixteenth of October, 1648, That whosoever should by way of loan, or otherwise, lend the sum of five thousand pounds, should be secured for so much more now owing upon the public faith of the kingdom, with interest at eight *per centum*, till the whole were satisfied out of the sequestrations and compositions of the estates real and personal of George Duke of Buckingham, Sir Edmond Bowyer, knight, William Stafford, Esq. &c. and Sir Humphrey Tracy, &c. It is now further ordered and ordained by the lords and commons in parliament assembled, that for the better security and encouragement of all those who have, or shall bring in all or any part of the said money, that in case the said sequestrations and compositions of the said estates shall not satisfy the moneys to be raised and secured upon the said ordinance, that then the excise in course be, and is hereby charged for the payment of the remainder of the said ten thousand pounds, with interest for the same, every six months to be paid to such person or persons that shall advance the same, and be certified by the committee of lords and commons for advance of moneys, usually sitting at Haberdashers-hall, to whom the care of this business is particularly committed, to be so in arrear, and unpaid of the moneys due upon, or by virtue of the said ordinance of the sixteenth of October last; and the commissioners of excise for the time being, are required to pay the same accordingly; and the acquittance or acquittances of the party or parties so in arrear, and certified as aforesaid upon the said ordinance, shall be a sufficient discharge to the said commissioners of the excise, any order or ordinance of parliament to the contrary notwithstanding.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

The Examinations, Arraignment and Conviction of George Sprot, Notary, in Ayemouth, together with his constant and extraordinary Behaviour at his Death, in Edinburgh, Aug. 12, 1608. Written and set forth by Sir William Hart, knight, Lord Justice of Scotland. Whereby appeareth the Treasonable Device betwixt John late Earl of Gowry and Robert Logane of Restalrig (commonly called Lesterig) plotted by them for the cruel Murthering of our most gracious Sovereign. Before which Treatise is prefixed also a Preface, written by G. Abbot,[1] Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of Winchester, who was present at the said Sprot's Execution.

London: Printed by Melch. Bradwood, for William Aspley. 1609.

[Quarto, containing 60 Pages.]

A long account of the historical facts called Gowrie's Conspiracy, *may be found, as well in many other places, as in a volume published at Perth by a Mr. James Cant, in* 1774,

[1] [Afterward Archbishop of Canterbury.]

being a reprint (with additions) of Adamson's Muses Threnodie, or Mirthful Mournings on the Death of Mr. Gall, *Edinb.* 1638. *See also Robertson's* History of Scotland, *Vol. II. p.* 89, et infra. edit. 1776, 8*vo.*

In the Biographia Britannica *it is said that the discoveries of Sprot, if true, undoubtedly proved that the two brothers had not carried on their machinations without associates. These discoveries were extorted from him, partly by torture, and partly by voluntary confession; but he adhered to his confession to the last. It is remarkable that Archbishop Spotswood should have paid no regard to it.* 'Whether or not (says he) I should mention the arraignment and execution of George Sprot, notary, in Eymouth, who suffered at Edinburgh in the August preceding, I am doubtful; his confession, though voluntary and constant, carrying small probability. This man had deposed, that he knew Robert Logan of Restalrig, who was dead two years before, to have been privy to Gowrie's conspiracy, and that he understood so much by a letter, &c. It seemed a very fiction, and to be a mere invention of the man's own brain, for neither did he shew the letter, nor could any wise man think that Gowry, who went about that treason so secretly, would have communicated the matter with such a man as this Restalrig was known to be. As ever it was, the man remained constant in his confession, and at his dying, when he was to be cast off the ladder, promised to give the beholders a sign,' &c.

The discoveries of Sprot, however, were not only credited at the time, but have been considered as authentic by two of the latest historians of Scotland, Dr. Robertson and Mr. Guthrie.

Vide Biog. Brit. art. Abbot.

A Preface to the Reader.

AMONG those troubles and crosses wherewithal our heavenly father is pleased to exercise his best children while they remain in this tabernacle of their flesh, there is no one more frequent than such evil and slanderous reports, as the virulent tongues of malicious persons, out of a hatred to their virtues, are desirous to lay upon them. For there was never age nor country wherein either man or woman was adorned with rare and eminent qualities for the service of God and advancement of true religion, but immediately such as were ill affected began to employ their wits, and beat their brains, how by calumniation and forged imputations, they might obscure the lustre of those singular parts, which their quick but envious eye had discovered in them. That worthy Moses, the meekest[4] man upon earth, is reproached as ambitious, and charged by Korah, to [5]'take too 'much upon him.' That admirable Daniel was [6]accused to the king as a contemner of his greatness, and violator of his laws. It was objected to zealous and just Nehemiah by [7]Sanballat, that himself and the people of Judah intended a rebellion. Paul and Silas, two great instruments of God's glory, were complained upon as seditious persons, and [8]disturbers of the peace and quietness of the city. The old Christians, men no doubt of virtuous behaviour, yet because in time of persecution they assembled themselves together in the night, for the worship of their God, and profession of their faith, were reported by the gentiles to have the feasts of[9] Thyestes, that is, to eat the flesh of children, and to do as Œdipus did, that is, promiscuously to commit fornication with their mothers, sisters, and daughters. Yea, their own[10] servants were brought by the terrors of the infidels to accuse them of such crimes. Tertullian complaineth of this, declaring that it was objected to the Christians;[11] 'that they killed a babe new born, and in the blood thereof did dip their 'eucharist,' and so eat it; as also, 'that suffering their dogs of purpose to overturn their 'lights, they in the dark committed incest with their mothers and daughters.' Hence it grew, as a kind of proverb, That it was the part of Christians to do good, and yet to be ill spoken of. So [12]Evagrius reporteth, touching that holy and blessed emperor Constan-

[4] Num. xii. 3. [5] Num. xvi. 3. [6] Dan. vi. 13. [7] Neh. vi. 6.
[8] Act. xvi. 20. [9] Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. 7. [10] Lib. v. 1.
[11] Tertull. Apolog. cap. ii. [12] Evagrius Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. 40.

tine the Great, that the ethnics laded him with many false criminations, because he took away their heathenish superstitions, and in place thereof advanced the service of Christ Jesus.

In all which accusations, and other of like nature, if we look advisedly into them, we shall perceive, that both Satan hath his work, and evil men have a part, yea that God himself hath a finger. Satan hath his work, because (as Cyprian, writing of Cornelius,[13] saith) 'It is evermore the work of the devil, that he may with lies tear the servants of God, 'and by false opinions spread concerning them may defame their glorious name; that 'such as are bright in the light of their own conscience may be sordidated, or dimmed, by 'the reports of other.' Evil men have their part, either because (with Zoilus,[14]) when 'they can do no hurt to the good and virtuous, at least they will speak ill of them;' or else, because (as Hierome writeth)[15] 'It is the solace of all evil men to carp at the good, 'thinking that by the great number of offenders the guilt of their faults is diminished and 'abated.' Nay, God hath a finger in it, to try and sharpen men, and by that means to fit them to himself. For slanders have that force in them, as Gregory well noteth, speaking thus: [16] 'Going through almost all examples, we find, that there hath not been one 'good man whom the naughtiness of evil men hath not tried: for, that I may so speak, 'the sword of our soul is not brought to the exactness of sharpness, if the file of other 'men's naughtiness hath not rubbed and fretted it.' Again, in as much as we should grow into deep and dangerous security, if it were not for such remembrances, our heavenly Father is contented that by such calumniations we should be roused from the sleepiness and drowsiness of the world. [17] Pliny writeth, that the lion is subject to no sickness, but only a *fastidium*, or fulness of stomach: wherewithal when he is oppressed, the way to cure him is to offer him some contumely; which is by tying an ape near him: for the lion is so moved and vexed for the time, with the tricks which the ape playeth, that he riddeth and putteth over that which so much before offended him. Even so God useth the contumelies of base persons, and the reproaches of the vilest, to rouse up men of excellent spirits, that they surfeit not in voluptuousness, and so consequently be lulled asleep in idle security, to their own harm and peradventure ruin.

But be it for one or all these reasons, certain it is, that in our age, as well as in times by past, the dearest children of God have tasted of this trial, and have been forced to endure very horrible imputations and staining aspersions, which the venomous tongues of ungodly men have strived to cast upon them. It were no hard matter to name very strange calumniations which have been invented by the vassals of Antichrist, and published by the adorers of the beast in divers books (which are no better than defamatory libels) against God's servants of the highest rank upon earth, because they overturned the strong holds of idolatry, and gave free passage to the gospel of Christ Jesus. But I forbear to give such particular instances, and rather leave to the consideration of the wise whether it may ever be hoped that such irreligious creatures (who have sold themselves to Satan the accuser of the brethren) will make spare to lash and scourge such single persons as stand in their way, and hinder their designs; when they make no conscience to brand our holy faith, and the generality of our profession, with reports most odious, and such as must needs be acknowledged for abominable, if they should be true: but in sooth are in the sight of God, of angels and men, before heaven and earth, but plain fictions and forgeries, containing in them no parcel of verity. Of which sort are those defamations which a countryman of ours, without all shame, avoucheth in a [18] pamphlet not long since put out, and published to the world; 'That the Protestants are bound in conscience never to 'ask God forgiveness of their sins: that the Protestants are bound in conscience to avoid 'all good works: that the Protestants make God the author of sin; the only cause of sin: 'that man sinneth not; that God is worse than the devil.' And that of [19] Rosseus writing against the French king now reigning: *Hominum animas cum corporibus interire, et homines*

[13] Cyprian Epist. ad Antonian. lib. iv. 2. [14] Ælian. Hist. lib. xi. 10. [15] Hieron. Epist. x. ad Furiam. [16] Gregor. Hom. 38. in 40 Hom. [17] Plin. Natur. Hist. lib. viii. 16. [18] 'Certaine 'Articles, or forcible reasons,' printed at Antwerp, 1600. [19] Ross. contra. Henric. Gallum. cap. iv. 5.

a brutis pecoribus nihil differre, Evangelicorum infinita millia credunt. 'Infinite thousands 'of Protestants do believe that the souls of men die together with their bodies, and that 'men do nothing differ from brute beasts.'

Such truthless, shameless, and graceless assertions they have not sticked to proclaim openly in the face of the sun; the knowledge whereof should cause all men indifferently affected, not to be credulous or light of belief, when they find gall and bitterness cast out of the mouth or pen of an enemy of the Gospel against any contending for the truth, though it be but a private man; but especially to suspend their judgments, when persons of highest quality, for maintaining God's cause, are traduced by an enemy, or defamed by some vile one, whose tongue and pen indeed is no slander, as we commonly speak. For these great ones are the special mark whereat malice doth aim; and as poison ordinarily hasteneth to the heart, so doth envy let drive at the head, at those who be most eminent in the state and commonwealth. When Cato the elder lived, there was not in all Rome so worthy a man as he: for (as [20]Pliny noteth) he was 'the best orator, the best leader or 'general in the field, the best senator or counsellor' that was in that city: yet was he so entreated as never man was, being publicly called to his answer four-and-forty several times, whereby one while his fame was hazarded, another while his life: and yet always he was honourably, or as the younger Pliny hath it, [21]gloriously absolved and acquitted. Doubtless there was against him a great deal of spleen, a very great deal of malice; from the touch whereof even kings and princes are so far from being free, that they are more subject to it than any other persons: which made [22]Antisthenes to say, 'That it was a 'kingly thing, when thou hast done well, to be ill spoken of for thy labour.' And if we be desirous to see a famous example of this, there is no one more notable than that of holy David, who being first a prophet, and afterwards a king, (but in both most unspotted touching the crimes laid against him) yea being a man after God's own heart, yet was accused and charged with many heinous iniquities; which caused him to complain both before and after his coming to the crown: as unto Saul: [23]'Wherefore givest thou an ear 'unto mens words, that say: Behold, David seeketh evil against thee!' And to God himself: [24]'O Lord my God, if I have done this thing, (meaning which they laid unto 'him) if there be any wickedness in my hands (intending such as they would fasten upon 'him) then let the enemy persecute my soul and take it.' And in another place, speaking to the slandering adversary, [25]'Thy tongue imagineth mischief, and is like a sharp ra-'zor that cutteth deceitfully.' And yet further: [26]'The proud have imagined a lie 'against me.' So in the next psalm: [27]'Deliver my soul, O Lord, from lying lips, and 'from a deceitful tongue.' These things, and that the [28]drunkards did make songs upon him, did many times exceedingly grieve him, that he who laboured to seem innocent, should be reproached as nocent; that he who was but the patient should be held for the agent; that the man wronged should be reported to do wrong unto other; that he whose life was sought, should be termed by Shimei, [29]'a man of blood and a murtherer.' This troubled and grieved him above measure. For it is the property of innocency and integrity, that if it may find no other reward, yet it would gladly shine in the simplicity and sincerity of itself. But when there was no other help to be freed from those slanders, David had one assured remedy; that was, to retire himself to the Lord, and commend his cause to his maker: as he excellently doth in the three-and-fortieth psalm, where being oppressed by the malice of his adversaries, and complaining of it in the first verse: [30]'Judge me O God, and defend my cause against the unmerciful people: deliver me from 'the deceitful and wicked man,' he helpeth himself in the last verse, rebuking the impatiency which he found in his own soul, and directing his affections unto another course, [31]'Why art thou cast down my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? Wait on God: 'for I will yet give him thanks: he is my present help and my God.'

Many men have been desirous to have their fame cleared from the reproaches of their

[20] Plin. Natur. Hist. lib. vii. 27. [21] Plin. de viris illustrib. [22] Diog. Laert. in Antisth.
[23] 1 Sam. xxiv. 10. [24] Psal. vii. 3. [25] Psal. lii. 2. [26] Psal. cxix. 69. [27] Psal. cxx. 2.
[28] Psal. lxix. 12. [29] 2 Sam. xvi. 7. [30] Psal. xliii. 1. [31] Verse 5.

enemies, and have sought means to have their hearts eased from the disturbances and distempers whereinto false accusations have put them. Zeno is much commended, that with such calmness he could turn aside those bitter taunts which some bestowed on him: for being asked, how he did bear himself against evil speeches: [32]"I do (saith he) as if an embassador should be sent unto me, and I should return him without an answer." This for a philosopher, who was but an heathen man, was an excellent resolution. But in these words of David, there is a way more noble than Zeno could conceive; that is, to look up to our great God, and commit all to him, expecting his good leisure. It is not enough when a man being privy to his own innocency doth not boil within himself, or fret against the wicked (which are things [33]forbidden unto us) but he must go a step farther, and propose to his own heart some more notable example. And in this case who is rather to be imitated by a Christian, than our Saviour Christ? Concerning whom St. Chrysostom said well: That [34]'when he cast out devils, and did innumerable good things, 'and yet was ill spoken of; against those men who said, that he had the devil, he did not 'send any thunder-bolt, he did not overthrow those blasphemous mouths, he consumed 'not with fire those unchaste, ungrateful, unworthy tongues of theirs: but only with these 'words put aside those evil speeches; "I have not the devil, but I honour him who sent 'me." This is most truly related of our Saviour: but there was in him somewhat else, which is better observed by St. Peter: [35]'When he was reviled, he reviled not again; 'when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed it to him that judgeth righteously.' And this committing it to him that judgeth righteously, was the course which David used: to wait patiently on the Lord, to cast up his eyes to Heaven, and commending to God the integrity of his ways, to leave all to his disposing. And this is the very lesson which he teacheth both himself and others. For in the seven-and-twentieth psalm, having spoken of his [36]adversaries, of false witnesses, which rose up against him, and such as speak cruelly, he concludeth with this document, 'Hope in the Lord; be strong, and he shall comfort 'thine heart, and trust in the Lord.' Which is the most sound instruction, that any creature can have: to look up to his Creator 'to whom all hearts are open, and no privy thing 'can be secret,' and to commend to his providence, to his fatherly care and wisdom, the unspottedness of his ways, and the simplicity of his conversation. And assuredly that God who is the God of truth, will be the patron and protector of innocency in his servants. It is a strong consolation which David giveth in this case; [37]'Commit thy way unto the Lord, 'and trust in him, and he shall bring it to pass. And he shall bring forth thy righteous-'ness as the light, and thy judgment as the noon day.' But it followeth: 'Wait patiently 'upon the Lord, and hope in him:' As if that must be the means to attain thy desire: not to run before thy Maker, and appoint him the time when thy integrity shall be cleared, and the dimming clouds of obloquy shall be blown from thy estimation; but to leave that to his managing, to his dispose and direction. For as St. Chrysostom telleth us; [38]'If it be in the power of God to give unto us, it is also in his power to give when 'himself pleaseth.' It is said of him, that he doth all things in [39]'measure, number, and weight.' But if before the number be full, or the measure be up, thou wilt limit him the time when thy innocency must appear: thou takest on thee to be wiser than the Lord, and in a sort mounting up into his throne in Heaven, thou dost justle him out of his seat of majesty and eternity. If thou wilt set down the decree for time or place, or the manner of purging thyself, or how the wickedness of thine enemies must be displayed, thou makest thyself the judge, and the Lord of Heaven and earth shall be but thy executioner. Leave the main then to him (which doth not fore-close thee, but that thou mayest use all honest means to lay open thy unspottedness) and thou shalt have reason with David to thank him, and say: [40]'He is my present help and my God.'

And in truth it is strange to see the Lord's work in this behalf, how, when the fame of his servants hath been unjustly denigrated by false accusations, he taking the matter into

[32] Diog. Laert. in Zenon. [33] Psal. xxxvii. 1. [34] Chrys. Homil. 1. de incompreh. Dei natura.
[35] 1 Pet. ii. 23. [36] Psal. xxvii. 12. 14. [37] Psal. xxxvii. 5. 6. [38] Chrys. in Psal. cxxix.
[39] Sapient. xi. 17. [40] Psal. xliii. 5.

his hands hath in his good time dispelled all mists of slander. Hereof David himself had singular experience. For when Saul was informed that David sought his life, and by the often ingeminations of malicious men this was taken for a truth, and David was accordingly persecuted, and in danger to be murdered, God put Saul[41] two several times into the hands of David, that easily he might have slain him: which being entertained as an invincible argument of David's fidelity, Saul himself, by the irrefragable evidence of truth was forced to cry out, [42]'Thou art more righteous than I: for thou hast rendered me good, 'and I have rendered thee evil.' And a second time: [43]'I have sinned: come again my 'son David, for I will do thee no more harm, because my soul was precious in thine eyes 'this day: behold I have done foolishly, and have erred exceedingly.' Eusebius hath such another example, of [44]Narcissus the Bishop of Jerusalem, who was a virtuous and worthy man, and yet by three persons was accused of a heinous crime. The story doth not clearly deliver what it was: but by circumstances it may be gathered to be incontinency. These three to give the more reputation to that accusation, wherewithal they charged him, did use divers imprecations and execrations on themselves, if those things were not true which they objected against him. As the one wished that himself might be burnt, the second that he might die of a loathsome disease, the third that he might lose the sight of his eyes. This constant and consenting crimination so affected Narcissus, though privy to his own uprightness, that he withdrew himself from his abode, and living privately commended his righteous cause to God: which had such effect, that not very long after, the first of his accusers was indeed consumed with fire, the house being burned in which he remained: the second died of the same disease which he wished upon himself: and the third being much affrighted with the punishment of his fellows, had remorse of his sin, and came and openly acknowledged the conspiracy of them three against innocent Narcissus: but withal, he had such feeling of his own iniquity, that pouring out continual tears, he lost the sight of his eyes with the rheum that descended. A most memorable narration to their comfort, who, being wronged by men in their fame or good name, commend their cause to God. Like to which is that of [45]Theodoret, who reporteth, that Eustathius the patriarch of Antioch had many combats with the Arians for defence of Christ's truth: and when he still prevailed against them, they out of their malice suborned a harlot to accuse him of fornication, and openly to maintain, that a child was his which she held in her arms: by which means he was constrained to fly to the same succour that Narcissus formerly had done; which had such force with Almighty God, that within a while after the harlot was stricken with a grievous sickness, which wrought in her so powerfully, that she freely confessed the combination of the Arians against the holy man: and how she was suborned to accuse him wrongfully, whereof she was now sorry. But whereas she had said that Eustathius was the father of her child; that indeed was true of another Eustathius, but not of the Bishop of Antioch. Wherein we may behold, that even so long agone equivocation was in use, but it was with lewd persons, as heretics and harlots: but withal God's work appeareth, that he will not evermore suffer innocency to be oppressed, and truth to be wronged; but at the last verity shall break forth, as the sun which was darkened with a cloud. And this merciful favour of God to his servants was not only in the ages past, but our days have experiments of the very like occurrents; as in a famous case lately acted at Edinburgh may ensibly be discovered: whereof, because I was an eye-witness at my late being there by the commandment of his majesty,[46] I have thought it my duty, in honour to God and love to his truth, to declare what I saw and heard; that this following treatise

[41] 1 Sam. xxiv. 4, c. xxvi. 7. [42] 1 Sam. xxiv. 18. [43] 1 Sam. xxvi. 21.
[44] Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. 8. [45] Theodor. Eccl. Hist. lib. i. 20. 21.
[46] [Lord Cromarty represents Dr. Abbot as having been *providentially* in Scotland, in the year 1608, about concerns of his own. This is a surprising instance of carelessness, as the doctor expressly says above, that he was at Edinburgh that year by 'commandment of his majesty.'
Cromarty's Treasonable Conspiracies of the Earls of Gowrie, p. 126.]

penned by an honourable personage of North-Britain might not go forth unaccompanied with the declaration of one of South-Britain, for so much as he beheld.

There are few in this island of any understanding, but have heard of the traitorous and bloody attempt of the Earl Gowrie and his brother against the person and life of our most blessed sovereign. Wherein albeit there were such evidences and arguments, as that any man who would have taken notice thereof, might have been sufficiently informed therein even at the very first; and afterward by the clear depositions (for most pregnant circumstances) and ample attestations of many persons of honour and quality, the parliament of that kingdom took full knowledge thereof, and accordingly proceeded to the forfeiting of the whole estate of that earl, and of his heirs for ever: yet some humorous men, whom in that respect I may justly term unthankful unto God, and undutiful to their king, out of fond imaginations, or rather, if you will, seditious suppositions of their own, did both at home and abroad, by whisperings and secret buzzings into the ears of the people (who were better persuaded of them than indeed there was cause) employ their wits and tongues to obscure the truth of that matter, and to cast an imputation where it was least deserved. Which when God had permitted for the space of some years to rankle and fester in the bowels of those who were the authors of it, the same God in his wisdom at last meaning to cure them, if they would be cured of that malady, discovered, that in the same treason, although carried never so secretly, there were other confederates, of whom hitherto the world had taken no kind of knowledge. And albeit two of the persons interested in that business were lately dead, and departed unto far greater torment than all the earth could lay upon them (unless they died repentant) yet it was apprehended that a third party remained, who had foreknowledge of that conspiracy, and was able to utter much of the secrets of it; one George Sprot, a notary inhabiting at Aye-mouth, a place well known in that country. Which matter, or some part thereof, being made known to an honourable person,[47] a most faithful servant to his majesty, first by some words that fell from Sprot himself, and afterwards by some papers found upon him, it was so wisely carried, and so prudently brought about, by the great care and diligence of that noble man (God Almighty blessing the business) that so much was revealed as followeth in this treatise, upon the acts to be seen; which are here set down at large, word for word as they agree with the process original, and other examinations, that such as have been averse may at last receive satisfaction. Touching all which, I shall say nothing, but only report that which befel upon the day of his death, when he suffered for that treason. Having then the sentence passed on him upon Friday the twelfth of August, 1608, in the forenoon, and publicly being warned to prepare himself to his end, which must be that after-dinner, he most willingly submitted himself unto that punishment, which (as he then acknowledged) he had justly deserved. And being left to himself till dinner-time was expired, then came to him into that private place where he remained, some of the reverend bishops,[48] divers lords of the session, two of the English ministers there employed by his majesty, with divers other ministers of the town of Edinburgh. Before whom he first acknowledged and avouched his former confession to be true, and that he would die in the same; and then falling on his knees in a corner of that room, where he and they then were, in a prayer to God uttered aloud he so passionately deplored his former wickednesses, but especially that sin of his for which he was to die; that a man may justly say, he did in a sort deject and cast down himself to the gates of hell, as if he should there have been swallowed up in the gulph of desperation: yet presently laying hold upon the mercies of God in Christ, he raised himself, and strangely lifted up his soul unto the throne of grace, applying joy and comfort to his own heart so effectually, as cannot well be described. In the admit-

[47] The Earl of Dunbar.

[48] Archb. of Glasc. Bis. of Brickh. L. Halyrudeh. L. Collector, L. Register, L. Justice, D. Maxey, M. Hodson, M. P. Galoway, M. I. Hall, N. Ch. Lumsden, with others.

ting of this consolation into his inward man, he burst out into tears, so plentifully flowing from him, that for a time they stopped his voice. The sight and hearing whereof wrought so forcible an impression in those persons of honour and learned men who beheld him, that there was scant any one of them, who could refrain tears in the place, as divers of themselves that day did witness unto me. The effect of his prayer was the aggravating of his crime in concealing the treason against the king's majesty; into which, he said, "God did most justly suffer him to fall, by reason of his former wickedness which he had so desperately multiplied in despite of God and his holy word." And thereupon going on with many sensible speeches and most feeling comparisons, he insisted on the fearful and dreadful danger wherein he was, if the Lord in judgment should look upon him. Notwithstanding, at last he proceeded: "Yet most merciful father, (whereat he made a stay, and repeating the word father with a marvellous loud and shrill voice, he added) why should I call thee father, that have so many ways and so horribly transgressed thy commandments, in all the course of my life, but especially in concealing this vile, fearful and devilish treason against my most gracious sovereign? Lord, Lord, there is nothing belongeth to me but wrath and confusion:" and so went on in a strange unaffected current of words, lively expressing the sorrow of his heart. Yet there he staid not, but spake forward to this purpose: "Notwithstanding, Lord thou hast left me this comfort in thy word, that thou hast said, Come unto me all ye that are weary and laden, and I will refresh you. Lord, I am weary, Lord I am heavily laded with my sins which are innumerable: I am ready to sink Lord even to hell, without thou in thy mercy put to thy hand and deliver me. Lord thou hast promised by thine own word, out of thine own mouth, that thou wilt refresh the weary soul." And with that he thrust out one of his hands, and reaching as high as he could, with a louder voice and a strained, cried, "I challenge thee Lord, by that word, and by that promise which thou hast made, that thou perform and make it good to me, that call for ease and mercy at thy hands. Lord hear me, Lord pardon me, Lord comfort me by thy holy spirit: assure my conscience of the forgiveness of my sins, and say to my soul, that thou art reconciled." And so after many zealous petitions uttered to the like effect, he applied to himself the mercies of God in Christ Jesus, in whom he assured himself of God's favour, with earnest request, that he might continue in that assurance to the end, whereof he nothing doubted.

Afterward, being brought to the scaffold, where he was to die, he uttered many things, among which I observed these: he acknowledged to the people, that he was come thither to suffer most deservedly; That he had been an offender against Almighty God in very many respects; but that none of his sins was so grievous unto him, as that for which he must die: wherein, notwithstanding he was not an actor, but a concealer only. That he was ingyred in it by the Laird of Rastalrig and his servant the Laird of Bour, both which, he said, were men that professed not religion. Whereupon he exhorted men to take heed how they accompanied with such as are not religious; because, said he, with such as make not profession of religion, there is no faith, no truth, no holding of their word, as himself had tried and found. But touching the treason for the concealing whereof he was condemned, he added, that he was preserved alive to open that secret mystery which so long had lain hid; that God had kept him since that attempt of the Earl Gowrie from very many dangers, but notedly from one, when being in apparent hazard of drowning, he was strangely delivered: "which (said he) was God's work, that I might remain alive unto this happy and blessed day, that the truth might be made known. And now I confess my fault to the shame of myself, and to the shame of the devil; but to the glory of God. And I do it not either for fear of death, or for any hope of life, (for I have deserved to die, and am unworthy to live) but because it is the truth, which I shall seal with my blood. My fault, (saith he,) is so great, that if I had a thousand lives, and could die ten thousand deaths, yet I might not make satisfaction, that I should conceal such a treason against so gracious a king." These and the like words, when he had spoken upon one side of the scaffold, he turned him to the second side, and afterward to the third, (that all the people might hear) where he spake to the same purpose as for-

merly he had done. And here it may not be forgotten, that in the uttering of these things his tongue served him very well, with words ready and significant, his memory was perfect, his countenance reasonably erect and full of alacrity, without all fear of death, his voice was loud and audible on every part: which was the more strange, because at the times of his examination, as also that very forenoon, at the hour of his arraignment, his speech was low and weak; but now so strong, as if God of purpose had given him power to deliver his words in such a manner, that all the people might hear and understand.

When this above-mentioned declaration had been made, Sprot returned to that part of the scaffold where he first began to speak, and there falling on his knees, he uttered a prayer to the same purpose as is set down in this ensuing treatise. And having ended the same, one of the ministers prayed again (and the prisoner joined with him) that God would forgive his sins, and receive his soul to mercy. After which, Sprot standing up made divers requests: first, that what he had delivered by this confession on the scaffold, might be put into his process, that the world might take notice of it. Secondly, that such as were present (as they might have opportunity) would be suitors unto the king, that his majesty would forgive him this offence, for the which he said, he craved pardon of God, of his sovereign, and the world. And thirdly, he desired those of the ministry which were present, that wheresoever they came they would proclaim in the pulpit his confession of his crime, his sorrow for the same, and his full hope that God would pardon him. And to the end that this might be performed, he took the hands of such ministers as stood near about him, so binding a promise on them. And here, being told by the said ministers and other persons of quality, that being so near his departure out of the world, it concerned him to speak nothing but the truth, and that upon the peril of his soul: he answered, that to the end that they should know, that he had spoken nothing but the verity, and that his confession was true in every respect, he would (at the last gasp) give them some apparent token for the confirmation of the same. Then fitting himself to the ladder, the executioner cometh to him, and as the manner is, asking forgiveness of him; "With all my heart (saith he) for you do but your office, and it is the thing I desire; because suffering in my body, I shall in my soul be joined unto my Saviour." Ascending up to the ladder, he desired the people to sing a psalm with him, which they did with many a weeping eye. He named the sixth psalm, and beginning it or taking it up himself, in every verse or line thereof he went before the people, singing both loud and tuneably unto the very end. Then once again confirming and avowing his former confession, he covered his own face, and commending his soul to God, he was turned off the ladder; where hanging by the neck some little while, he three several times gave a loud clap with his hands, that all the standers by might hear: which was the sign or token (as it seemeth) which he a little before had said that he would give at his last gasp, for the ratification and avowing of those things, which by his confession he had so many times declared and delivered. These things were done in the open sight of the sun, in the king's capital town, at the market-cross in Edinburgh, in the presence of divers thousands of all sorts: of the nobility, of the clergy, of the gentry, of the burgesses, of women and children, myself with the rest of the English ministers standing by and looking on, and giving God the glory, that after so long a space as eight years and eight days (for so it was by just computation after the attempt of Gowrie) he was pleased to give so noble a testimony unto that, which by some maligners had been secretly called in question without any ground or reason. I have reported at length those particulars which I heard and saw, which that honourable personage who wrote this treatise following doth somewhat more briefly deliver, but yet both of us very truly, as thousands can witness.

Out of both these narrations there may divers observations be gathered. As first, how heinous a thing it is in the sight of God himself, for subjects of what nature or quality soever, to enter into conspiracy against the life and person of the Lord's anointed: for Almighty God hath threatened to discover these traitorous enterprises; and if no other

way, yet by some strange and miraculous fashion. He who spake against cruel imaginations of the heart, [49] 'Curse not the king, no not in thy thought: for the fowl of the 'heaven shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall declare the matter;' what will he do, when acts of hostility in rebellious manner shall be entered into? And doth his divine majesty disclose it, and will he not also punish it? The example of that Earl Gowrie among thousands of others may be a sufficient instruction in this behalf, who for his sovereign's love and gracious favour testified in many respects, and intended many more ways unto him, returning nothing but ungratefulness and traitorous resolutions, digged a pit for another, but by God's judgment fell into it himself: and did not only lose in one day his fidelity, estimation and life, but overthrew his house and all the honour of his family, through succeeding generations. Therefore far be it at all times from any noble heart to walk in his ways, or upon any occasion to entertain such discontentment as may grow to undutifulness: for when the wrath of God shall overtake men offending in this kind, and the justice of a king shall once proceed against them, what horror must there needs be in their bowels and conscience? what trembling and affrighting in their very soul? If this poor man Sprot, for concealing that odious combination, found such touches in himself, and such remorse in his heart, what quaking and dreadfulness may we think will fall on him who is guilty of the highest act of treason and rebellion?

Secondly, we here may see the Lord's protection over Chritian kings and princes; whom as he placeth next himself in majesty and authority, and calleth them by his own name, 'I have said, ye are Gods;' [50] so he blesseth and upholdeth them as his deputies and vice-gerents, men representing himself, especially if sincerely they serve and fear and love him. He is a God of order, and loveth subordination in all kingdoms and countries, where if he grace, countenance and protect inferior magistrates, what will he do to the heads and chief governors of his people, who are next to his own greatness? He hath set them above other in honour and glory, which causeth them to be more observed according to their state: but withal, the prayers of their subjects are poured out for their welfare, day and night, and at all times; which concurring with their own requests to God, do find acceptance with the Highest to their noted prosperity and eminent felicity. It preserveth from many perils, to have at all hours and seasons the prayers and supplications of faithful men and women hovering over their heads, which may be perpetual remembrancers for them to their heavenly Father, if by human fragility and unavoidable imperfections they should forget themselves.

Thirdly, we may note more particularly the saving health of God upon our gracious sovereign; to whom as the Lord hath given many blessings and much happiness beyond all his progenitors, so he hath maintained and protected his person in a marvellous and strange manner, not only from his cradle unto this day, but (as it is very well known) from before his coming into the world. And how did the Lord free his servant even from the brink of the pit, and from the gates of the grave at the time of Gowrie's attempt? as also since that day, when those wicked sons of Belial, the stain of the land and country wherein they were born, intended that powder-treason? Which as on the one side it expecteth at the hands of his majesty a greater thankfulness to God the king of kings, so on the other side it calleth for of us who sit peaceably under his shadow, everlasting tokens of gratefulness to so merciful a Lord, and hearty obedience to our sovereign, whom God hath raised up, defended, protected, maintained, upheld with his extraordinary favour to no common end; but to the enlarging of his church, to the further ruin of Antichrist; to the uniting of kingdoms, to the comfort of all the godly dispersed through Europe. And happy is he, not who can find devices, and cast imaginary perils to hinder such a work, but who in his poor place can with a faithful heart give furtherance to the same.

Fourthly, as many blessings from heaven have been poured on the head of his majesty, so it is not the least, that *tanquam è postliminio*, after so many years, and that as from the

[49] Eccl. x. 20. [50] Psal. lxxxii. 6.

bones of a dead man, when living men would not believe it, God hath given farther light to the opening of the conspiracy of that ungodly Earl Gowrie; which some few persons, affected more to a rebel that is dead, than to their living sovereign, did endeavour to disguise and mask at their own pleasure. The strange conceits of whom I can never sufficiently wonder at; that men professing conscience and zeal to the truth, should upon no kind of ground or shew of probability, suffer such unreverent thoughts to enter into their hearts; especially against his sacred person, whose life hath been so immaculate and unspotted in the world, so free from all touch of viciousness and staining imputation, that even malice itself (which leaveth nothing unsearched) could ever find true blemish in it, nor cast any probable aspersion on it. Against his sacred person, whom as they must acknowledge to be zealous as David, learned and wise as the Solomon of our age, religious as Josias, careful of spreading Christ's faith as Constantine the Great; so if they will speak truth, they must confess to be just as Moses, undefiled in all his ways as Jehosaphat or Hezechias, full of clemency as another Theodosius, far from spilling the blood of any of his nobility, but rather sparing those who have lift up their hand against him.[51] Notwithstanding, when preposterous affection had so blinded these men, that they would not see this truth, the Lord hath given light yet once more to the rectifying of their judgments. A singular example of God's unlimited and unbounded wisdom, who will do things as he liketh. That when as St. John saith, [52]*Qui sordescit, sordescat adhuc*, he that list to be peevish and refractory and self-conceited, did think he might have persisted and died in that peevishness and refractory conceit, and supposed that never any thing in this world should have been able to reform him, may see before his face so illustrious a testimony of his misconceited fancy, and almost unsatisfiable undutifulness, that unless his face be hardened and his heart obdurated against both heaven and earth, he must cease to be perverse. God is the God of truth: and he who is the protector of innocency in the poorest, will certainly be the maintainer and defender of integrity and sincerity in his noblest and dearest servant. It is fit that he should have his own will, to put off and prolong his mercies till the time which seemeth good to himself, that men may wait upon him, and patiently expect, and still tarry the Lord's leisure: yea that his power may be known, who can bring light out of darkness, and good out of evil, and truth out of treason; who can give hope beyond hope. But when he is once resolved that things acted in secret shall be preached upon the house top, that iniquity shall be opened, that simplicity shall be cleared, and innocency disburdened of scandalous imputations, if men would not speak, or children sound out the truth in the streets, [53]yet the very stones shall cry, as our Saviour once answered to the maligning Pharisees. Blessed be the God of justice, who cleareth up the fame of his holy ones, when malice would obscure it.

Lastly, here may be a warning to men of mine own profession, I mean the ministers of the gospel, that in cases of highest nature between a king and his rebel they conceive not things to the worst, and (because they will be opposite to him whom most of all they

[51] [Dr. Kippis, referring to this tract, remarks, that 'a regard to truth obliges him to add that Dr. Abbot 'went as far as any other court chaplain could do, in that extravagant flattery of his royal master, which was so 'much the fashion of the time, and which was by no means confined to ecclesiastics. If Mr. Walpole had seen 'this passage (he adds) he certainly would not have said (Noble Authors, vol. i. p. 174,) that 'honest Abbot 'could not flatter.' It is probable that his adulation contributed, together with other causes, to accelerate his 'promotions. But let it be remembered in his favour, that he appears, in the latter part of his life, to have 'maintained a greater degree of Christian simplicity. It hurts an ingenuous mind to reflect, that such gross 'flattery was paid to our monarchs by men otherwise of respectable characters; men who were distinguished 'by their profession of piety, and by the gravity and strictness of their manners. Perhaps the taste of the age 'was not sufficiently refined to perceive the difference between fulsome panegyric, and that delicate turn of com-'pliment which prevails in a highly polished state of society. Perhaps people were brought up with such an 'extravagant veneration for princes, that they did not dare, even in their own minds, to judge of their sovereigns 'with a becoming freedom. But after all, it is to be feared that the flattery of the times we are speaking of, 'as well as of other times, is principally to be charged to self-interested views and purposes.'

Biog. Britan. edit. Kippis. art. Abbot.]

[52] Apoc. xxii. 11.

[53] Luc. xix. 40.

should honour) by buzzings and whisperings, and secret suggestions, without all ground of truth, labour to sow sedition in the ears of women and children, or in the minds of men either weak or ill disposed. For as the [54]lips of the priest should always preserve knowledge, so should they preserve truth. And we are to go before our flocks and congregations in obedience and obsequiousness unto the Christian magistrate, not in sowing sedition, or making of mutinies, to the disturbance of the state. Who should stick closer to Moses weilding so huge a charge, than Aaron and his tribe? and who should rather labour to do his prince all right, than the minister of the gospel, who next after teaching men their duty to God, is made to teach obedience and respectiveness unto kings? And who more deserveth to be chastised than he, if he wilfully transgress?

These things I thought not amiss to observe to thee, Christian reader, before thou come to the perusing of this plain and true narration, touching the examination, arraignment and death, of the person here described. God Almighty bless the King's Majesty, grant unto him many days full of piety and felicity; and after this mortal life expired, send him an everlasting crown of glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Thine in the Lord,

GEORGE ABBOT.

The Examinations, Arraignment, and Conviction of George Sprot, &c. Written and set forth by Sir William Hart, Knight, Lord Justice of Scotland.

I THOUGHT good (gentle reader) for satisfaction of the true-hearted and well-affected subjects to their gracious sovereign, and closing of the mouths of his majesty's malicious enemies, to spend a little time in discourse of a strange and almost miraculous accident, that fell out of late, anent the revealing of the practices of Gowrie's treasonable conspiracy, intended against his highness' royal person. Which purpose was hidden and concealed, until the time it pleased God to move one George Sprot (who was privy thereto) to manifest and confess the same, as by this that followeth may appear.

This Sprot, after divers examinations, being moved with remorse of conscience, for the long concealing of the foreknowledge of this treasonable conspiracy, confesseth, declareth, and deponeth, with the peril of his own life,

'That he knew perfectly that Robert Logane, late of Restalrig, was privy and upon 'the foreknowledge of Gowrie's treasonable conspiracy. And for the greater assurance 'of his knowledge, deposeth, that he knew that there were divers letters interchanged be- 'twixt them, anent the treasonable purpose aforesaid, in the beginning of the month of 'July, 1600. Which letters James Bour, called Laird Bour, servitor to Restalrig, (who 'was employed mediator betwixt them, and privy to all that errand) had in keeping, and 'shewed the same to Sprot in the place of Fast-Castle. The first of Gowrie's letters con- 'taining in effect as followeth:—

> 'GOOD Laird of Restalrig, you understand what conditions should have been 'betwixt us, of before. Indeed I purposed to have come by your house, but 'understanding of your absence in Lothian, I came not. Always I wish you 'either yourself to come west, or else to send some sure messenger, who may 'confer with me anent the purpose you know. But rather would I wish 'yourself to come, not only for that errand, but for some other thing that I have 'to advise with you.

[54] Mal. ii. 7.

'To the which letter Restalrig wrote an answer, and sent the same to the Earl of 'Gowrie, by the said James Bour, of the tenor following:—

'My Lord, my most humble duty and service heartily remembered. At the 'receipt of your lordship's letter I am so comforted, that I can neither utter my 'joy, nor find myself sufficiently able to requite your lordship with due thanks. 'And persuade your lordship in that matter, I shall be as forward for your 'lordship's honour, as if it were mine own cause. And I think there is no 'living Christian that would not be content to revenge that Machiavelian 'massacring of our dear friends, yea howbeit it should be, to venture and 'hazard life, lands and all other thing else. My heart can bind me to take 'part in that matter, as your lordship shall find better proof thereof. But one 'thing would be done: namely, that your lordship should be circumspect and 'earnest with your brother, that he be not rash in any speeches touching the 'purpose of Padua. My lord, you may easily understand, that such a purpose 'as your lordship intendeth, cannot be done rashly, but with deliberation. 'And I think for myself, that it were most meet to have the men your lordship 'spake of, ready in a boat or bark, and address them as if they were taking pas- 'time on the sea, in such fair summer time. And if your lordship could think 'good either yourself to come to my house of Fast-Castle by sea, or to send 'your brother, I should have the place very quiet, and well provided after your 'lordship's advertisement, where we should have no scant of the best venison 'can be had in England. And no others should have access to haunt the 'place, during your lordship's being here, but all things very quiet. And if 'your lordship doubt of safe landing, I shall provide all such necessaries as may 'serve for your lordship's arrival, within a flight shot of the house. And per- 'suade your lordship you shall be as sure and quiet here, while we have settled 'our plot, as if you were in your own chamber: for I trust and am assured we 'shall hear word within few days from them your lordship knoweth of; for I 'have care to see what ships comes home by. Your lordship knoweth I have 'kept the Lord Bothwell quietly in this house, in his greatest extremity, say 'both king and council what they liked. I hope, (if all things come to pass, as 'I trust they shall) to have both your lordship and his lordship at one good 'dinner afore I die. *Hæc jocosé,* to animate your lordship: I doubt not my 'lord but all things shall be well. And I am resolved, whereof your lordship 'shall not doubt, of any thing on my part, yea to peril life, land, honour, and 'goods; yea the hazard of hell shall not affray me from that, yea although the 'scaffold were already set up. The sooner the matter were done, it were the 'better; for the king's buck-hunting will be shortly: and I hope it shall pre- 'pare some dainty cheer for us to dine against the next year. I remember 'well, my lord, and I will never forget so long as I live, that merry sport 'which your lordship's brother told me of a nobleman at Padua: for I think 'that a parasceve to this purpose. My lord, think nothing that I commit the 'secrecy hereof, and credit to this bearer: for I dare not only venture my life, 'lands, and all other things I have else, on his credit, but I durst hazard my 'soul in his keeping, if it were possible in earthly men: for I am so persuaded 'of his truth and fidelity. And I trow (as your lordship may ask him if it 'be true) he would go to hell gates for me: and he is not beguiled of my part 'to him. And therefore I doubt not but this will persuade your lordship to 'give him trust in this matter, as to myself. But I pray your lordship direct 'him home with all possible haste, and give him straight command, that he 'take not a wink sleep, while he see me again, after he come from your 'lordship. And as your lordship desireth in your letter to me, either rive or 'burn, or else send back again with the bearer: for so is the fashion I grant.

'Which letter, written every word with Restalrig's own hand, was subscribed by him 'after his accustomed manner, "Restalrig." And was sent to the Earl Gowrie by the 'said James Bour. After whose return, within five days, with a new letter from Gowrie, 'he staid all night with Restalrig, in [55] Gunnes-greene: and Restalrig rode to Lothian 'the morn thereafter, where he staid five or six days. Then after his returning past to 'Fast-Castle, where he remained a certain short space.

'And farther deponeth, that he saw and heard Restalrig read the last letter, which Bour 'brought back to him from Gowrie, and their conference there-anent. And heard Bour 'say; Sir, if ye think to make any commodity by this dealing, lay your hand to your 'heart. And Restalrig answered, that he would do as he thought best. And farther said 'to Bour, howbeit he should sell all his own land that he had in the world, he would pass 'through with the Earl of Gowrie, for that matter would give him greater contentment, 'nor if he had the whole kingdom: and rather or he should falsify his promise, and recal 'his vow that he had vowed to the Earl of Gowrie, he should spend all that he had in the 'world, and hazard his life with his lordship. To whom Bour answered: You may do as 'you please, Sir, but it is not my counsel, that you should be so sudden in that other mat-'ter: but for the condition of Dirlton, I would like very well of it. To whom Restalrig 'answered, content yourself, I am at my wit's end.

'And farther Sprot deponeth, that he entered himself thereafter in conference with 'Bour, and demanded what was done betwixt the laird and the Earl of Gowrie. 'And Bour answered, that he believed that the laird should get Dirlton without either 'gold or silver, but feared that it should be as dear unto him. And Sprot inquiring how 'that could be; Bour said, they had another pye in hand nor the selling of any land: 'but prayed Sprot, for God's sake, that he would let be, and not trouble himself with the 'laird's business; for he feared, within few days, the laird would either be landless, or 'lifeless.

'And the said George Sprot being demanded if this his deposition was true, as he would 'answer upon the salvation and condemnation of his soul; and if he will go to death with 'it, seeing he knoweth the time and hour of his death to approach very near; deponeth 'for answer, that he hath not a desire to live, and that he knows the time to be short, hav-'ing care of no earthly thing, but only for clearing of his conscience in the truth of all 'these things, to his own shame before the world, and to the honour of God, and safety of 'his own soul; that all the former points and circumstances contained in this his deposi-'tion, with the deposition made by him the 5th day of July last, and the whole remanent 'depositions made by him since that day are true, which he will take on his conscience, 'and as he hopeth to be saved of God, and that he would seal the same with his blood.

'And farther being demanded where this above written letter, written by Restalrig to 'the Earl of Gowrie, which was returned again by James Bour, is now; deponeth that he 'abstracted it quietly from Bour, in looking over and reading Bour's letters, which he had 'in keeping of Restalrig's; and that he left the above written letter in his chest among his 'writings, when he was taken and brought away, and that it is closed and folded within a 'piece of paper.'

This foresaid deposition was made by him the 10th of August, 1608, written by James Primerose, clerk of his majesty's privy council, and subscribed with the said George Sprot's own hand, in the presence of

The Earl of Dunbar,
The Earl of Lothian,
The Bishop of Ross,
The Lord Schune,

[55] A house of Restalrig's.

The Lord Halyrudehouse,
The Lord Blantyre,
Sir William Hart, his majesty's justice,
Mr. John Hall,
Mr. Patrick Galloway,
Mr. Peter Hewart, ministers of the kirks of Edinburgh.

Subscribed with all their hands.

And also the 11th day of the foresaid month and year, the said George Sprot being re-examined, in the presence of a number of the counsel and ministers aforesaid, and it being declared to him, that the time of his death now very near approached, and that therefore they desired him to clear his conscience with an upright declaration of the truth; and that he would not abuse the holy name of God, to make him, as it were, a witness to untruths; and specially, being desired that he would not take upon him the innocent blood of any person dead or quick, by making and forging lies and untruths against them:

'Deponeth, that he acknowledgeth his grievous offences to God (who hath made him a 'reasonable creature) in abusing his holy name with many untruths, since the beginning 'of this process; but now being resolved to die, and attending the hour and time when it 'shall please God to call him, he deponeth with many attestations, and as he wisheth to 'be participant of the kingdom of Heaven, where he may be countable and answerable 'upon the salvation and condemnation of his soul, for all his doings and speeches in this 'earth, that all that he hath deponed since the 5th day of July last, in all his several 'depositions, were true in every point and circumstance of the same, and that there is no 'untruth in any point thereof.'

And having desired M. Patrick Galloway to make a prayer, whereby he might be comforted now in his trouble: which was done: the said deponent with many tears after the prayer, affirmed this his deposition to be true: and for the confirmation thereof, declared, that he would seal the same with his blood. And the next day thereafter, being the 12th of the foresaid month of August, the said George was brought forth and presented in judgment upon pannel, within the tolbooth of Edinburgh, before Sir William Hart of Preston, his majesty's justice; and there in a fenced court holden by him that day, assisted by the honourable persons following, his assessors in that errand, they are to say,

Alexander Earl of Dumfermling, lord chancellor,
George Earl of Dunbar, treasurer,
John Archbishop of Glasgow,
David Bishop of Ross,
Gawin Bishop of Galloway,
Andrew Bishop of Brechine,
David Earl of Crawford,
Mark Earl of Lothian,
John Lord Abirnethy, of Saltoun,
James Lord of Balmerinoth, Secretary,
Walter Lord Blantyre,
John Lord Halyrudehouse,
Michael Lord Burley,
Sir Richard Cokburne, of Clarkintoun, knight,
Mr. John Preston, of Fenton Barnes, collector-general,
Sir John Skeyne, of Currhill, knight, clerk of register:

was delated, accused, and pursued by Sir Thomas Hamilton of Binning, knight, advocate to our sovereign lord for his highness entries, of the crimes contained in his indictment, produced by the said advocate; whereof the tenor followeth.

'GEORGE SPROT, Notary in Ayemouth, you are indicted and accused, forasmuch as 'John, sometime Earl of Gowrie, having most cruelly, detestably, and treasonably con- 'spired, in the month of July, the year of God 1600 years, to murder our dear and most 'gracious sovereign, the king's most excellent majesty: and having imparted that de- 'vilish purpose to Robert Logane of Restalrig, who allowed of the same, and most wil- 'lingly and readily undertook to be partaker thereof: the same coming to your know- 'ledge at the times and in the manner particularly after specified, you most unnaturally, 'maliciously, and treasonably concealed the same, and was art and part thereof in manner 'following. In the first, in the said month of July six hundred years, after you had 'perceived and known, that divers letters and messages had passed betwixt the said 'sometime Earl of Gowrie, and the said Robert Logane of Restalrig, you being in the 'house of Fast-Castle, you saw and read a letter written by the said Robert Logane, of 'Restalrig, with his own hand, to the said John, sometime Earl of Gowrie, of the tenor 'following.

'MY Lord, my most humble duty and service heartily remembered. At the re- 'ceipt of your lordship's letter I am so comforted, that I can neither utter my 'joy, nor find myself sufficiently able to requite your lordship with due thanks. 'And persuade your lordship in that matter, I shall be as forward for your 'lordship's honour, as if it were mine own cause. And I think there is no 'living Christian that would not be content to revenge that Machiavelian mas- 'sacring of our dear friends, yea howbeit it should be, to venture and hazard 'life, lands, and all other things else. My heart can bind me to take part in 'that matter, as your lordship shall find better proof thereof. But one thing 'would be done: namely, that your lordship should be circumspect and earnest 'with your brother, that he be not rash in any speeches touching the purpose 'of Padua.

'And a certain space after the execution of the aforesaid treason, the said Robert Lo- 'gane, of Restalrig, having desired the Laird of Bour to deliver to him the foresaid letter, 'or else to burn it; and Bour having given to you all tickets and letters, which he then 'had either concerning Restalrig or others, to see the same, because he could not read 'himself, you abstracted the above-written letter, and retained the same in your own 'hands, and divers times read it, containing farther in substance nor is formerly set down, 'according to the words following.

'My lord, you may easily understand, that such a purpose as your lordship 'intendeth, cannot be done rashly, but with deliberation. And I think for my- 'self, that it were most meet to have the men your lordship spake of, ready in 'a boat or bark, and address them as if they were taking pastime on the sea, in 'such fair summer-time. And if your lordship could think good either your- 'self to come to my house of Fast-Castle by sea, or to send your brother, I 'should have the place very quiet, and well provided after your lordship's 'advertisement, where we should have no scant of the best venison can be had 'in England. And no others should have access to haunt the place, during 'your lordship's being here, but all things very quiet. And if your lordship 'doubt of safe landing, I shall provide all such necessaries as may serve for 'your lordship's arrival, within a flight shot of the house. And persuade your 'lordship you shall be as sure and quiet here, while we have settled our plot, as 'if you were in your own chamber; for I trust and am assured we shall have 'word within few days from them your lordship knoweth of; for I have care to 'see what ships comes home by. Your lordship knoweth I have kept the Lord 'Bothwell quietly in this house in his greatest extremity, say both king and 'counsel what they liked. I hope, (if all things come to pass, as I trust they

'shall) to have both your lordship and his lordship at one good dinner before I 'die. *Hæc jocosé*, to animate your lordship: I doubt not, my lord, but all 'things shall be well. And I am resolved, whereof your lordship shall not 'doubt, of any thing on my part, yea to peril life, land, honour, and goods; 'yea the hazard of hell shall not affray me from that, yea although the scaffold 'were already set up. The sooner the matter were done, it were the better; for 'the king's buck hunting will be shortly: and I hope it shall prepare some 'dainty cheer for us to dine against the next year. I remember well, my lord, 'and I will never forget so long as I live, that merry sport which your lordship's 'brother told me of a nobleman at Padua: for I think that a parasceve to this 'purpose. My lord, think nothing that I commit the secrecy hereof, and 'credit to this bearer: for I dare not only venture my life, lands, and all other 'things I have else, on his credit, but I durst hazard my soul in his keeping, if it 'were possible in earthly men; for I am so persuaded of his truth and fidelity. 'And I trow (as your lordship may ask him if it be true) he would go to hell 'gates for me: and he is not beguiled of my part to him. And therefore I 'doubt not but this will persuade your lordship to give him trust in this matter 'as to myself. But I pray your lordship direct him home with all possible haste, 'and give him straight command, that he take not a wink sleep while he see me 'again, after he come from your lordship. And as your lordship desireth in 'your letter to me, either rive or burn, or else send back again with the bearer: 'for so is the fashion I grant.

'Which letter, written every word with the said Robert Logane his own hand, was sub-'scribed by him after his accustomed manner, with this word, "Restalrig."

'And albeit by the contents of the foresaid letter you knew perfectly the truth of the 'said most treasonable conspiracy, and the said Robert Logane of Restalrig, his foreknow-'ledge, allowance, and guiltiness thereof; like as you was assured of the same by his re-'ceiving of divers letters sent by Gowrie to him, and by his sending of letters to Gowrie 'for the same purpose, and by sundry conferences betwixt the said Robert Logane of 'Restalrig, and the said James Bour, in your presence and hearing concerning the said 'treason; as well in the said month of July immediately preceding the attempting of the 'said treason, as at divers other times shortly thereafter, as likewise by the revealing 'thereof to you by the said James Bour, who was upon the knowledge and device of the 'said treason, and was employed as ordinary messenger by the said Robert Logane of 'Restalrig, to the said sometime Earl of Gowrie, in the traffic of the said damnable trea-'son, whereby your knowledge, concealing and guiltiness of the said treason was unde-'niable; yet, for farther manifestation thereof, about July, 1602 years, the said Robert 'Logane of Restalrig, shewed to you that Bour had told him, that he had been some-'what rash to let you see a letter which came from the Earl of Gowrie to the said 'Robert Logane of Restalrig, who then urged you to tell what you understood by that let-'ter. To whom you answered, that you took the meaning of it to be, that he had been upon 'the counsel and purpose of Gowrie's conspiracy. And he answered you, whatever he 'had done, the worst was his own: but if you would swear to him, that you should never 'reveal any thing of that matter to any person, he should be the best sight that ever you 'saw: and in token of farther recompence, he then gave you twelve pound of silver. 'Nevertheless, albeit you knew perfectly the whole practices and progress of the said trea-'son, from the beginning thereof as said is, as well by the sight of the said letters, as also 'by your conferences with the said James Bour, called Laird Bour, and Robert Logane of 'Restalrig, yet during all the days of their life-times, who lived till the year of God, 1606 'years, or thereby; and so by the space of six years after that you knew the guiltiness of 'the treasonable conspiracy aforesaid, you most treasonably concealed the same: and so 'you was and is art and part of the said most heinous, detestable, and treasonable conspi-

'racy, and of the knowledge and concealing thereof: and therefore you ought and 'should incur, under-lie and suffer the sentence and pain of high treason. To the token 'that ye have not only by your depositions subscribed with your hand, and solemnly made 'in presence of many of the lords of his majesty's council, and of the ministers of the bo- 'rough of Edinburgh, of the dates, the fifth, fifteenth, and sixteenth days of July last by- 'past, and tenth and eleventh days of August instant, confessed every head, point, and 'article of the indictment above-written, but also by divers other your depositions sub- 'scribed likewise with your hand, you have ratified the same, and sworn constantly to 'abide thereat, and to seal the same with your blood, which you cannot deny.'

Which indictment being read openly in judgment to the said George Sprot, before he was put to the knowledge of an inquest, he confessed in the presence of the said Lord Justice and whole assessors above named, the same and every point thereof to be true and of verity. And therefore the justice ordained the same indictment to be put to the knowledge of a condign inquest of the honest, famous, and discreet persons under-written. They are to say:

William Tumbrill of Ardre,
William Fisher, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh,
Robert Stuart there,
Edward Johnston, merchant, burgess there,
Harbert Maxwell of Cauens,
James Tennent of Linhouse,
William Trumbill, burgess of Edinburgh,
George Browne in Gorgymill,
John Hucheson, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh,
John Leyis, merchant, burgess there,
James Somervell, merchant, burgess there,
William Simintoun, burgess there
John Cunnison in Dirlton,
Thomas Smith, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh,
And John Cowtis, burgess there.

Which persons of inquest being chosen, sworn and admitted, after the accusation of the said George Sprot, before them of the said treasonable, heinous, and detestable crimes contained in the indictment aforesaid, and reading of the said indictment of new again in his and their presence; the said George Sprot of new confessed in the audience of the said inquest the foresaid indictment and every point thereof to be true and of verity. Whereupon the said Sir Thomas Hamilton of Binning, knight, his majesty's advocate, as before, asked act and instrument. And in respect thereof protested in case the said inquest cleansed him of the said crimes, for wilful and manifest error. And therefore the whole forenamed persons of inquest removed all together forth of court to the inquest house, where they being enclosed, by plurality of votes elected and made choice of the said Harbert Maxwell of Cauens to be chancellor or foreman. And having with great deliberation gravely considered the effect and whole circumstances of the said indictment, and constant judicial confession made by the party pannelled, as well before the said Lord Justice and his assessors, as thereafter in presence of the inquest themselves, they all voted upon the whole effect of the said indictment. And being ripely and well-advised therewith, re-entered again in court, where they all in one voice by the mouth of the said chancellor or foreman, found, pronounced, and declared the said George Sprot (according to his own confession judicially made in their presence and audience) to be guilty, culpable, filed and convict of art and part of the said most heinous, detestable and treasonable conspiracy contained in his indictment above-written, and of the knowledge and concealing thereof. For the which cause the said justice, by the mouth of the dempster of court, by his sentence and doom decerned and ordained, The said George Sprot to be

taken to the market cross of Edinburgh, and there to be hanged upon a gibbet till he be dead, and thereafter his head to be stricken from his body, and his body to be quartered and demeaned as a traitor, and his head to be affixed and set up upon a prick of iron upon the highest part of the tolbooth of Edinburgh, where the traitor Gowrie, and others of the conspirators heads stand; and his whole lands, heritages, tacks, steadings, rooms, possessions, goods, and gear to be forfeited and escheat to our sovereign Lord his use, for his treasonable and detestable crimes above specified. Which was pronounced for doom.

Extractum de libro Actorum Adjornalis S. D. N. Regis per me D. Johannem Cohburne de Ormestoun militem, Clericum Justitiariæ ejusdem generalem. Sub meis signo et subscriptione manualibus.

The doom being pronounced, the said George was convoyed to a privy house, where he remained at his secret meditation, and afterwards in conference with the ministers and others unto the time all things was provided necessary for his execution: and being brought to the place where he was to die, he in public audience of the whole people, at the three sides of the scaffold, ratified the former depositions made by him concerning the treasonable practices intended and devised betwixt Gowrie and Restalrig, for the murdering of our most gracious sovereign, and bereaving his highness of his life, and his own knowledge and concealing of their guiltiness. For the which he humbly craved God and his majesty forgiveness, being most sorry and grieved that he had offended God and the king's majesty in concealing such a vile, detestable and unnatural treason, enterprised by them against his gracious sovereign, who hath been ever so good and gracious to his subjects, protesting that if he had a thousand lives to render, and were able to suffer ten thousand deaths, it were not a sufficient satisfaction and recompense for his offence. And that God had preserved him from many great perils, when his life was in extreme danger, to bring him to this public declaration of that detestable and horrible fact in presence of all the people, uttered by him in these words following: 'To my own shame, and 'to the shame of the devil, but to the glory of God.' And for satisfaction of the consciences of all those (if any be) that have or can make any doubt of the truth of this so clear a matter, he acknowledged that his haunting with Restalrig, who was a man without religion, and subject to many other vices, as also his continual being in company with the Laird of Bour, who likewise was irreligious and without fear of God, and his being ingyred by them into their matters after his first sight of Restalrig's letter written by him to Gowrie, brought him from one sin to another, and consequently upon this grievous crime, for the which most justly, worthily and willingly he is now to render his life. And thereupon he desired all the people there present to beware of evil company, and namely of the society of those who are void of religion. And farther desired, that this his declaration might be inserted in his process, and that the ministers of God's word would publish the same from their pulpits to the people: for which purpose also he took divers of them there present by the hand, with their promise to do the same, saying to them, that this was the most glorious day that ever his eyes did see. In the midst almost of these speeches, he did prostrate himself and fell upon his knees in presence of the whole people, making a very pithy prayer, in the form following:

'O Father, how shall I call thee Father, that am so unworthy to be called thy son? I 'have wandered astray like a lost sheep, and thou of thy mercy hast brought me home unto 'thee, and hast preserved my life from many dangers until this day, that I might reveal 'these hidden and secret mysteries, to my own shame and thy glory. Thou hast pro-'mised, that whensoever a sinner from his heart will repent and call to thee, that thou wilt 'hear him, and grant him mercy.'

And thus he continued a good space in a most fervent prayer, to the great admiration of all the standers by. Afterward ganging up the ladder with his hands loose and untied,

being on the upper part thereof, he desired liberty to sing the sixth Psalm, and requested the people to accompany him in the singing thereof. Which being granted he took up the Psalm himself with a very loud and strong voice, far by his accustomed form, being before his coming to the scaffold a weak spirited man, of feeble voice and utterance; and was assisted with the number of a thousand persons at the least, who accompanied him in singing that Psalm. After the ending whereof he openly repeated and ratified his said former confession: and with that, recommending his soul to God, he fastened a cloth about his own eyes, and was cast over the ladder, so ending this mortal life.

I had almost forgotten that, which in this action of his death was strange, and in a manner marvellous. For being urged by the ministers and other of good rank upon the scaffold, that now at his end he should declare nothing but the truth (touching the matter for which he suffered) on the peril of his own salvation, or condemnation of his soul; he for the greater assurance of that his constant and true deposition, promised (by the assistance of God) to give them an open and evident token before the yielding of his spirit. Which he accomplished thereafter. For before his last breath, when he had hung a pretty space, he lift up his hands a good height, and clapped them together aloud, three several times, to the great wonder and admiration of all the beholders. And very soon thereafter he yielded up his spirit.

By this narration aforegoing, each man may learn, that the contriving and plotting of treason against kings and princes, is a thing odious in the sight of God, and therefore ordinarily is disclosed by him, at first or at last, by one means or another: and that it is not good to conceal any such conspiracy intended by enemy or friend, because the life and safety of a Christian king, who is the common father of the country, ought to be dearer to all good men, than the love or acquaintance of any whatsoever: who, howbeit he make shew of many fair things in him, yet in this alone, that he purposeth evil against the Lord's Anointed; sufficiently declareth himself to be of a rebellious and ungodly disposition. And how woful the fruit is either of such traitorous resolutions, or of the concealing of them may be seen (as in a glass) both in the sudden end of the Earl Gowrie, and in the execution of this George Sprot with more deliberation.

The Institution of a Gentleman. In three parts. By William Higford Esq.

Virtus verus Honos.

London, printed by A. W. for William Lee at the Turks-head in Fleet street, 1660.

The Higfords, we are informed by Rudder, the Gloucestershire historian, are a very ancient family in Shropshire, and were formerly called Hugford. Robert Hugford was comptroller to Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick; and much in his favour, which brought him out of Shropshire to settle at Empscot in Warwickshire, which he purchased of Richard Revel, an. 9, *Hen. IV. John, his son, married Elizabeth daughter and coheir of Sir John Dickleston or Dixton, with whom he became,* (temp. H. VI.) *possessed of the manor of Dixton, in the parish of Alderton,* com. *Gloucestershire, often mentioned in this tract. He was succeeded in the estate by his son John, who married the daughter of Norman Washborn. Thomas Hugford, son of the last John, married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Thomas Hungerford of Down-Ampney. William Hugford son of Thomas married Margaret daughter of ——— Horgan of Selrin in Somersetshire, and dying 37 Hen. VIII. was succeeded by John his son, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Fetiplace of Beskeley, in Berks: and was succeeded by his son John, who married Dorothy, daughter of William Rogers of Dowdeswell, and was lord of the manor of Dixton in* 1608. *William, his son, who wrote his name Higford, married Mary daughter of John Meulx of the Isle of Wight, and had a son John, born* an. 1607. *James Higford was lord of the manor in* 1712, *who was succeeded by his brother Henry rector of Dixton; to whom succeeded William father of the late William Higford, M. D. who was succeeded by his brother, the Rev. Mr. Henry Higford, who was rector of the parish when Rudder published his history,* anno 1779;[1] *this manor having continued in the family upwards of* 300 *years. His arms are* Vert, on a chevron, between three buck's heads caboshed Or, as many mullets, Gules.[2]

He had at Dixton a large handsome house built of stone, with many coats of arms in the hall-windows, and near the house a ruined chapel. John Higford, Esq. one of the family,[3] *was knighted there by queen Elizabeth in her progress to Sudely Castle. William Higford, Esq. the author of this piece, was born at Dixton, and became (says Wood*[4]*), a gentleman commoner of Oriel-College in* 1595; *and being soon after translated to that of Corpus Christi, was put under the tuition of Sebastian Benefield, where by the benefit of good discipline and natural parts, he became a well qualified gentleman. Afterwards taking a degree of arts, he retired to his father's seat, became a justice of peace, and was much respected by the Lord Chandos, and other persons of quality in his country.*

Besides his 'Institutions' *he left other matters fit for the press, which, not being understood by his children, were lost. He died in his house at Dixton, near to Alderton, on the sixth day of April in* 1657, æt. 77. *His father also had been educated in C. C. C. under the tuition of William Cole, and his grandfather Sir John Higford, under John Powell, both whom were afterwards zealous puritans, as the son was. For the use of the present very sensible and interesting publication, the editor is indebted to Sir Egerton Brydges.*

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[1] [He died at Dixton, March 25, 1795, at the age of 86. See Censura Literaria.]
[2] [Rudder's Gloucestershire, p. 220, 221.]
[3] [Qu. the grandfather of William?]
[4] [Athenæ Oxon. II. 211.]

The Epistle Dedicatory, to the most illustrious Lord Scudamore.

My Lord,

THIS little book being now to venture abroad into the world (after some years privacy) humbly taketh leave to go under the protection of your honourable name. First, because the worthy author was much devoted to you, and hath here left some memorials of your most noble family. Secondly, because the design of the editor being to do some service to young gentlemen (especially in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire) he believes the book will be much the more acceptable to them, by bearing the great name of Scudamore in the front. A name that is deservedly most dear and precious to all that love piety, learning and civility, and shall be ever honoured by,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Aug. 1, 1660. C. BARKSDALE.

To the Generous Reader.

I PRESENT you with the Institution of a Gentleman, a little book collected out of the larger manuscript of the deceased author. A little book is fittest for those hands to which it is designed, and yet it is not the least in this kind, bigger than Sir W. Raleigh's to his son, than the L. Cecil's to his, and almost equal to K. James's Basilicon Doron to the prince:[5] Be pleased to venture one serious hour in the perusal, you will find the grandson well born and well bred, taught to take heed of gaming and suretyship, and to preserve his estate and his reputation with it; instructed also in the way of noble converse with friends, servants, tenants; in obedience to the church in the choice and use of good books. Lastly, furnished with virtues theological and moral, especially supported by these four cardinal ones, justice, prudence, fortitude and temperance; other gallant accomplishments are added; and you, my generous reader, that have an interest in such virtues, will easily, by similitude of manners, be invited to make a friendship with the gentleman here set forth by the care of,

Your servant, C.B.

Epitaphium Gulielmi Higford.

HIC jacet Higfordus. Quis? Saxo sufficit isti
Inscriptum Nomen. Cætera Fama docet.

Higford lies here: we only write his name
Upon the grave, and leave the rest to fame.

Fama loquitur.

Give me my trumpet that I may proclaim,
With lasting sounds the noble Higford's name:
That this ungrateful world may know he's gone,
And know whom they have lost. For he was one
Whom only few, that is, the wise did know,
And rightly value, while he lived: but now
All must lament and love. So the sun's light
We estimate by the dark shade of night.

[5] [Sir Walter Raleigh's Instructions to his Son and to Posterity were printed with his 'Remains:' the Precepts of Lord Burleigh, delivered to his second son Robert Cecil, were printed in Pecke's 'Desiderata Curiosa,' and reprinted in Kippis's 'Biographia Britannica.' Of King James's 'Kingly Gift' to Prince Henry, there have been several impressions.]

He was a light indeed: when he drew nigh,
And with his beams shined on our company,
All clouded brows were cleared, and every face
Was beautified with smiles; such comely grace
Appeared in his behaviour; such true wit,
Sharp wit, but inoffensive, always fit
For the occasion and the persons, still
Mingled with his discourse; h'ad wit at will.
And learning too he had in readiness,
Such as his book contains, worthy o' th' press,
His manuscript to his son's son. O when
Will it come forth, for th' use of gentlemen:
He was well read in books, and men; both these,
Studied, made what he spake or wrote to please:
Old authors he lov'd best; and well he knew
The old religion from the late and new;
And though he read and honour'd Bellarmine
And great Aquinas, he did not decline
From th' English church, but held fast to his death
The reformation of queen Elzabeth,
Wherein he had been bred; ever the same;
Warping neither to Rome nor Amsterdam.
One note of his religious mind take hence
(Exemplar to us all) his patience.
Among his papers, gather what his muse
Hath left us in remembrance ('twas his use)
Of honour'd persons; Chandos, Dutton, do
Live in his verses still, and Capel too.
Let Higford also live with them; his name
With lasting sounds my trumpet shall proclaim.[6]

An Interpretation of the poetical Sentences, in favour of the young Ladies, that please to cast a fair eye upon our Grandson.

The Preface. *Omnia mors poscit, &c.*
Death o'ertakes all, and it is sent
By nature, not for punishment.
Fortes creantur, &c.
The children whom brave men begat,
Will not, I trow, degenerate.
Page 3. *Pervia dant, &c.*
The shallow waters make a sound;
Silent are they that are profound.
P. 4. *Virtute decet, &c.*
Gentlemen, though your birth be high,
On virtue, not on blood rely.
P. 5. *Uni jugis vitæ est, &c.*
Estate and credit each begins,
And ends with the other, just like twins.

[6] [Qu. whether these verses were not the production of Barksdale; as his 'Nympha Libethris,' published in 1651, contains English lines addressed 'to Squire Higford, upon his Grandfather's book,' and others in Latin 'Amico nobili D. Gul. Higford', &c. See Censura Literar. vi. 22.]

P. 6. *Non minor est virtus, &c.*
———A state to raise,
And to preserve, is equal praise.

P. 8. *Dimidium factis, &c.*
He that hath well begun
Hath half his business done.

P. 13. *Numero Deus, &c.*
The number odd
Best pleases God,

P. 25. *Tuta frequensq; via est, &c.*
Some think it safe, and do take leave,
By a friend's name oft to deceive.

P. 29. *Nec imbellem, &c.*
The eagle, the brave bird of Jove,
Does not beget a silly Dove.

P. 30. *Principibus placuisse, &c.*
———'Tis no small grace,
To have esteem with men of place.

P. 34. *Finiunt, &c.*
The ploughman takes incessant pain,
And where he ends begins again.

P. 37. *Tum pietate gravem, &c.*
A grave man speaks, and all the throng
Have their ears chained to his tongue.

P. 52. *Quo semel est imbuta, &c.*
The new cask, a long time, is us'd
To smell o' th' liquor first infus'd.

P. 55. *De malè quæsitis, &c.*
———Estates do not
Come to the third heir, if ill got.

P. 59. *Quas dederis solus, &c.*
What you gave,
That you have.

P. 62. *Fortior est qui se, &c.*
———He that can
O'ercome himself is the valiant man.

P. 63. *Degeneres animos, &c.*
They most of all degenerous are,
That are distract with groundless fear.

P. 65. *Superanda omnis, &c.*
Troubles are great, abroad, at home;
Bear, bear, and then you overcome.

P. 84. *Tu regere imperio, &c.*
Let others other arts invent,
You study th' art of government.

The Preface.

MAN is a proud creature, ambitious of immortality; but it is denied him by the immutable law of God edicted against all flesh, once to die.

Omnia mors poscit; lex est non pœna perire.

But yet he solaceth himself with a fancy of immortality, at least-wise to live *in specie*, and by his posterity, more conspicuously in his first born to recontinue his memory: *Hæres est alter ipse* (saith Syracides) *& filius est pars patris: mortuus est pater, & quasi non est mortuus, quia reliquit similem sibi.*

The application, dear cousin, reflecteth upon you. You are to me both my cousin and my son; my cousin by the remotion of a degree, but my son according to the civil law, *jure repræsentationis*, because you represent the person of my dear son, your late father, now with God: so that in you are invested all his rights and prerogatives of birth, and upon you (by God's mercy) is likely to descend all the honour (if any such be) right and travel of our ancestors, and in you we all must live.

And because, in this your absence from Dixton, I cannot impart my solicitous thoughts unto you, nor acquit myself of that reciprocal duty I owe you, nor manifest the entire affection which I bear you, by personal conference; love must creep where it cannot go; and therefore not knowing otherwise how to make my approaches unto you, I have framed and dedicated unto you this ensuing address, that it may be (if worthy your perusal) a support to your tender youth, apt to slip, and a guide unto you in this your journey upon earth, and also a present or token of my love unto you, upon the entrance of this new year, which together with the whole course of your life, I heartily pray may be successful and happy.

Machiavel in his third book of his Decads upon Livy, ch. 34. (a book which I would recommend unto you in his due time, for I am not of the opinion of those rigid divines, that place so deep a searcher into histories and Roman antiquities amongst their apocrypha books) recounteth that in the institution of a young nobleman or gentleman (for gentlemen are *nobiles minores*) three things are very considerable.

1. That he descend from worthy parents; for that [it] will be presumed, that children will be such as their parents were (until the contrary doth appear.)

Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis.

2. The choice of his company, and converse; for this doth very much demonstrate what the person is in his genius and disposition, as Syracides well observeth: 'All flesh 'will resort unto their like, and every man will keep company with such as himself.'

3. That he be very careful, how he demean himself in the entrance of his youth that he act nothing, which shall be vile, sluggish or remiss: but that his actions savour of quickness and magnanimity: and if opportunity invite him thereunto, that he undertake some noble essay, *aliquod egregium facinus*, some notable adventure, thereby to give reputation and lustre unto his subsequent life.

Institutions or Advice to his Grandson.

The First Part.

NOSCE *teipsum* was a document in special esteem amongst the ancient philosophers, and to know your origin and birth is to know a good part of yourself.

I have in my custody six offices or inquisitions *in serie* (which also are transcribed into the several offices at London) all which I will take care faithfully to leave unto you, because it shall not be through my default, that you lose any of your just rights either in honour or profit: these offices and the quiet enjoyment of your ancestors ensuing thereupon, being in truth the very nerves and sinews of your estate, and the conducts whereby it doth appear how their blood runneth in your veins, of all which I shall be ready to give you an account.

But I beseech you (this your descent be it what it will) that you make no boasting or ostentation thereof, or comparisons with other gentlemen; than which nothing is more vile or putid: but lay it aside by you to vindicate you from indignities and affronts, and when you find yourself disparaged, or the title of your land questioned, then with modesty (the comeliest ornament of youth) and with such weapons as are left unto you, defend the same. Let upstarts and buyers of honour brag and boast.

Pervia dant vada plus murmuris, alta nihil.

Armories have suffixed unto them mottoes or short sentences: and that which your ancestors have long used is, VIRTUS VERUS HONUS. By which it doth appear, that unless you imitate their virtues, you cannot participate their honours. Without virtue, honour is but a false gloss: for titles of honour do not ennoble men, but worthy men ennoble their titles of honour.

Virtute decet non sanguine niti.

This honour, though it be a character indelible, which cannot be lost, but by your own default; yet it will be much impaired and in effect lost, neither can it be well preserved, without the preservation of your estate also. They are like two twins, inseparable, born together, and must live and die together.

Unijugis vitæ est una, necisque dies.

Poverty and honour are very unsuitable companions. Every acre of land you sell, you lose in proportion so much gentile blood: and therefore you may take notice that you are but *fiduciarius*, that is (according to the civil law) a trustee for others: and that piety which your ancestors had to preserve an estate for you, you are to extend the same unto those who shall succeed you. If you dissipate, you break that tacit and implicit trust, which so many ancestors, in so many ages, have reposed in you.

Now to preserve an estate is an art and skill, as Ovid telleth you:

Non minor est virtus, quàm quærere, parta tueri:
Casus inest illis, hic erit artis opus:

The virtue which best conduceth to this end, is the most excellent virtue parsimony; I mean the medium between *nimium* and *parum*, sordid avarice, and profuse prodigality. Cato being demanded what was the greatest revenue, made answer, *Maximum vectigal parsimonia.* Use parsimony betimes before a waste be made, for Seneca tells you, *Sera est in fundo parsimonia.*

In respect of the distance of years which is between us, you are very likely to be master of your estate, in part or in whole, betimes, yea in the very entrance of your youth.

The civil law limiting the majority of males at the age of twenty-five, better provideth for the security of estates than the common law of our land, which appointed the full age at twenty-one. More families, I dare say, have decayed, or at least received the deadly wound in this interval, which is but four years, than in all other years of man's life. Be not therefore too jolly at the first, nor apt to be blown by parasites and flatterers (the bane of youth, who as summer birds, but withal birds of prey, do always resort to the spring of an estate) that your estate is greater than it is: this hath deceived many. Make yourself rather less than you are. Good grounds of frugality at first, once well laid, will make your estate continue firm and stable.

Dimidium facti, qui bene cæpit, habet.

Land, by which a man is fed, is most honourable: money (as Syracides hath it) answereth all things, but 'tis not so honourable, and more casual. Land and money sort best together. If you cannot set your land, you may stock it. When it is more profitable for you to distock, you can take your best market. Cast yourself once behind, whereby you must be enforced to receive your rents before they are due, or to engage your tenants and servants, it is wonderfull what ways and projects will be laid to keep you down.

Riches may be well compared unto cisterns or pools, which a small stream will easily fill, if there be no leaks or wastes, but small wastes and expences continuing, and not prevented, have deceived, and undone many, no man knoweth how. Look to your exports,

as well as your imports, and so prevent growing mischiefs. *Idem facit sentina neglecta, quod flumen irruens. Ista levia noli contemnere. Qui spernit modica, paulatim decidet.*

The ancient historians agree that by this virtue parsimony most especially, the state of Rome came to sovereignty over the whole world. Quintus Cincinnatus was taken from the plough and made dictator, and at the end of his dictatorship returned to the plough again. But the Roman state, after the conquest of Asia being rotten with luxury, and the delicacies thereof *(prope ad summum prope ad exitum)* fell as fast; and at last resting *in sinu imperatoris*, the whole Roman empire was not sufficient to satiate the throat of one man, as did well appear in those monsters of men, Vitellius and Heliogabalus.

But what do we seek for examples of parsimony so ancient and remote, when you have so lively one of your own. Your worthy mother, you see, bred up in all affluence, denieth herself all the conveniences and contentments becoming her sex and honour. What to do? to give yourself and brothers a virtuous education. Certainly, you will much degenerate, if you comply not with her in so eminent a virtue.

Much more might be added by comparing the contrary effects to this virtue, because *contraria juxta se posita magis elucescunt:* but they are all checked by this rare virtue parsimony, the wholesome preservative against all inordination.

Another, and that an especial means to preserve your estate is your choice of a wife, when as maturity of years and your own affections shall incline you thereunto: which also, by your care, will add unto you both an increment of estate, and strength, and alliance of friends. It is the weightiest action you can perform in all your life, and it is resembled to war, in which it is said, you cannot err twice. *Non est in bello bis peccandum.* If love be your incentive, let discretion be your directive. Take your worthy mother by the hand with you; she looketh upon you with a double aspect, as entrusted by your late father, and by her own goodness, and indulgence toward you; exacting, by the laws of God and nature, duty and obedience from you. To whose advice, if you join your prayers to the Almighty, you shall then know that a good wife is a portion from the Lord.

Love is a fire which requireth fuel, and therefore I trust you will take care by your marriage to advance and augment your estate, that thereby your affectionate mother may be enabled to make provision for your brothers, to undergo those progressions into which they have made so happy and virtuous a commencement.

And this is also another preservation of your estate, and security; if yourself should fail, these like two arches will preserve the same. These are noble emissaries, which are sent abroad to afford you honour and reputation at home. If any sad adventure happen to them, your house must be an asylum or sanctuary unto them. You are three in number: *Numero Deus impare gaudet.* And as Solomon saith, 'The triple twisted 'cord is not easily broken.' *Nemo læditur nisi a seipso.* There be many ways and middesses by which families have decayed, and many seeming wise men have overthrown their own estates. Such are they that grasp more than they can hold. Mortgage not your own land upon a certain title, for other land of whose title you cannot be so well assured. Such as these Syracides well noteth: 'He that buyeth land with other men's 'money, is like one that buyeth a heap of stones to bury himself.' It is not the number of acres will give you content, when you are besieged and oppressed with debts and necessities. *Melior est pauper* (saith Solomon) *sibi sufficiens, quàm qui multa possidet, et tamen egenus.*

Such as these are gamesters also, who out of a covetous desire and overweening to gain, sometimes make a patrimony but a Christmas-cast. Others have more sport for their money, who adventure bag after bag, and never leave off till all be lost. This hath accelerated the ruin of many noble families.

I am not so supercilious to conceive, but that it may be a fitting decorum, for you to play, when by noble company you are invited thereunto: nay, not to paly is a defect; but then not to adventure more than you can well spare, and for which the loss will not

discontent you. And in this your disport, you are to have some respect unto time, and not to make that to be your vocation which is only intended for your recreation. *Ludendi modus est retinendus*, saith Tully. And it will also become you to know the advantages of games; so shall you not altogether commit your money, which is so precious, to the temerity of fortune. Money is the hand to all actions, and it is also called *alter sanguis*, and *regina pecunia, cui omnia obediunt.*

A consequent of the two former is the taking up of money upon interest: what though you see many of the nobility and gentry involved and plunged therein, *Multitudo errantium non parat errori patrocinium.* Cato being demanded, *Quid est fœnerare?* made answer, *Hominem jugulare.* The Jews (well versed in the trade ever since) were permitted to lend upon usury, to those nations, whom God had commanded to be cast out before them, thereby to extirp them. It devoureth states and kingdoms. The king of Spain, called 'the king of the golden purse,' upon whose dominions the sun never setteth; was not able to pay the interest of money, taken up from the merchants of Genoa, for the supply of his army in the Low-Countries.

A concomitant to this of usury is suretyship, which hath also undone many. Money cannot be procured but upon high security; whereby you must make use of your friends, even of your best friends. If you suffer them to be sued and impleaded, *actum est de amicitiâ.* But for the most part the borrowers of money (as at a mart) are engaged one for another, by a law of congruity. Those that stand engaged for you; you must underwrite for them also: so that thereby your person and estate will not only lie exposed to your own engagements, which might be weighty enough to pull you down, but for other mens debts also. And then it will be too late for you to hearken unto Solomon, whose advice is: 'If thou be surety for thy neighbour, and hast stricken hands with a 'stranger, give no sleep to thine eyes, nor slumber to thine eyelids. Deliver thyself as 'a doe from the hands of the hunter, and as a bird from the hand of the fowler.' Your own engagements, with others also, by a figure of multiplication, may so redouble and treble upon, that in a moment you may be swallowed up alive; and that house, wherein your ancestors have been glorious for bounty and hospitality, may become the den of a merciless usurer. Your enemies will laugh you to scorn, your friends passing by will lament and say, *O domus antiqua, quàm dispari dominaris domino!* But to prevent these and other the like mischiefs, you have a sure way. Be you the fruitful servant of Almighty God, you shall take deeper root: 'You shall be like a tree planted by the water 'side, which will bring forth fruit in due season; your leaf also shall not wither, and 'whatsoever you do, it shall prosper.'

Thus much for the preservation of your honour and estate, which descend upon you from your ancestors. You may take breath a little, and then proceed to the second part of this discourse, concerning your company and converse.

The Second Part.

Homo est animal sociale: and he that is not sociable (saith Aristotle) is more than a man, or less than a man, *aut Deus aut bellua*, either a God which hath need of none, or a beast that will do good to none. And from this principle or instinct of nature (for men to live together) he deduceth families, villages, cities and commonwealths. But the best things have a mixture of ill, and a difficulty ariseth, since *mundus in maligno positus*, how shall we converse and not participate with other men's sins; touch pitch and not be defiled; or be like fishes of the sea, bred up in salt waters, and always sweet.

Pelagius affirmed that man only sinneth by imitation: and certainly by seeing others sin before us, we insensibly suck in the poison of vice. This hath been the cause, that divers pious and devout men have dissociated and retired themselves into rocks, caves,

and desert places, thereby to avoid the contagion of evil: such as John the Baptist, father of the Eremites.

But man by his fall being judged to eat his bread *sudore vultus sui,* is necessitated to live and make choice of an active life; which consisteth in labour and commerce, and thereby is engaged to the society of others. And because of temptations, it is good in the first place to avoid the converse of all known wicked persons, such as are cheaters, ruffians, and debauched, who glory in their shame. *A bonis bona perdisces* (saith Seneca) *quod si malis adhæseris, mentem quam habes procul dubio perdes.* But because the assemblies of men (and those also of the better sort, which is to be bewailed) do abound with such, we are to fortify ourselves with the moral virtues, and put on the Christian armour, that thereby, by God's assistance, we may avoid the baits and engines wherewith they endeavour to ensnare us, as Solomon adviseth us; *Si alliciant te peccatores, ne acquiescas eis, &c.* Seneca also gives us excellent direction: *Cum tuis versare, qui te meliorem facturi sunt: illos admitte, quos tu potes facere meliores.* Good is diffusive; and it is a happy converse, when we either profit others or ourselves.

The first place in our affections must be for our friends. True friendship is (as Tully saith) *inter bonos in bonis;* all compacts with wicked men, or in wicked things, are *male icta fœdera.* A friend is tried in adversity: *Si possides amicum* (saith Syracides) *in tentationibus posside eum, & ne facile credas ei.* A good close, not to be too credulous, but to try before you trust; true friends being very rare among so many professors of friendship.

Tuta frequensque, via est per amici fallere nomen.

The Italians have a proverb, 'God shield me from my friends, I will look to my 'enemies myself.' It may be an advantage to have an enemy: he will make you stand the surer upon your guard: you eye his motions and avenues: but a friend, which bosometh with you, who can prevent? He is like a subterraneous engine, which will blow you up before you hear the report. And therefore Seneca well adviseth: *Sic ama tanquam osurus,* &c. Never love so much, but reserve yourself, that if your friend shall become your enemy, he shall not have power to do you hurt: and yet withal, never hate so much, but leave an open gap or overture to let in love. Your hatred must be mortal, your love immortal. Love abideth for ever.

The next in order are your neighbours, (a good neighbour near, is better than a brother afar off:) with whom, in respect of nearness, you are to converse.

There are two honourable neighbours, that in effect encircle your estate: 1. The right honourable Viscount Tracy, who hath the pre-eminence of all the families in these parts for antiquity.[7] Your ancestors have from them received much honour, by divers trusts and services recommended and reposed in them. Their lands at Alderton lie promiscuously with yours, and many differences have arisen between the respective lords and tenants, which have been always composed in an amicable way. Many graces and favours, I have received in my country, have proceeded from this honourable lord, and his son sir Robert Tracy, the true inheritor of his honours and virtues. And though I might command you, yet had I rather entreat you, to assist me to pay that deep debt of duty and service which I owe to those of that honourable family.

The other is the Lord Chandos; nay, the Lord Butlers[8] long before, as I am very well able to set forth. The Lord Edmund Chandos, Knight of the Garter, in much infirmity of body did adventure towards Glocester to do Sir John Higford honour, when he was first high sheriff; but falling more sick in the journey, returned to his castle and died before the assizes were ended. The Lord Giles Chandos employed Sir John Higford in the government of his estate, and in the lieutenancy of the county: and for his good service done therein promoved him to the queen's majesty (a great housewife of her honour) who dignified him with the order of a knight (in those days communicable only to persons

[7] [The manor of Todington, com. Gloucest. was, till lately, the ancient seat of the Viscounts Tracy.]
[8] [Alias Boteler, of Sudely Castle, afterwards the property of the Chandoses.]

of worth and quality) 14 Sept. 1591.[9] At which time also her said majesty created Sir John Scudamore, knight, the goodliest personage then in the court of England, and in high favour; her majesty using many gracious speeches to them both. The Lord Grey Chandos, truly noble both in learning and arms, brought me first into the commission of the peace, and did me many graces both in court and country. This noble lord, with whom you are almost coetaneous, hath shewed many remarkable *indices* of his prowess and honour.

Nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbam.

Follow the train of your ancestors, and so grow up in his favour.

Principibus placuisse viris haud ultima laus est.

You have also many other worthy gentlemen your neighbours, and some of your alliance too, from whom your ancestors have received many high favours. Your ancestors knew no other way to continue their good affections, but affability, sweetness, and mutual offices of love. Morosity and strangeness will lose your friends, and benefit you nothing at all.

Descendendo ascendes.

The next companions in order are your servants and domestics; but these are ill companions, lest they prove insolent. It is written of Nero, the worst of princes, *Non habuisse ingenium supra servos;* when the great affairs of state were in debate in the senate house, he was conversant with his favourite Tigillinus and the rest of his servants. And this hath also been a disparagement to many worthy gentlemen, who affecting to be the best of their company, have neglected the converse of their superiors, many times to their great disadvantage.

That you may be the better obeyed by your servants, you must carefully govern yourself, that by your own example you may the better govern them. *Longum est iter per præcepta; breve et efficax per exempla.*

In the choice of your servants, you must take care, that they be *negotiis pares*, and then enjoin them business enough, and exact accounts from them, lest by remissness they grow idle and unserviceable. Pay them their due salaries: so will they be the more tied and assured to you: *Non manebit apud te opus mercenarii usque mane.* Your commands must be lawful, pious, and religious, *tantum in Domino;* remembering, that as they are your servants, so they are God's freemen. Holy David will direct you in the choice of them: 'He that leadeth a godly life, he shall be my servant.' Faithful Abraham will inform you how to govern them: 'I know (saith God) that Abraham will command his 'household, that they keep the way of the Lord to do righteousness and judgment.' Abraham had a good servant whom he employed in the negotiation of his son's marriage: if you find such a servant, let your soul love him, and defraud him not of liberty, neither leave him a poor man.

The next companions will be your tenants, who are your neighbours, and will have recourse unto you, in respect of their estates which they hold of you. Tillage is the preservation of a commonwealth in providing bread, which is called the staff of man, whereupon he leaneth: which staff, if it fail, man falleth to the ground. *Terra dicitur a terendo:* and, in a fine, tillage-land is first set down, because it is worthier than any other land. For, as Cicero saith, *Omnium rerum ex quibus aliquid exprimitur, nihil est agricultura melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine libero dignius.* By this kings have their subsidies, and the bodies of men for supply of their armies, (for, as Tacitus saith, *Ex agro supplendum robur exercitus)* and incumbents also receive their full tithes. These men live innocent lives, without deceit: they only rely upon God, who giveth the former and the later rain. To inclose, or not to suffer them to renew their estates, whereby desolation shall ensue, draweth on a woe.

They hold of you by fealty, (that is fidelity,) to be faithful unto you for the lands they

[9] [In her progress to Sudeley Castle, the seat of Giles, third Lord Chandos. See Nichols's Elizabethan Progresses, vol. ii. an. 1592.]

hold: you must in relation give them protection, whereby they may follow their excessive labours.

Finiunt, reaprantque labores.

Your ancestors have been moderate in their fines, and I trust God will bless you the better for it. Let these men of bread, enjoy and eat the bread which they dearly labour for and earn: *Panis pauperum, vita pauperum: qui defraudat eos, vir sanguinis.*

To your tenements and manor you have an advowson that is appendant.[10] An advowson, in the eye and construction of the law, is no more but a pleasure for a friend; a good friend indeed which may lead you to God. *Omnia cum amico delibera, sed de ipso prius.*

Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Sevilla in Spain, would never confer any benefice to any person who made suit for the same. K. Henry VII. one of the sages of the kings of England, did never promote any one to any office or dignity upon the motion of another. Give your benefice yourself, so shall you have the thanks: give it with judgment, not with partial affection: St. Paul will direct you how to choose: *Irreprehensibilem, ornatum, prudentem, pudicum, hospitalem, doctorem; non violentum, non percussorem, non cupidum; sed modestum, non neophytum, ne in superbiam elatus in judicium incidat diaboli.* Against this young man I should except a little. Young men are agueish; their pots are boiling, and they have many meanders. The cardinals in their conclave would once adventure (and that but once) to make a young pope, which was Leo the Xth of the house of Medicis; but see what followed: this young pope by promiscuous granting and selling of pardons and indulgences to the German nation, gave occasion to Luther to write against him. What a defection hath since ensued from that see? The cardinals, since grown more wary in their choice, do except against any one (though otherwise well parted for so high a function) unless he be also old enough to be pope.

Coram cano capite consurge, (saith Syracides.) The elder man fixeth a deeper impression in the hearts of his auditors, and the grey hairs exact a better attention; as it is lively expressed by Virgil.

Tum pietate gravem, ac meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent; arrectisque auribus adstant:
Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet.

The elder man also, if he be froward, is of less continuance.

Non datur beneficium, nisi propter officium, saith the law. If you have provided him of the temporal part, he must afford you the spiritual. Amongst other his qualifications, peaceable must be one; in respect of the interest he shall have in yours and your tenants estates. When you make a feast, though furnished with variety of delicacies, your feast will be much impaired, if you have no salt. This is your salt.

It will be an especial act of piety in you to settle a godly preaching minister to officiate at Dixton; it will be a singular comfort to you and your family, to be informed in your duty to God, by the example of his life and by his doctrine. It is said, *Facundus comes in via est pro vehiculo:* certainly, in this your journey *ad patriam,* which is heaven, (for we are all but pilgrims upon earth) such a companion will be as a chariot, to bring you to Almighty God: and, perhaps, some of your ancestors have been less successful by the omission thereof.

Now, being upon the treaty of sacred things, I shall recommend and transmit unto you the care of certain lands piously bequeathed by William Higford, Esq. to the use of the church of Alderton, by his deed bearing date in October, the 28th Henry VIII.[11]

The church doth pray in aid of *brachium sæculare* to support it, and the first law in the statutes of Magna Charta, whereunto the king at his coronation is solemnly sworn, is, ' That the church of England shall be free, and have all her rights entire, and her

[10] [i. e. Alderton, the parish in which the manor of Dixton was situated.]

[11] [William Higford, Esq. gave 6*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.* yearly, charged on his estate, to repair the utensils and ornaments of Alderton church. The church-wardens, in memory of this charity, are to pay annually at Michaelmas, a couple of capons, to the heirs of Mr. Higford.—Rudder's Hist. of Gloucestershire, p. 221.

'liberties inviolate.' You are and must be a *brachium sæculare*, and support, to those lands, which being separated and set apart from profane uses, must be now only employed according to the disposition of the donor *per formam doni.* To alien or divert the profits to any other use (which is often attempted by the parishioners to save their own money) or to endeavour to gain these lands to yourself, is sacrilege; a crying sin, greatly tending to the dishonour of Almighty God, and which also may infect your other lands. There are many examples of such who have broken the trusts reposed in them, but their names do rot upon the earth. *Horrendum est incidere in manu Dei.* You will find other pious acts of your ancestors, which to their glory and honour you are to maintain, as you will expect to be honoured yourself.

You have also another companion, which readeth to you. *Generosus animus facilius ducitur quàm trahitur.* You must hearken to him as substituted by your worthy mother, unto whom God hath confirmed a power over you. 'The heir (saith the apostle) differeth 'in nothing from a servant (in his minority) but is under tutors and governors.' Disobedience in this kind is destructive. *Maledictio matris eradicat fundamenta.* This your overseer is to give you your first liquor: and then you know,

Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu.

Sir John Higford, who was an eminent man in his country, had for his tutor the famous Bishop Jewel; my father, Doctor Cole, an excellent governor; myself, Doctor Sebastian Benefield, native of Presbury, a very learned man: all three of Corpus Christi College, Oxon. And if we may transcend higher, Alexander who conquered the world, had for his tutor Aristotle, who conquered the arts. Thomas Aquinas, the champion of the Roman host (of whom they boast, *Tolle Thomam et dissipa ecclesiam)* had for his tutor our countryman and near neighbour, Alexander of Hales, surnamed *doctor irrefragabilis:* Charles the Great, emperor of the west, Alcuinus: Charles the Fifth, Pope Adrian: King James, a king of learning as well as of power, had for his tutor the famous Buchanan. These princes and great persons obtained great renown by their institution, from their tutors.

The Jesuits boast, that *imperium literarum penès Jesuitas:* and they profit and raise their scholars most by the choicest lecturers that may be gotten to read unto their youth (and so also do both our universities, both in private colleges and public schools) after the lecture they meet together, hold disputation, whet their wits by discourse, and rivet what they have heard; adding thereunto, writing the heads for the helps of fallible memory: thus the work is done. 'Reading maketh an able man, discourse a ready man, and 'writing a perfect man.'

There are also other companions, and these are books; held to be the best companions of all, because they will not flatter: but in the choice of them you ought to be very curious. And therefore, in the first place, cast away from you all wanton, lewd and licentious pamphlets: and read good books, and those in order and method. For as in your diet, health is preserved by a few dishes, and those of good juice and nourishment; so in learning, a few books, well studied and digested, will profit you more than a great number not well chosen. *Lectio certa prodest:* saith Seneca.

The right honourable, the Lord Viscount Scudamore is best able to direct you (when you can have access to his lordship) he is φιλομαθὴς καὶ πολυμαθὴς, a great lover of learning and very learned; and a most bountiful Mecænas to all scholars and men of parts.

The book wherein you are to be most conversant, is the Holy Scriptures. This must be your '*Vade mecum.*' *Non recedat volumen legis hujus ab ore tuo, sed meditaberis in eo diebus et noctibus.* This word is 'a lantern unto your feet, and a light unto your paths.' The Scripture is compared to a river, wherein a lamb may wade, and an elephant may swim: in some places easy, in some places hard to be understood. The easy must expound the harder: and where you doubt, you must follow the advice of St. James; *Si quis indiget sapientia, postulet a Deo:* and also have recourse to God's learned ministers and ambassadors; of whom it is said, *Vobis datum est nósse mysteria Dei,* whereto the prophet Malachi agreeth: 'The priest's lips preserve knowledge: seek the law at his mouth.'

Thus doing, you must acquiesce, and captivate your understanding 'to the obedience 'of Christ.'

The Psalms of holy David you are to read as they are appointed for the day, being a choice part of the word of God, and the ejaculations of a person according to God's heart.

Among other books I would commend unto you especially, in divinity, the learned Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity; in history, the honour of our nation Sir Walter Raleigh, and Plutarch's Lives; for the knowledge of our own country, Mr. Camden's 'Britannia,' and my friend Sir Richard Baker's 'Chronicle;' for precepts of morality and virtuous education, Xenophon's Cyrus, and Tully's Offices, together with K. James's 'Basilicon 'Doron:' and to refresh yourself with poetical stories, you may take Sir Philip Sydney instead of all. When I was young, it was a defect for a gentleman not to be versed in him.

Alfred, one of the Saxon kings during the heptarchy, and founder[12] of the university of Oxford, divided the twenty-four hours of the day into three parts: whereof one third part he spent in the necessities of nature, *viz.* eating, drinking, dressing, sleeping, &c. another third part he employed in hearing and composing matters of state, and negotiations of his kingdom; but the other third part he constantly devoted to meditation and acquisition of wisdom. Kings and princes have many and great difficulties, and crowns have thorns: and so in like sort all masters of families and trades, in their several mysteries and vocations, have a full employment of their time: of whom it may be said, as Seneca, *Ipsa vita vitæ apparatu consumitur.* But in you, who are freed from all those incumbrances, it were noble to vindicate from sleep and sports some hours every day, and to dispose them in the exercise of learning.

Of all professions the lawyer is most painful: and it may well be so: gold is an especial invitement to industry. I have known divers students of the law, who have, without any failure, set apart eight, nay some ten hours and more every day in study of the law: whereby they became greater gainers, and were advanced to the highest place of judicature.

Titus the son of the emperor Vespasian, called *delicia generis humani* (because he was of so sweet a disposition, that it is said, *Neminem ab eo tristem discessisse)* this Titus kept a diary of all his actions, and when at night he had found upon examination, that he had acted nothing memorable, he would exclaim, *Amici, diem perdidimus.* This example I commend to you, dear cousin, and add no more here, concerning your converse either with men or books.

The Third Part.

The last part of our discourse will concern your actions. *Virtutis laus omnis in actione consistit.* The world is a stage, and every one is to act his part before that great spectator, God Almighty: which must make you careful how you act under his all-seeing eye.

The highest acts you can perform are the acts of religion which raiseth up your mind from earth to Heaven. Your religion must be accompanied with zeal, and your zeal tempered with discretion, that you may not be one of them whom the apostle censureth: *Habentes zelum, sed non secundum scientiam.*

In your access to Heaven you are to be led by two virgins, prayer and preaching, by the one you talk with God, by the other God speaketh unto you.

In your prayer, you are to be frequent and fervent. Holy David in the evening, morning and noon did pray unto the Lord, and that instantly, and the Lord heard his

[12] [Or rather a restorer of University college, according to the opinion of some writers; though Mr. Chalmers has not been able to trace any document in which the name of Alfred appears as a benefactor. See Introduction to his History of Oxford.]

prayer. He did rise also at midnight to give thanks unto the Lord. Our Saviour Christ *pernoctabat in oratione.*

As for preaching, when you enter into the house of God, be ready and attentive in hearing the word of God, and make it your own by meditation and practice. Those beasts only were accounted clean, that ruminate and chew the cud.

It is practice, and the careful observance of God's commandments, which brings the reward, *Hoc fac et vives.* This it is that doth most lively denominate a Christian. You shall know him by his fruits.

For the better observance of God's law, you are to pray in aid of grace, as St. Austin adviseth, *Facere quod possumus, et petere quod non possumus.* When you fall, let your prayer be, *Ne derelinquas me, Domine:* Strive to raise yourself again by repentance, which is no more but *peccata præterita plangere, et plangenda iterum non committere,* called by St. Jerome, *Secunda post naufragium tabula.*

The theological virtues which attend religion are three, faith, hope, and charity: with which you must join humility. This is the basis or foundation of all other virtues: the first step of Jacob's ladder. 'He that humbleth himself shall be exalted.'

But the moral virtues are a more proper subject for me; the first in order is justice.

This is the bond of all societies, families, kingdoms and commonwealths. *Justitiâ amotâ, quid sunt regna, nisi magna latrocinia,* justice is, *suum cuique tribuere,* to perform your word and contracts, and thereby you will command other men's estates as your own. And let this be a rule unto you, *Nullum utile quod non honestum;* that which is unjustly extorted from others will never prosper:

De male quæsitis non gaudet tertius hæres.

Think not to be registered a saint in the court of Heaven, unless you make restitution (*aut voto aut facto*) of that which you have wrongfully exacted upon earth. *Non remittitur peccatum* (say the casuists) *nisi restituitur ablatum.*

But how will you be able to render every one his own, unless you have the knowledge of laws, which limit every one their own, especially of the common or municipal law of this kingdom, under which you live, and by which you hold your estate.

Yet some caution is to be had that your knowledge of the law provoke you not to commence suits, which are the countryman's wars. It is the counsel of Moses, *Priusquam expugnaveris aliquam civitatem, offeras ei pacem.* Have no suits in law, if you can avoid them, or if you may have peace without them. Use law as your last remedy. Suits in law will cause an extreme distraction in your affairs, estate and mind. *Sapientis est modico damno molestiam rei exclusisse.* The counsel of the psalmist is not only, *sequenore,* but *sectare pacem:* the frequentative notes, you must seek it often.

For the procuring and effecting of peace, it concerneth you in all your affairs to act nothing without the best and choicest counsel may be had, that your contracts and settlements of your estate be valid and perfect; and as much as in you lyeth, foresee all inconveniences which may happen; leave as little as you can to incertainty: fraud is so inquisitive and searching, that if you lay open the least gap, fraud will enter thereinto, and will not only weaken and make void contracts and bargains, but even laws also, never so judiciously debated and enacted.

There is an adage among the lawyers, *Qui habet terras habet guerras,* it is incident unto land to have suits; and the greater your estate, the more suits; but if any such be, you must therein be vigilant and industrious to apprehend opportunities, nothing is gained by sleeping, saith the common law. *Vigilantibus et non dormientibus jura subvenient.*

I am not of the opinion of some of our nobility and gentry, who, when their sons leave the universities, omit the inns of court, and send them beyond the seas. Travel is a necessary accomplishment of a gentleman, and an especial part of his education: but what is it to be conversant abroad, and a stranger at home? These inns of court are virtuous and fruitful seminaries for the breeding of youth, where they study the known laws of the land and other noble exercises.

Another part of justice is the well disposing of your own, and this virtue is called liberality; you are to scatter your alms as seed upon the earth, to gain thereby a plentiful harvest. You shall have the prayers of many imploring God for you: and if the curse of the poor shall ascend to his maker, shall not his prayers conduce to your good. We are but dispensators of God's blessings, and the poor must have a part. This is the most gainful commerce of all other. *Da temporaria, ut consequaris æterna. Melius pecunia servatur, quæ in manu pauperis collocatur. Quas dederis solus semper habebis opes.*

The next in order is prudence, *Prudentia non est tantum virtus, sed auriga virtutum.* This virtue is the directress of all other virtues, sits at the helm to guide the ship, holdeth the judgment-seat, distinguisheth *bonum à malo, verum à falso.*

'A wise man's eyes (saith Solomon) are always in his head:' and if his own eyes are deficient he will use the eyes of others: *Plus vident oculi quàm oculus.*

From hence ariseth the necessity of counsel: for in counsel is health: *Sine consilio facias nihil, et non pœnitebis,* saith Syracides. It is said of God himself, who is infinite in knowledge, that he acteth all things according to the counsel of his will. Whence we may learn to do nothing rashly or by precipitation: *Deliberandum est diu quod statuendum est semel.*

A counsellor's part is, not only to give counsel, but to keep counsel, to be secret and reserved. To keep your friend's secrets, is religion: to keep your own, is safety. For so shall you not be prevented in your designs, which will be sooner effected by a prudent disguising of your purposes; like the watermen, who, in rowing, turn their backs to the landing place.

Depend not upon human wisdom and policy, but depend on God: choose the fittest means to your just ends, and leave the success to him.

After followeth fortitude, what can be more expected: prudence to direct what to do, and fortitude or courage to dare to do. But this virtue is best observed in ourselves. Man hath for his object *bonum sensibile, et bonum supernaturale:* the one draweth him upward, the other downward. And hence ariseth the conflict which is in man; himself against himself. Whereupon it was the daily prayer of St. Austin, *Domine! salve me à me.* To triumph in the conquest of yourself, and to subjugate your affections and appetite to the government of reason, is more than to conquer the world: which some men have effected, and yet could never conquer themselves,

Fortior est qui se quàm qui fortissima vincit
Mœnia.

And here great care is to be had to withstand the blandishments of prosperity, by which more inconsiderately fall, than by the blasts and storms of adversity. *Magnæ virtutis est cum fælicitate luctari: magnæ fælicitatis à fælicitate non vinci.* The traveller puts off his cloak in the sun-shine, which he held fast during the rain and storm.

Another effect of fortitude is to exclude all fear:

Degeneres animos timor arguit.

Fear is defined by Solomon, to be the betraying of the succours which reason offers. Base cowardice, which suggests panic fears, maketh shadows substances, mole-hills to seem mountains. *Pavor omnem sapientiam ex animo expectorat.* And therefore in difficile and dangerous actions, it concerneth you to make a collection of yourself, for *re cognita cessat timor,* the justice of your cause and the clearness of your conscience will make you as bold as a lion, and the ugliness of death will not affright you.

Another part of fortitude is patience; by many of our gallants called *virtus asinina,* but in truth it is *virtus heroica:* the most heroical of all the rest, and which giveth you assurance of victory: *Vincit qui patitur,* the patient man, like the skilful seaman, when the winds are contrary, tacketh about, and so arriveth at the port desired.

I will present you with one instance for many. The Lord Pawlett, the first Lord Marquis of Winchester, (so created by Edward the Sixth,) continued a privy-counsellor, and in special favour, to four princes, Henry VIII. Edward VI. Q. Mary, and was lord-

treasurer of England unto Q. Elizabeth; and being demanded how he could continue in prime favour with four princes, so differing in disposition, religion, age, and sex, made answer: *Patiendo, tacendo, blandiloquendo, injurias non ulciscendo.* Agreeable whereunto was another saying of the same Marquis: *Ortus sum ex salice, non ex quercu.* But Virgil the poet shall conclude for all.

Superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.

The last, but not the least, is the most rare and excellent virtue Temperance. Epictetus taught this virtue in two words: *Sustine et abstine.* Aristotle defineth it: *Virtus cohibens appetitum in iis quæ turpiter appetuntur.* But St. Gregory goes farther: *Qui non temperat à licitis, incidet in illicita.* It is not enough to abstain from things forbidden and unlawful, but even from the immoderate use of lawful things also.

This is the sweet virtue, nay the lady and mistress of all the rest. This must be your consort both at bed and at board: at bed to preserve your chastity; at board to preserve your health. Chastity is a great gift of God; the chaste shall follow the lamb: they lead an angelical life here, *in carne, sine carne.* Health is the greatest wordly blessing. As it is an axiom in philosophy, *Anima sequitur temperaturam corporis;* so certainly the distempers of the body do dog and disturb the faculties of the mind.

This virtue will preserve you from the loathsome sin of drunkenness: which, if it once get possession of you, will increase with your age and gather strength. Other vices may have some generosity in them, this savoureth too much of the pig. It excludeth a man from the kingdom of God; it depriveth him of his reason; it exposeth him to contempt and scorn; it bringeth many other sad consequences and disasters.

I know there is sometimes a joviality amongst men upon prosperous events, whereby you may be drawn perhaps to exceed by persons of honour. But be sure, if you drink *ad hilaritatem*, drink not *ad ebrietatem.* Make not yourself a brewer's horse to carry drink. Pretend other business and fair excuses to come off. Wine and strong drink is a traitor. 'The wine sparkleth in the cup, it runneth sweetly down the throat, but it 'biteth like a serpent, and the end is bitterness;' as the wisest man hath observed.

I presume I might have forborne this to you; but because it is *morbus patrius*, so catching and infectious, I have taken leave to deliver mine opinion thereof.

There is another sort of temperance, to restrain anger. It will be good for you to resist the beginnings of anger, and to kill this raging serpent in the egg. Augustus Cæsar, before he would do any thing in his anger, would say over the Greek alphabet: but let your direction be, when your anger ariseth, to say over the Lord's Prayer, twice or thrice, the oftener the better: and remember what Solomon saith; 'It is the discretion of a man 'to defer his anger, and his glory to pass by offences.'

From these cardinal virtues, I shall now proceed to some good additions, and comely ornaments of a gentleman.

And the first that I shall propose unto you is, the noble exercise of riding the great horse. A knight on horseback is one of the goodliest sights in the world. Methinks I see Sir James Scudamore, your thrice noble grandfather, (a brave man of arms both at tilt and barriers,) after the voyage of Cales and the Canary Islands (wherein he performed very remarkable and signal service, under the conduct of the Earl of Essex) enter the tiltyard in a handsome equipage, all in complete armour, embellished with plumes, his beaver close, mounted upon a very high bounding horse (I have seen the shoes of his horse glister above the heads of all the people) and when he came to the encounter or shock, brake as many spears as the most; her majesty, Q. Elizabeth, with a train of ladies, like the stars in the firmament, and the whole court looking upon him with a very gracious aspect. And when he came to reside with Sir John Scudamore, his father (two braver gentlemen shall I never see together at one time, such a father, such a son) himself and other brave cavaliers, and some of their menials and of his suite, to manage every morning six or more brave well-ridden horses; every horse brought forth by his groom in such decency, order, and honour, that Holme Lacy, at that time, seemed not only an academy, but even the very court of a prince.

Sir, you may not boast yourself to descend from such ancestors, unless also you have an earnest emulation to succeed them in their virtues.

The next is the most noble art of defence. You may note it is not called the art of offence: to offend and to do wrong, is inhuman and barbarous. *Nihil intolerabilius* (saith Tully) *in benè morata republica, quàm aliquid fieri per vim.*

If you wrong your superior, then you know that will be *impar congressus:* upon the shock, the iron pot will quickly break in pieces the sides of the earthern pot. And if you wrong your inferior, then shall you descend, and make him equal with yourself; and if you be vanquished, it will tend the more to your dishonour. But above all things you are to avoid duelling. To be engaged in a duel, is to be accursed from your mother's womb. Two great extremities, to kill or to be killed. By the one, you will be no other than Cain, after the killing of his brother Abel, a runagate upon the face of the earth, with the horror of conscience, whose worm dieth not; and by the other, you die out of charity, in the disfavour of Almighty God; a most fearful condition.

To prevent and avoid quarrels, wise men have observed four things:

First, hold no arguments vehemently. Every man loveth the child of his own brain, as well as the child of his body, and few men will yield. Reason with your antagonist soberly, repeat his argument, in some measure seem to approve it, though never so absurb; crave his pardon that you dissent from him, and then press your reasons fairly and perspicuously: you are not bound to make another man of your opinion; if you cannot gain him, fall off.

Secondly, make no comparisons. 'Comparisons are odious,' saith our proverb. For either you will over-praise, which will be a fault in you; (a noble gentleman, a brave gentleman, an honest gentleman, is praise sufficient:) or else you will detract, and that will offend also.

Thirdly, lay no wagers. This hath been an occasion of many quarrels, kindled by avarice.

Lastly, avoid all scurrility. Rub no old sores, and lose not your friend for your jest. *Facetiæ* (saith Tacitus) *quæ nimium de vero traxerint, acrem sui memoriam relinquent.*

But to defend yourself in a just cause, that is agreeable to the laws of God, nature, and man; and to do it with judgment and resolution, will marvellously tend to your honour and safety.

The use of arms doth much differ in these times. I hear now the single rapier is altogether in use: when I was young, the rapier and dagger. And I cannot understand, seeing God hath given a man two hands, why he should not use them both for his defence.

The bravest gentlemen of arms, which I have seen, were Sir Charles Candish, and the now Marquis of Newcastle, his son, Sir Kenelm Digby, and Sir Lewis Dives; whom I have seen compose their whole bodies in such a posture, that they seemed to be a fort impregnable. They were the scholars of John de Nardes of Sevilla in Spain, who with the dagger alone would encounter the single rapier, and worst him. This exercise is most necessary for you, and also excellent for your health.

And from this principle or ground of nature, to defend yourself, appeareth the lawfulness of war, whenas the honour, religion and safety of a commonwealth is concerned therein. *Justum est bellum, quod idem est necessarium: et pia arma, ubi nulla nisi in armis spes est.*

Our Saviour adviseth, that he who will go to war, should compute first. In the computation you are to make, you must survey *bona animi, bona corporis,* and *bona fortunæ.* In the first you are to measure your abilities of mind: for if you enter into war, you must either go on like a man of honour, or die in the bed of honour. Next, you are to consider, whether your body be able to endure the labours of war, and the extremities of hunger, thirst, cold, heat, watching, &c. And lastly, what salary or entertainment you shall have (for the name soldier is derived from the name *solde*, which is pay) that you may follow the wars in an honourable way; therein to use no violence or plundering, which will

be unworthy of you; but follow St. John Baptist's command: *Neminem concutiatis: sed contenti estote stipendiis vestris.*

But now from the rude noise of arms I shall call you to the harmonious sounds of music, worthily placed among the liberal arts. All creatures have an inclination thereunto: the birds chanting in the woods; the laborious husbandman and artificer, in their several vocations alleviate their toilsome labours by their rude accents, making melody to themselves; and in all ages music hath been esteemed a quality becoming a noble personage. Themistocles the Athenian (as Tully saith) *Quia non poterat fidibus canere, habitus est indoctior.*

Music is either vocal or instrumental. Vocal is best, because made by God himself; adding thereunto the liveliness of the musician, singing some excellent composed poem, well fitted to the music: and in this kind these latter times have been most exquisite. But you will be most complete, when you join the vocal and instrumental both together.

Great is the power of music. In the kingdom of Naples, there is a small creature called the tarantula; any one bitten with it falleth into a phrensy, and the proper cure for him is music; whereby he is recovered.

Music did allay the evil spirit of Saul. Music prepared Elisha the prophet to receive his inspirations. Music advanced God's honour and service in the temple, and the happiness in Heaven is described and set forth unto us by music and singing.

Memorable is that which St. Austin relateth of his conversion (in the book of his confessions) *Cum reminiscor lacrymas meas quas fudi ad cantus ecclesiæ tuæ in primordiis recuperatæ fidei meæ, magnam instituti hujus utilitatem agnosco.*

They say in our English colonies in Virginia and New England, and the Summer Islands, the pagans give wonderful attention to the singing of psalms, and thereby are so taken and delighted, that it is a special means of their conversion to the Christian faith.

I have sent you a book of the psalms composed in four parts, an excellent composure, whereby you may be invited to proceed farther in this divine faculty. When you are oppressed with serious and weighty business, to take your viol and sing to it, will be a singular ease and refreshment.

Subservient to this faculty of music is dancing, a measure of the feet: and this is also a singular ornament to a gentleman, conducing to a comely posture of his body in his salutation of others, or otherwise to adapt him to a decorum in his deportment and behaviour.

This quality hath advanced many persons unto honour. Q. Elizabeth, a princess of singular judgment in the choice of her servants and great officers of state, by seeing Sir Christopher Hatton dancing in a mask (then but a private gentleman of the Inner Temple) advanced him to the dignity and place of lord high chancellor of England, the highest officer of state, next unto her person, for honour and trust.

Some rigid divines hold it unlawful and impious to dance, affirming that *Chorea est cirt culus cujus centrum est diabolus*, but others, *quorum melior sententia menti*, esteem it no only lawful, but useful also, for the raising of noble spirits to high and heroic actions. Masks and other courtly recreations of gallant gentlemen and ladies of honour, striving to exceed one the other in their measures and changes, and in their reparts of wit and compliment have been beyond the power of envy to disgrace.

Amongst other arts I must commend unto you that which is of very great necessity, especially for economy and government of your house; I mean, arithmetic. Sir John Higford, famous for his hospitality, kept a diary of all his expences. The great Earls of Warwick, unto whom our ancestors had some relation, took accounts from their officers and servants of all the charge and provision of their house-keeping (which I can yet produce) even to the gaging of the hogsheads of beer.

The right honourable the Lord Scudamore is in an extraordinary measure versed in this rare faculty; and when I had the honour to wait upon his lordship, concerning the treaty of marriage with your worthy mother, the government of his house was so well contrived, every officer receiving the provision one from another, with such order, honour,

and bounty, that the managing of his house-keeping (I want expression) did appear to be *tanquam acies ordinata.* Believe it, thrift is the jewel of magnificence.

I may no longer omit that which I account an essential part of a gentleman, namely, travel beyond the seas into foreign countries; and I could heartily wish, that with some other young gentleman, under the conduct of some grave and learned person, you might resort to some famous university, either in the remotest part of France, or Italy, from the converse of the English nation; that you might for a time study philosophy and the arts. Certainly, upon his dunghill, the English gentleman is somewhat stubborn and churlish: travel will sweeten him very much, and imbreed in him courtesy, affability, respect and reservation.

In your travel it will be obvious to you to observe the situations of towns, cities, rivers, and the distances of highways and stages for your journey: so also for the commodities of each province or country:

Et quid quæque ferat regio, et quid ferre recuset.

But you must not rest there: you must transcend to higher notions.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Your observations in travel must be versed in the polity and ordering of states, especially monarchies; because almost all the world is under the subjection of monarchs.

In the monarchies therefore, you are especially to observe the state and magnificence of the prince, his nobility, his pensioners, his guards, his genius and disposition, his prime favourites, his great officers of state, his counsellors of state, the manner of their procession, how they take places; their several commands, authorities, and jurisdictions. Then, to observe his courts of justice, the quality of his judges; the processes, pleadings, and progressions for hearing, as well in causes criminal as civil; and the results, sentences, appeals, arrests, judgments depending thereupon: the latitude also and power of every court of justice. Then are you to consider his forces; what number he is able to bring into the field, his calvary, his infantry, the condition of his soldiers, whether mercenary, auxiliar, or natural (which is the best sort) their discipline and order. Next, to consider his forces at sea, the situation, capacity, and convenience of his havens, and ports; what vessels and of what burthen he is able to set to sea: and then, for the maintenance of both, you may survey his ammunition, his storehouses, magazines and arsenals: then, what revenues and intreates he hath to maintain, support and defray the charge of his forces both by sea and land: and therein to take notice of his marks of sovereignty, what he can do with and without his people: and therein to consider his treasury, his exchequer and finances, his crown lands, his customs, privileges, and flowers of his crown: then his extraordinaries, what contributions, subsidies, aids, impositions and gabells he raiseth from his people. Then are you to consider his friends and allies: what his leagues are, whether offensive, or defensive, or both: and of what continuance they are like to be. Then you may look upon his religion, his clergy and the government of them, their rites and ceremonies, liturgy, sermons and tenets. Then are you to have recourse to the universities, and in them the most famous men, their disputations and controversies, and whatsover more you shall find rare and fit for imitation, when you return into England.

Now for the commodiousness of your travel, it concerneth you to be skilled in the languages of such countries wherein you are to travel. The French is most in use. It is a most sweet tongue, called 'the woman's tongue;' and, as I think, for the addresses from the servant to the mistress, and from the subject to the sovereign, there is no sweeter, nor more civil language in the world. Some progression were fit for you to make in this useful language.

Some of your good friends have very much enabled themselves, and gained much honour and reputation by their residence in foreign parts.

The Lord Scudamore hath acquired much honour to our nation by his embassage into France: his direction and addresses to some of his noble friends there, will be an especial advantage to you.

The late Sir John Scudamore, unfortunately deceased, brought home many rare books,

and observations of his travel, which are well worth your perusal, if they might be gotten. I was in my particular much bound unto him for his favours. He visited and caressed me when I was a prisoner, and did me noble offices, which here I mention in honour to his memory.

I must not forget the princely exercise of hunting, wherein the sagacity of the irrational creature is very observable,

Et odora canum vis.

Hunting is useful, to know the situation and distance of places, and to inure your body to labour; and by the bounty of your horse to climb the hills and descend the valleys, like young Ascanius,

Nunc hos cursu, nunc præterit illos.

So also is the gentill exercise of hawking, more especially at the river, to see the falcon lessen herself, and to fall down upon the fowl like a thunder-bolt.

These are noble exercises, if the convenience of your estate and affairs may afford you a dispensation to make use of them.

There are also other parts becoming a gentleman, as limning, portraying with the pencil, and many other,[13] which I leave to your own election and judgment.

The Conclusion.

TO conclude with a story: Sempronius Gracchus, father of Caius and Tiberius Gracchus, observing the turbulent dispositions of his two sons, persuaded them to reside in the country at his farm, there to negotiate in his affairs of husbandry: but his said sons, being of a more boiling and tumultuous humour (they afterward became incendiaries in the state of Rome) would not hearken to their father's commands, but resolved to abide in the city; at that time the theatre of the world for high achievements and actions. Their father not prevailing with them, used and delivered unto them these words: "My sons, if you will not return into the country, as I desired, then take care, I pray you, that you act nothing *indignum nomine Sempronio.*"

You, my dear cousin, derive some honour from your late father, much more ennobled by your worthy mother. Act nothing, I beseech you, that shall be unworthy of your ancestors, from whom you descend.

But I have a better confidence of you; and your name hath been also very fortunate to our family: *bonum nomen, bonum omen.* I hope it will be verified of you, as it was of John Baptist in the person of Elias: *Joannes cum venerit restituet omnia.*

And for Dixton, I hope it will be said the same which was said of Rome under the government of Augustus, *Lateritiam invenit, reliquit marmoream.*

And to that purpose I shall commend you to God in my prayers: God so bless and govern you, that you may be a contentment to yourself, a comfort to your worthy mother, an honour to our decayed family (to me your well-doing an unspeakable joy:) and, which is the sum of all, that you may be the faithful servant of Almighty God, to live in his fear, and die in his favour. Amen.

Deo gloria.

[13] [These are discussed more at large in Peacham's 'Compleat Gentleman,' published some time before this tract was written.]

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.

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